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THE CLASSICAL REVIEW

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VOLUME XXV.

121864
11|4|12

PUBLISHED FOR THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION BY
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET, LONDON, W.
AND
GINN AND COMPANY, 29, BEACON STREET, BOSTON, MASS.
1911

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

No. 1.

Obituary : PAGE

S. H. Butcher. A. W. Verrall . 1

J. E. B. Mayor. J. E. Sandys . 7

Original Contributions :

Note on Homeric Hymn to Demeter, 239 ff. W. R. Halliday . . 8

On the *Apotheosis of Claudius*, Ch. 6, ll. 5-6. M. O. B. Caspari . . 11

Propertius, II. xxv. 17. J. S. Phillimore 12

Notes :

Plato, *Republic*, 614 B. Arthur Platt 13

Ἐπιγράφω. Herbert W. Greene 14

Ausonius' Debt to Juvenal. H. A. Strong 15

Notes on Lucan, Books V. and VI. W. R. Smale 15

Reviews :

Walker's Ἀντὶ Μιᾶς. *An Essay in Isometry*. Arthur Platt . . 16

Mélanges d'Histoire Ancienne : Bibliothèque de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Paris. H. J. Cunningham 18

Die Enstehung der Odyssee und die Versabzählung in den griechischen Epen. T. W. Allen . . . 20

Recent Classical Bibliography. (1) *Rudolf Klussmann : Bibliotheca Scriptorum Classicorum*. (2) *Catalogus Dissertationum Philologicarum Classicarum*. (3) *Altclassische Philologie und Altertumskunde, Antiquariats-Katalog*. No. 379. J. E. Sandys . . . 22

Aristotle de Generatione Animalium. R. G. Bury 23

Στρωματεῖς 24

Short Notices :

Williams' *Essai sur la Composition du Roman Gallois de Peredur*. T. Hudson-Williams . . . 25

Headlam's *History, Authority, and Theology*. Arthur S. Peake . 25

Remy's *La première Églogue de Virgile*. A. S. Owen . . . 26

Frank's *A Chapter in the Story of Roman Imperialism*. Louise E. Matthaei 26

Tillyard's *Agathocles, Cambridge Historical Essays*. No. XV. L. E. Matthaei 27

Miller's *The Latins in the Levant : a History of Frankish Greece*, 1204-1566. W. H. D. Rouse . . 27

Version 28

Notes and News 29

Correspondence 30

Books Received 31

No. 2.

Original Contributions :

Notes on No. 112 in the Collection of Fayoum Papyri. H. T. F. Duckworth 33

Some Notes on the Παιδικὰ Αἰολικά of Theocritus. J. M. Edmonds . 37

The Two Burials in *Antigone*. W. H. D. Rouse . . . 40

Notes :

The Alleged Hyperbaton of *Heroides* 3. 19. H. Darnley Naylor 42

Ovid, *Heroides*, XV.-XXI. H. Darnley Naylor . . . 43

Reviews :

Dionysius Halicarnensis *De Compositione Verborum*. F. H. Colson 45

Reviews—*continued:* PAGE
Ilberg's *Die Überlieferung der Gynaekologie des Soranus von Ephesus.* CLIFFORD ALLBUTT . . . 49
Fritze's *Coinage of Pergamon.* WARWICK WROTH 52
Cumont's *Die orientalischen Religionen im römischen Heidenthum.* FRANK GRANGER. 54
Steindorff's *Egyptian Nomes.* H. R. HALL 55
Clark's *Fontes Prosae Numerosae; The Cursus in Mediaeval and Vulgar Latin.* W. RHYS ROBERTS 57
Prou's *Latin Palaeography.* W. M. LINDSAY 58
Gardiner's *Greek Athletic Sports and Festivals.* R. B. LATTIMER . 59

Short Notices:
Marouzeau's *L'Emploi du Participe Présent Latin à l'Époque Républicaine.* W. E. P. PANTIN . . 60
Merry's *Orationes tum Crewianae tum gratulatoriae in Theatro Sheldoniano plerumque habitae;* Sandys' *Orationes et Epistolae Cantabrigienses.* W. H. D. R. . 61
Engelbrecht's *Corpus Scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Latinorum.* JOHN E. B. MAYOR 61
Bellot's *Delos.* W. H. D. ROUSE . 62
Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms in der Zeit von August bis zum Ausgang der Antonine, von Ludwig Friedländer. J. E. B. M. 62

Notes and News 63
Books Received. 63
Corrigenda. 64

No. 3.

Original Contributions:
Some Notes on the Παιδικὰ Αἰολικά of Theocritus. J. M. EDMONDS. 65
On the Grammarian, Virgilius Maro. H. A. STRONG . . 70
Apuleius, *Apologia*, c. 89. H. E. BUTLER 72

Notes:
Lucretius V. 311 *sqq.* GEORGE W. MOONEY 73
Aesch. *Agam.* 67-71. A. D. GODLEY 73
A Note on Horace's *Ode*, III. xxvi. 7. ROBERT F. T. CROOK . . . 74
Lucretius III. 687-690. ALBERT C. CLARK 74
Indefinite *Quam* in Caesar. W. H. D. ROUSE. 74

Reviews:
Lang's *World of Homer.* F. M. S. . 75
Ritter's *Platon, Sein Leben, Seine Schriften, Seine Lehre.* MARIE V. WILLIAMS 77
Werner's *Aristote et l'Idéalisme Platonicien.* MARIE V. WILLIAMS . 78

Reviews—*continued:*
Rothe's *Die Ilias als Dichtung* . 80
Nogara's *Ancient Mosaics of the Vatican and the Lateran Museums.* T. ASHBY 83
Platt's *De Generatione Animalium.* F. H. A. MARSHALL . . . 85
Grueber's *Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum.* GEORGE MACDONALD . . . 87
Tucker's *Life in the Roman World of Nero and St. Paul.* G. L. C. . 88
Frobenius' *Ennius Syntax.* W. E. P. PANTIN 90

Short Notices:
Mommsen's *Gesammelte Schriften.* E. HARRISON 91
Milligan's *Selections from the Greek Papyri.* W. H. D. R. . . . 92
Hunt's *Oxyrhynchus Papyri.* W. H. D. R. 92

Version 93
Notes and News 93
Correspondence. 94
Books Received. 95

No. 4.

Original Contributions : PAGE

The *Andromache* and the *Trachinians*. GRACE HARRIET MACURDY 97

The Burial of Ajax. ARTHUR PLATT 101

Verses in Livy. R. L. DUNBABIN . 104

Notes :

Note on Appian, *Bell. Civ.* I. 21 *fin.* M. O. B. CASPARI . . . 106

Note on Tacitus, *Annals* XIII. 37. 4. M. O. B. CASPARI . . . 107

Notes on Catullus LXIV. G. M. HIRST 108

The *Codex Lusaticus* of Propertius. J. P. POSTGATE 109

Two Conjectures. G. M. HIRST . 109

Note on Horace, *Carm.* 4. 5. 1. A. SLOMAN 109

Reviews :

Recent Monographs on Greek and Latin Metre. EDWARD V. ARNOLD 110

Thumb's *Handbuch der Griechischen Dialekte.* JAMES HOPE MOULTON 113

Reviews—*continued :* PAGE

Mülder's *Die Ilias und ihre Quellen.* T. W. ALLEN 114

Wilkinson's *Hannibal's March.* A. D. GODLEY 116

Allen's *Erasmi Epistolae*, Vol. II. W. RHYS ROBERTS . . . 118

Plésent's *Le Culex.* H. E. BUTLER 120

Cities of Italy. W. H. D. R. . . 122

Short Notices :

Vahlen's *Longinus.* W. RHYS ROBERTS 123

Kerlin's *Theocritus in English Literature.* W. H. D. R. . . . 123

Human Life in Latin Inscriptions. W. H. D. R. 123

Fisher's *Taciti Historiarum Libri.* A. D. GODLEY 124

Notes and News 125

Translation 126

Books Received 127

No. 5.

Original Contributions :

A Wrestling Match in Nonnus. HERBERT W. GREENE . . 129

Nic. Eth. IV. iii. 15 1123^{b} 31. J. COOK WILSON 132

Notes on Propertius. J. S. PHILLIMORE 135

The Pronunciation of Unmetrical Greek Verse. W. M. CALDER . 139

Notes :

Dem. *Chers.*, p. 107, §§ 69, 70. H. W. WHITE 140

Aeschylus, *Agamemnon* 178-180 (Wecklein). AUSTIN SMYTH . 114

Reviews :

Verrall's *Bacchants of Euripides and Other Essays;* Norwood's *Riddle of the Bacchae.* CYRIL BAILEY . 142

Eisler's *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt.* F. C. BURKITT . . . 145

Catalogue of the Greek Papyri in the British Museum. W. H. D. ROUSE 148

Reviews—*continued :*

Sjögren's *Commentationes Tullianae, de Ciceronis epistulis ad Brutum ad Quintum Fratrem ad Atticum Quaestiones.* ALBERT C. CLARK 149

Short Notices :

Capps' *Four Plays of Menander.* H. RICHARDS 154

Mosso's *Dawn of Mediterranean Civilisation.* W. H. D. R. . . 155

Headlam's *Walter Headlam : Life and Poems.* X. 156

Correspondence 156

Version 157

Ad Phyllida—H. RACKHAM. *To Diana*—D'AUBIGNÉ. Translated by H. C. MACDOWALL . . 157

Notes and News 157

Books Received 158

No. 6.

Original Contributions : PAGE
A Misunderstood Passage in the *Oedipus Tyrannus* (227-235). . 161
Note on Plato's *Protagoras* 355 D. DORA MASON 164
Why More than One Hole through the Moon? W. F. W. . . 166
Homerica. A. LANG 167
Horace, *Od.* I. 20 : *Tu Bibes.* L. H. ALLEN 168

Notes :
Eur. *Medea* 608 καὶ σοῖς ἀραία γε. E. H. STEWART WALDE . . 170
Note on Caesar *B.G.* IV. 3. A. SLOMAN 171
Αἷμα ταύρου. HUGO JOHNSON . 171
A Drama 'Full of Ares.' WILMOT H. THOMPSON, JUN. 172
Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 1085. J. P. POSTGATE 172

Reviews :
Sangallo's *Codices e Vaticanis selecti phototypice expressi*, Volumen XI. THOMAS ASHBY 173

Reviews—*continued* : PAGE
Ebersolt's *Le Grand Palais de Constantinople.* J. B. BURY . . 175
Powell's *Euripides' Phoenissae.* A. C. PEARSON 177
Sanders' *Old Testament Manuscripts in the Freer Collection.* JAMES HOPE MOULTON 179
Vollmer's *Appendix Vergiliana.* H. W. GARROD 180
Two Books on Stoicism : Bussell's *Marcus Aurelius and the Later Stoics*; Arnold's *Roman Stoicism.* W. M. L. HUTCHINSON . . 182
Goudy's *Trichotomy in Roman Law.* W. W. F. 185
Willems' *Le Droit Public Romain.* J. S. BLAKE REED 186
Antiquaries of Scotland. G. L. CHEESMAN 188
Some School Books. W. H. D. R. 189

Correspondence. 191

Books Received. 192

No. 7.

Original Contributions :
The Athenian Cavalry in the Peloponnesian War and at Amphipolis. J. MACINNES . . . 193
The Sin of Oedipus. GUY KENDALL 195
Nic. Eth. IV. III. 15. 1123^{b} 31. W. J. GOODRICH 197
Notes on Lucan. W. R. SMALE . 199
Excerpta from the Vocabulary of the Grammarian Virgilius Maro. H. A. STRONG 201
Note on Lucretius, V. 311, 312. J. S. REID 202

Notes :
Sophocles *Fragment* 344 (Nauck^{2}). W. R. PATON 204
Ἀλλὰ . . . μέν. R. W. CHAPMAN . 204
'The Golden Bough.' W. R. PATON. 205
Menander : Emendations and Illustrations. R. L. DUNBABIN . . 205

Notes—*continued* :
Petronius, *Satirae*, c. 38. T. HUDSON-WILLIAMS 205
Caesar, *B.G.* iv. 3. A. G. PESKETT. 206
The Derivation of the Grammatical Term 'Supine.' H. DARNLEY NAYLOR 206

Reviews :
Thompson and Norton's *Historical and Linguistic Studies in Literature related to the New Testament*; Williams' *Participle in the Book of Acts.* JAMES HOPE MOULTON . 207
Thompson's *Aristotle Historia Animalium.* F. H. A. MARSHALL . 208
Boesch's *De Apollonii Rhodii Elocutione.* R. C. SEATON . . 210
Starkie's *Clouds of Aristophanes.* H. RICHARDS 211
Collignon's *Les Statues Funéraires dans l'Art Grec.* P. GARDNER . 212

Reviews—*continued*: PAGE
Poland's *Geschichte des griechischen Vereinswesens*. W. H. D. Rouse 213
Kleine Texte für theologische und philologische Vorlesungen und Übungen. W. H. D. Rouse . 215
Barbagallo's *Lo Stato e l'istruzione pubblica*. Frank Granger . 216
Havet's *Latin Textual Criticism*. J. P. Postgate 218
Reviews—*continued*: PAGE
Fowler's *Religious Experience of the Roman People*. Cyril Bailey . 223
Davis's *Influence of Wealth in Imperial Rome*. J. G. C. Anderson 226
Short Notices 228
Notes and News 230
Correspondence 231
Books Received 231

No. 8.

Original Contributions:
Homerica. I. The Achaeans. T. W. Allen 233
The Original Function of the Boule at Athens. N. L. Ingle . . 236
Dolon the Wolf. J. A. K. Thomson 238
Some Passages of Juvenal. H. W. Garrod 240
The Past Tenses of the Subjunctive in Expressions of Wish. E. A. Sonnenschein 244

Notes:
On Soph. *Phil.* 830 ff. A. C. Pearson 246
On *Acharnians* 1093. E. W. Cornwall 247
On Horace, *Carm.* 4. 5. 1. John Sargeaunt 247
On Horace, *Carm.* 4. 5. 1. R. C. Seaton 248
Etymological Note. H. A. Strong 248

Reviews:
Kelsey's *Latin and Greek in American Education*. P. Gardner . . 249
Taylor's *Varia Socratica*. W. J. Goodrich 251
Gerhard's *Veröffentlichungen aus der Heidelberger Papyrus-Sammlung*. T. W. Allen 253
Legrand's *Daos*. W. H. D. Rouse 255
Reviews—*continued*:
Holmes' *Caesar's Conquest of Gaul*. F. Haverfield 257
Pelham's *Essays on Roman History*. J. G. C. Anderson . . . 258
Schulze's *Römische Elegiker*. J. P. P. 259
Sandys' *Companion to Latin Studies*. E. E. Genner 260
Persii Iuuenalis Sulpiciae Saturae. S. G. Owen 264
Short Notices:
Schubart, de Cavalieri, and Lietzmann's *Papyri Graeci Berolinenses*. W. H. D. R. 266
Denison's *Mexican-Aryan Comparative Vocabulary*. Elizabeth Jackson 266
Oelmann's *Heracliti Quaestiones Homericae*. F. Melian Stawell . 267
Tabulae quibus Antiquitates Graecae et Romanae illustrantur . . 267
'Αρχαιολογικὴ 'Εφημερίς, 1910. H. B. Walters 268
Furtwaengler's *Beschreibung der Glyptothek König Ludwigs I. zu München*. H. B. Walters . 268
Quaestiones ad Historiam Dedicationis Librorum Pertinentes. A. D. Godley 269
Correspondence 269
Version 270
Books Received 271

Index 273

The Classical Review

FEBRUARY 1911

OBITUARY

MR. S. H. BUTCHER.

THE death of Mr. S. H. Butcher is lamented by the public with a sense of personal loss, and has raised among men of letters, and specially in the spheres of classical learning and education, a dismay and consternation, to which something has contributed beyond the admiration due to a singularly brilliant, harmonious, and beneficent career, and to a legacy of writings, not indeed very large, but all of high quality and, in part at any rate, of great and permanent value. We lose a living type and representation, such as is not and cannot be often seen, of that humanity, that sweet and noble facility of social and intellectual intercourse, which the study of letters should produce or promote. We suffer the eclipse of an ideal. And the loss is especially sensible at a time when everywhere, and not least in this country, the due adjustment of relations between the literary basis and the other elements of culture is matter of debate and difficulty, temporary as we may hope and believe, but pressing and perhaps perilous. Many will echo the significant terms of one among the valedictory notices, which, with the 'Praeses Academiae' joins not only the 'lucidissimus expositor litterarum' but also the 'fortissimus defensor.'

Nothing indeed could be less proper to the moment, or, we may add, less congenial to the spirit and teaching of Mr. Butcher, than to exploit him for the purpose of a controversy. Nor is there any need. Whatever our shades of opinion, we shall not deny, no likely or conceivable reader of this Journal will deny, that Greek language and literature, by direct and indirect influence, have been and still are powerful, as factors, in promoting a certain delicacy, propriety, grace, and subtle simplicity in the pre-eminently human faculty of speech, and a large appreciation of the value of this faculty in individual and national life, and a high sense of patriotic obligation to diffuse these advantages as far as possible; or that in all these, the use, the appreciation, and the duty, Henry Butcher was an excellent example; or that from Greek books and thought he drew the main part of his inspiration, and without them would not, and probably could not, have been what he was.

What he was, all that he was, no one, whatever may have been his opportunities of observation, may pretend to put into words. That not even the spoken word, and still less the written, can contain the man, is a lesson, most useful to bookmen, upon which Butcher himself insists. And if a man is not to be circumscribed by his own words, still less can he be defined by another. Each will see what he can.

One trait is certain, and most important, his extraordinary faculty of speech,—not oratory, but speech for daily and general purposes. He spoke

English with a delicacy and ease, a pleasantness in the sound, an unforced precision in the choice of expressions, a rapidity of adaptation to turns of thought and conversation, changes in situation, circumstances, temper, and company, and generally with a complete command, to which one could hardly find a parallel. Whether, or in what degree, he was to be called eloquent, I could hardly say; he was far above the average in that way; but the faculty to which I refer has little to do with eloquence as now practised and understood. Nor do I mean exactly what is commonly imported by the term 'a good talker,' though that he was. I mean, in the simplest sense, that he spoke well, so well that it was a delight to hear and to follow him. He had one advantage, which might be commoner than it is,—he appreciated the difficulty of English. He has some remarks, humorously distressful, upon the unmanageable qualities of the language as applied to writing, and the strange insensibility of many Englishmen to disharmonies and improprieties, whether in books or in speech. He makes comparisons in this respect, especially with Greek and the Greeks, which prove, if anyone were likely to doubt it, that his own sharpness and subtlety of sense had been partly acquired by close and sympathetic study of English in its relations to remote and contrasted idioms. How far, or whether at all, he consciously studied vocal practice as such, I do not know. Consciously or not, he did in fact, I am sure, constantly apply pains to the perfection of speech in its simplest use as a daily instrument. This accomplishment, guided by a warm and generous disposition, a genuine interest in all sorts and conditions of men, and a deep desire to promote intercourse of thought as a humane thing and a good in itself, was one principal element, at all events, in that personal charm, to which so many and such striking testimonies have been recently given. The art—for an art it was in the best sense—was aided by a graciousness of countenance and person, for which beauty must be the word, though the thing was not just that, but better. With other management, in a man less lofty in his conceptions of private and public duty, all this might have been turned to mere purposes of self-gratification or predominance. Butcher, without the least pedantry or pretension, made of it a boon and lesson to circles ever increasing. Nothing, not even his unsparing industry or his courtesy in all relations, was of greater public benefit, or contributed more to make him the leader and centre that he became.

He had an exquisite sense of humour, and a keen observation of personal distinctions in speech and thought. His conversation, though it moved generally and by preference (as would appear if one came to look back on a whole interview) upon large and important themes, was full of entertaining illustrations from real experience. It seemed to me—I see not how else to put it—that whatever were the subject of conversation, interesting and amusing things, relating to that subject, had always occurred, and recently, within the observation of Butcher. His strokes and pictures were without malice; he had a toleration very uncommon in a man of strong and firm opinions, a fighting man; his disapprobations were mostly conveyed with a sort of seemingly simple irony, the full effect of which depended so largely on the voice that the written words must lose most or all. But even his writings, those especially which were composed for oral delivery, have some touches of the kind. These touches may not be much in themselves, not important doubtless to the solid value of the works. But nowhere is more to be found, now, of the quality which enabled Butcher to do what he did. Here is an instance from the finale of the *Harvard Lectures* (p. 264):

> A literary aesthete was described by Lucian as 'a strange phantom fed upon dew or ambrosia.' Him too we know. His house is not upon the solid earth. He sings and soars. He loves and laments, he knows not what or why; harmonious and meaningless is his song. The cult of the meaningless is from time to time in the ascendant. Once at an exhibition of pictures I stood in wonder before a certain portrait. I begged a friend who was initiated into the principles of the school to explain it. The reply was: 'Think away the head and the face, and you have a residuum of pure colour.' Whether this doctrine is to be accepted in painting, and

more particularly in portrait-painting, I do not know; but in literature at least it means sure decay.

The tone here is more than commonly sharp, and would have been less so, with gain of power, in talk; but the turns of the last clauses are very characteristic and apt. In the following reference, half grave and half playful, to Plato, there are touches of the same kind, which may be thought even better:

The homoeopathic cure of morbid 'enthusiasm' by means of music was, it may be incidentally observed, known also to Plato. In a passage of the *Laws*, where he is laying down rules for the management of infants, his advice is that infants should be kept in perpetual motion, and live as if they were always tossing at sea. He proceeds to compare the principle on which religious ecstasy is cured by a strain of impassioned music, with the method of nurses, who lull their babies to sleep not by silence but by singing, not by holding them quiet but by rocking them in their arms. Fear, he thinks, is in each case the emotion that has to be subdued—a fear caused by something that has gone wrong within. In each case the method of cure is the same; an external agitation (κίνησις) is employed to calm and counteract an internal. But Plato recognised the principle only as it applied to music and to the useful art of nursing. Aristotle, with his generalising faculty and his love of discovering unity in different domains of life, extended the principle to tragedy, and hints at even a wider application of it. . . .

One must not mar this finished bit of writing by any indication of emphasis, and even comment would be dangerous. But for all that, to recite it well is not easy; and few there were who had not something to learn as well as to enjoy in hearing such passages delivered by the author, or better still in hearing him talk, as he would, in a style differing from this by a still more efficient simplicity and a still subtler ease, upon anything, you may say, to which you chose to lead him. Those hundreds in number, or it may be thousands, who knew and loved his voice, have only to recall and mentally to apply it. When that memory fails, something of it, one may hope, may still survive in the text.

It would be most false, of course, to give or leave the impression, that jesting, or light thought of any kind, was the main, or even a very important, element in Butcher's speech or work. A certain playfulness was seldom banished, never willingly; and, as he was a sure source of enjoyment, so he intensely enjoyed other men and the human world. But in substance he was σπουδαῖος, earnest, elevated, a seeker of great things, and a worker in large fields. I do not think, though I may judge wrong, that even in youth his high spirit would have been well described by the word 'gay.' Certainly not so his later moods; and in that part of his thoughts, to which he chose to give the permanence of publication, the main strand of the cord is always serious. His style has two main types, the expository manner which prevails in the treatise on the *Poetics*,[1] and another more original and, in appearance, more spontaneous, which belongs naturally to the two volumes of addresses, the *Harvard Lectures* and *Some Aspects of the Greek Genius*. As a contribution to learning, the treatise on Aristotle is of course far the weightier; but the others deserve not less well to be read, and, for myself, reperusal deepens the sense of their value as well as their charm. They have most of the author. A unity, much more than may at first appear, runs through all. For a choice of specimens, we might take two contiguous essays, *The Melancholy of the Greeks* and *The Written and the Spoken Word*.[2] To the second I have already indirectly alluded; it contains the base and starting-point of Butcher's thought and teaching. The first, which is also a beautiful composition, and, especially in regard to Pindar and Herodotus, a penetrating piece of criticism, ends upon this note:

In the modern world the contradiction between boundless aspiration and limited powers is apt to paralyse high effort. In classical Greek antiquity the sense of man's feebleness heightens his energy of will. The impression left on us is altogether unique in character, and, as a result, the pathetic in Greek poetry is often not far removed from the sublime. 'There is nothing, methinks, more piteous than a man, of all things that creep and breathe upon this earth.' These words were uttered by Zeus in the *Iliad*, and the thought is typically Hellenic. But no less Hellenic is the rousing call of Sarpedon to Glaucus: 'Ah, friend, if once escaped from this battle we were for ever to be

[1] *Aristotle's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art.*
[2] *Some Aspects*, etc., p. 131.

ageless and immortal, neither would I fight myself in the foremost ranks, nor would I send thee into the war that giveth men renown, but now, . . . , now let us go forward, whether we shall give glory to other men, or others to us.' The dark destiny of man is here the very motive which prompts to heroism. The thought is the same as that of Pindar: 'Forasmuch as men must die, wherefore should one sit vainly in the dark through a dull and nameless age, and without lot in noble deeds?'

One half of life, says Butcher elsewhere, Greece has made her domain—all, or wellnigh all, that belongs to the present order of things and to the visible world. Hellenism was not his religion, but it was a material portion of it.

British patriotism—if we give to the epithet its largest and most liberal extension—was another part. For the State in its true idea, as it might and should be, he had a deep reverence, often expressed in a favourite quotation from Burke, whom of all English authors he seems to have best known and most loved:

The State is a partnership in all science, in all art, in every virtue, and in all perfection.

As a spiritual organism, the sum, and something more, of social contacts, interchanges, affections between the minds and hearts of the members, he prized the larger unity highly. But he was profoundly sensible of the difficulties which beset the preservation of this character in the huge modern type: how easily the State, regarded as a machine for security, a protective shell, may become a cause or excuse for making life, in the individual, the family, and the city, narrower, feebler, less spiritual and associative. He knew, and strove against, the special danger of the English temper in this respect—our tendency to self-isolation, our little care for a truly humane *ὁμιλία*. At the ceremony of his funeral, as I recalled his words and work in this aspect, I felt a new and peculiar application of the stern warning cited by the Apostle from the Greek poet: 'Be not deceived—

φθείρουσιν ἤθη χρήσθ' ὁμιλίαι κακαί.'

His life, though he had his full share of tragic sorrows, was in the main happy as well as prosperous; and it had the unity, the organic development, which in all things he desired and sought.

He was an Irishman by both parents, with a strain of English blood; his character has been justly described as a happy blend of the two sources. His father, Samuel Butcher, late Bishop of Meath, was Professor of Ecclesiastical History in Trinity College, Dublin, when Samuel Henry was born (April 16th, 1850). He was educated chiefly in England—at Marlborough under Dr. Bradley from 1864, and at Trinity College, Cambridge, from 1869 to 1873, in which year he was Senior Classic. In 1874 he was elected a Fellow of Trinity College, where he resided and taught until the vacation of his fellowship, in 1876, by his marriage. Dr. Bradley, his head-master at Marlborough, had in the meantime become Master of University College, Oxford. Appointed to a tutorial fellowship at that College, Butcher removed to Oxford, and worked there, with great success, until 1882, when he obtained the important post of Greek Professor in the University of Edinburgh. This he held for twenty-one years. Mrs. Butcher died in 1902, and in the following year Butcher resigned his professorship and removed to London. Before this he had achieved a very great reputation, not only in the ordinary professional work of a writer and teacher, but also in all kinds of social and public business connected with the higher education. In particular, he had taken a leading part, not only in the government of the University of Edinburgh, but also, as a Commissioner and otherwise, in the reform of the Scottish Universities under the Act of 1889, as he afterwards did in the foundation of the new University of Ireland. He had also gained an immense acquaintance and personal touch with things, classes, and men concerned, directly or indirectly, in the academic system or systems of the country. Such a man, resident in London and nominally without occupation, was of course overwhelmed with calls for work, to which he responded only too zealously, in such enterprises as the Hellenic Society and the British School at Athens, the foundation of the British Academy (of

which he was an original member, and in 1909 became President), the Classical Association, and others too numerous to mention. The Classical Association, a society which has already done much service, and may develop into great importance, has owed so much to Butcher that he may almost be said to have created it. In 1906 his influence was extended, and his labours enormously increased, by his election, upon the death of his intimate friend, Sir R. C. Jebb, as Member of Parliament for the University of Cambridge. A better representative it is scarcely possible to conceive, and in none of his functions will his place be more difficult to fill. In 1908 he was appointed a Trustee of the British Museum. Among many academic testimonies of admiration may be mentioned particularly an honorary degree from the University of Harvard, where in 1904 he delivered the course of lectures afterwards published. But no list of honours would adequately represent the range and significance of his work, inspired as it was by that peculiar personal power which put reality and life into all his connexions of thought, feeling, and social effort. 'In the higher education of the country he had, in fact, attained an almost unique position. During the last twenty years few changes of moment have taken place in any British University in which he was not concerned; and few appointments of importance have been made in which he was not consulted. And the reason of this confidence was his remarkable combination of judgment, sympathy, and sincerity.'[1]

All this meant overwork. He seemed, however, to bear the strain well, nor—so far as I am aware, and I was in close communication with him—was there any pressing cause for alarm before his return, in last October, from his summer holiday, of which the most part had been spent, as usual, at his house near Killarney. But on October 24th, when he visited Cambridge, and stayed with me, for the last time, to perform one of his incessant public engagements, it was plain, though he was all himself, that he was not ready for a new spell of work. A few days later came the fatal collapse. He died in London on December 29th, 1910.

It hardly belongs to this Review, and certainly not to me, to estimate Butcher's work as a politician, so far as it was not directly connected with education, learning, or literature. He was a Unionist, and active in his party, though, like most reasonable politicians, he might with propriety be called both Liberal and Conservative. Yet he was Conservative in the main, and by temper and conviction an 'aristocrat' in this sense—that, though he keenly desired and eagerly promoted the diffusion of culture, he was more sensible to the danger of lowering the standard, and of neglecting the most capable and 'best' in order to multiply the number of the 'improved.' A Liberal Democrat will allow that this danger exists, and should be signalised and avoided as far as possible.

Even in practical application of the principle, if we soon come to matters of controversy, there is still room for agreement. Let it be assumed, for instance, that the retention or extension of 'Greek' may be purchased at too high a price: it is still desirable to know what the influence of Greek is, what it can do, and what would be lost with it. On these points Butcher is an excellent teacher, the best that I know. For instance, he will dissipate the confusion which, under the name of 'classics,' speaks as if Greek and Latin could do the same or the like educational work. Butcher was an exquisite Latinist, wrote the language admirably, and could have discoursed admirably upon Latin literature. But he was aware, and never forgot, that in the qualities of freshness and spontaneity, in the revelation—only to be made once by the nature of the case—of linguistic and literary art in process of first development and as a new discovery, Latin is as far from Greek as it could be. I am not saying what practical consequence should now be drawn from this. I say nothing of Butcher's deductions. But anyhow, we should know and feel the true facts. And nowhere will the English reader find them better set forth than in the writings of Butcher. Omissions there

[1] *The Times*, December 30th, 1910.

are, of course, and perhaps some qualifications to be made, in the fringes of the subject — for instance, when, by implication, he touches on the quality of the 'modern languages.' He may not have done justice, in particular, to the language and literature of France. But what he says positively, on the main theme, is the essential truth; and, like all his thought, it lives.

In connexion with his politics, since one of the most noted and most remembered of his utterances in Parliament was a strong speech against the political enfranchisement of women, it will be well to note, that he worked zealously for the inclusion of women in higher education, and did services to this cause, at Oxford, at Edinburgh, and elsewhere, which have been conspicuously and gratefully acknowledged.

As a contributor to learning, he will probably be measured mainly and eventually by the book *Aristotle's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art*. The prose-translation of the *Odyssey*, of which he was joint-author, is indeed more widely known, has great value both from the learned and from the popular point of view, and will not soon, if ever, be superseded. The collected essays and addresses have at present much importance; they may hold a permanent place, or they may not: *habent sua fata libelli*. If anything else of the kind, not published, remains, it is to be hoped that the question of publication will be considered, of course under the strict respect due to the wishes, if ascertainable, of the author. The text of Demosthenes, which he partly completed, is a work of great labour and will be mentioned with gratitude. He knew and loved Demosthenes as few now do; and, could he have spent his time twice, could he have done more than fill it with useful work, he might have added to this text, and to the booklet *Demosthenes* of 1881, expository work on the Greek orators for which no hand so fit is likely to be found. But among what he has done, the treatise on the *Poetics*, as a contribution to learning, stands pre-eminent. Butcher was here thoroughly in his element. It will be noted, in the book *Some Aspects of Greek Thought*, how naturally the lines of reflexion run up to the final part—a discussion of the Aristotelian *Poetics* which partly anticipates the complete treatise. It was a gain too, or certainly no disadvantage, that opinion on the *Poetics* is, or was, in a state urgently demanding correction. No book, as Butcher humorously remarks about a certain famous sentence in it, has been more cited, discussed, and explained 'by men who knew Greek, and by men who knew no Greek.' He was compelled here to dissent often from respectable and persistent tradition; and it was not on the side of such dissent that he was likely to exceed or to err. His corrections are many, subtle, invaluable, and the book, indispensable to students of the subject, will commend his name to times not in touch with his practical work.

For the present, that practical work, and the man himself, are the gifts that most move our thanks. Few men have better served their generation, and of scholars perhaps not any.

At the end of so fine a piece, when we are dismissed, as from a *Samson Agonistes*, 'with new acquist of true experience,' grief, private grief, must not be importunate. But a word, a word of gratitude, will perhaps be indulged to a friendship of forty-two years. I saw Henry Butcher for the first time at Marlborough, early in the year '69, and shortly before we were together elected to scholarships at Cambridge. I was taken to Marlborough by my father mainly for the purpose of making his acquaintance. From that time till now we have been often together, and always in close mental touch. He has been a chief factor in my life. Among the multitude of mourners not many have more cause.

A. W. VERRALL.

J. E. B. MAYOR.

JANUARY 28TH, 1825—DECEMBER 1ST, 1910.

JOHN EYTON BICKERSTETH MAYOR was the son of the Rev. Robert Mayor and Charlotte Bickersteth, sister of Lord Langdale and of Edward Bickersteth of Watton. A few days after his death four brief and characteristic contributions from his pen appeared in the *Classical Review*, which will always be associated with the fact that it was edited by his younger brother, Joseph Bickersteth Mayor, for the first seven years of its existence.

John Mayor was born on January 28th, 1825, at Baddegama, in Ceylon, where his father was a missionary of the Church Missionary Society. At the age of six he revelled in Rollin and the English Homer and Virgil (both in prose) and in the English Nepos and Caesar. Early in his eighth year he was sent, with his two elder brothers, to the Grammar School of Newcastle-under-Lyme, where he was a day-boy under the headmastership of Mr. Anderson. His elder brother, Robert, afterwards Fellow of St. John's and Mathematical Master at Rugby, was greatly taken with John's vehement spirit, shown even there by his readiness to fight boys ever so much bigger than himself, and also with his ready memory and precocious love of learning. Before completing his eighth year, he was sent to Christ's Hospital, and it is surmised that his stoical endurance, his asceticism, and his antiquarian and historical interests were fostered by the strange survival of sixteenth-century life, into which he had been thrust in the very heart of London. In his eleventh year, after an attack of scarlet fever, he was withdrawn from school, and spent two or three years at home, learning Greek, as well as Latin, from his mother. When he was about thirteen he went to Shrewsbury, the school which won his loyal devotion for the rest of his long life.

At St. John's, Cambridge, his private tutor was William Henry Bateson, subsequently Public Orator, and ultimately Master of the College; and in the Classical Tripos of 1848 his name appeared in the third place in the First Class, immediately below C. B. Scott and Westcott.

From 1849 to 1853 he was a Master at Marlborough, where (apart from his principal work with the lower sixth) it was his duty to teach one of the lowest forms three hours a week. It was at Marlborough that he prepared his erudite edition of *Thirteen Satires of Juvenal*, 1853. In 1886, in the 'advertisement' of the fourth edition of Vol. I., he thus records the genesis of the work:

> 'When, in 1850 or 1851, my friend the publisher said to me, "You ought to bring out a book," it was no special acquaintance with Juvenal that suggested the choice, but dissatisfaction with Ruperti's edition, then holding the field. "I have a good many notes on Juvenal, and Ruperti's book is not worthy of his author."'

After his return to St. John's as a College Lecturer, he contributed to the *Journal of Classical and Sacred Philology* two comprehensive articles on Latin lexicography, which appeared in November, 1855, and in March, 1857, and were marked by the same love of learning and familiarity with its history, which continued to be his leading characteristic for more than half a century of his subsequent life. He also produced, in 1861, the first of the six editions of Cicero's *Second Philippic*, founded on that of Halm. Meanwhile he had thrown himself with ardour into various forms of literary and antiquarian research. He printed the four earliest codes of the College Statutes, completed and published Baker's History of the College, and edited Roger Ascham's *Scholemaster*, and the biographies of Nicholas Ferrar, Matthew Robinson, and Ambrose Bonwicke. For the 'Rolls Series' he edited in 1863-69 the *Speculum Historiale*, bearing the name of Richard of Cirencester, pointing out the sources of all the borrowed erudition of the forger of that chronicle. In 1868 he produced his excellent *First Greek Reader*, with a racy preface on classical education.

During the three years for which the Professorship of Latin was held by Munro (1869-72), Mayor was accident-

ally engaged in bringing out a second edition of his *Juvenal*. In 1872 he was elected Professor. The favourite subjects of his lectures were Martial, and the letters of Seneca and Pliny, with Minucius Felix and Tertullian. In 1875 he published a bibliography of Latin literature founded on that of Hübner; in 1878 a joint edition of the third and fourth books of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History;* in 1880 an edition of the third book of Pliny's Letters; and in 1889 a critical review of the *Latin Heptateuch* of Cyprian, the sixth-century poet of Toulon. The introduction to this last work closes with a few interesting reminiscences of his old head-master, Dr. Kennedy. Three years before, he had dedicated to Dr. Kennedy the first volume of the fourth edition of his Juvenal. In the 'advertisement,' under the heading of a series of mottoes from the *Satires*, we have the editor's discursive views on many of the subjects of the day. The last words are:

'Henceforth I hope to devote myself to clearing off my many literary arrears, reserving for my old age a commentary on Seneca, for which I have made large collections.'

The *Commentary on Seneca* never appeared, and of the editions of several books of the *Odyssey* and of the tenth book of Quintilian only a small portion was published.

The finest specimens of his English style are to be found, not in his introductions or in his lectures, but in the sermons preached in the chapel of his College and elsewhere. Some of these were inspired by the Old Catholics, the Spanish Reformed Church, and the Church of Scotland, and by the simple life exemplified by a moderate variety of vegetarianism.

In his old age he quickly mastered Esperanto. He was familiar with French, and especially familiar with German and with Dutch. He represented his University at the tercentenary of Leyden, where he met Madvig and Cobet. He paid only one visit to Rome, where, apart from memorials of ancient ages, he was mainly interested in the modern schools.

He was one of the original Fellows of the British Academy, and he received honorary degrees from Oxford, Aberdeen, and Glasgow. On his eightieth birthday, a Latin address of congratulation, written by Dr. Reid, was presented to him at a meeting presided over by Sir Richard Jebb. In the preceding year his portrait, etched by Herkomer, had appeared as the frontispiece of *Minerva*. One of that artist's masterpieces is the portrait painted in 1890, and now preserved in the hall of St. John's.

J. E. Sandys.

Merton House, Cambridge.

ORIGINAL CONTRIBUTIONS

NOTE ON HOMERIC HYMN TO DEMETER, 239 ff.

I was glad to find a suggestion of Dr. Fraser, supporting a view at which I had independently arrived that behind the Demophoön story lies a rite of infant initiation, not one of child sacrifice.[1] Prof. Murray has shown that the hymn has been expurgated and that the expurgators had probably in mind the atrocities of infant sacrifice.[2] The Greeks were always making analogous mistakes; Pausanias, we remember, explains as a survival of human sacrifice the scourging of the Spartan lads.

To the Demeter story must be added the Thetis legends, of which again two versions have come down to us; in one

[1] *On Some Ceremonies of the Central Australian Tribes.* Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science (Melbourne, 1901), p. 319.

[2] See *Rise of the Greek Epic*, Appendix G, p. 276 f. Prof. Murray no longer believes that 'the whole myth is based on a ritual of child sacrifice.'

(*Ap. Rhod. Arg.* IV. 869 foll. Apollodoros III. 171-172) the child survives, but misses immortality, while in the other, Hesiodic, variant the children's mortality is tested with fatal results by immersion in a cauldron of water or by putting them in the fire (Hesiod frag. 185, *Rzach.* the Laurentian Scholiast *ad* Ap. Rhod. IV. 816 citing Aigimios, *Schol. Laur. Apoll. Rhod.*). Of course there is the familiar story of Achilles' immersion in the Styx, which rendered him invulnerable with the exception of the unwetted ankle.[1]

The significant points in these stories are: (1) A child is immersed in water or placed in fire; (2) the alleged motive is a test of its mortality or the confessing of immortality; (3) the imperfection of the child (*γνῶναι βουλομένη εἰ θνητοί εἰσιν*) or the interruption of the ceremony is fatal.

Now rites which have for their object the strengthening of the infant's weak hold on life are familiar in the Lower Culture; in genus they are the same as the initiation rule of puberty. And we constantly find aitiological myths to account for their observance. In a Nandi story all Kipyenko's brothers and sisters died on reaching puberty, so he invented the rite of circumcision in order to '*change*' his children at this dangerous crisis of life.[2] Similar is the story of how Medea 'hid away' her children in the temple of Hera to make them immortal,[3] or the tale of how Demeter nursed and saved Orthopolis, none of whose brothers and sisters had survived their first squall.[4]

There is further evidence that in such ceremonies of making life for infants fire and water have played a part. Of course there is the Amphidromia, where, I believe, that the original purpose was that of bringing the infant into contact with the magical element. In Scotland, in the seventeenth century after an infant, newly baptised, was carried home from church, the midwife or another waved it through the flame, repeating thrice, 'Let the fire consume thee now, if ever'; and in the nineteenth century a child placed on a basket filled with provisions has been conveyed round the crook of the chimney.[5] In the North of England a match is often given at a christening to light the way to heaven or to light a fire to keep the child warm all his life.[6] In County Leitrim a bit of turf from the fire is sewn on to a child's bib after christening.[7] In Sweden until the infant is named the fire must not be extinguished, no one must pass between it and the infant, and no one entering the house may handle the child without previously having touched the fire.[8]

In all these cases the rite is analogous to a puberty rite, where contact with fire is employed as a means of obtaining the necessary power to live in the new grade in which the candidate is passing. Luiseño girls, for example, are roasted for 3 days.[9] And the same people tell how a boy followed a rabbit down a hole to the Chungichuish people. They had power, and could do anything. They would stand up and leap, jump and dance, moving about, jump into the fire, and stand in the middle of it. All took turns, and then said to the boy, 'It is your turn now.' He was frightened, but sang a song, and then jumped into the fire. He felt no heat, and after awhile came out unharmed. They all shouted and said, 'Now you are a good Chungichuish.'[10] The case of water is even clearer. A bairn, they say, never

[1] The ankle motive appears also in the fire story, *Ptol. Chenn. Nov. Hist.* vi. p. 152B-195W quoted Pfister, *Der Reliquien Kult*, p. 322.

[2] Hollis, *The Naudi*, p. 99.

[3] *Eumelos* quoted by *Pausanias*, II. 3. 11. Probably the story refers to the definite practice of exposing infants in temples; cf. the case of Kassandra and Helenos. The use of the word *κατακρυπτειν* is perhaps almost technical.

[4] Schol. Pind. *Ol.* xiii. 74.

[5] Dalzell, *The Darker Superstitions of Scotland*, p. 176.

[6] Miss Brown in *Folklore*, xxi. p. 226; Henderson, *Folklore of the Northern Counties*, p. 20. Cf. the warming-pan at Whitby (*County Folklore*, ii., 'The North Riding,' Mrs. Gutch, p. 284).

[7] Duncan, 'Further Notes from County Leitrim,' *Folklore*, v. pp. 186 187.

[8] Henderson, *op. cit.* pp. 21-22.

[9] Du Bois, *The Religion of the Luisêno Indians* (University of California publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 8, No. 3, p. 94). For the acquisition of 'Zauberkraft' as the motive in puberty tortures, see *Preuss in Globus* 87, p. 415.

[10] Du Bois, *op. cit.* p. 150.

thieves until it is christened.[1] The Styx in which Thetis immersed her son was the eldest of the rivers.

αἳ κατὰ γαῖαν
ἄνδρας κουρίζουσι σὺν Ἀπόλλωνι ἄνακτι
καὶ ποταμοῖς ταύτην δὲ Διὸς πάρα μοῖραν
ἔχουσι.[2]

The reason that hair was cut in honour of rivers was the fact that they were *κουροτρόφοι*,[3] and the motive was analogous to that which leads the Malay to bribe some pilgrim to cast the cuttings of his child's hair into the holy well of Zemrem.[4] The Bageshu of Mount Elgon sprinkle the water of sacred waterfalls over the heads of children to give them health and strength.[5] Greek tradition is full of the washing of infant gods and heroes in the rivers of Hellas.[6] It was from the Spring of Oropos that Amphiaraos rose first as a god.[7]

'A virtuous well, about whose flowery banks
The nimble-footed fairies dance their rounds
By the pale moonshine dipping oftentimes
Their stolen children, so to make them free
From dying flesh and dull mortality.'

Fletcher's fairies are doing just what Demeter and Thetis did.

In the light of Mr. Hartland's study of sacred wells I am disposed to regard the primary object of the rite as that of union with a magical or divine power. A child may be exposed in a temple or nursed by a goddess, or put into fire or water: the fundamental and primary notion is one and the same. But of course this 'union' is not the whole matter; the tangle of human belief is not so simple. And it will be asked why in the older version was Demophoön burned to *death*, and why is immersion in the cauldron or passing through *the fire* a test?

First of all, it is possible that the notion of death to new life, *i.e.* the mock death of initiatory ceremonies, may have played a part. The pretended burning of candidates at initiation and their recreation from the ashes,[8] or the idea of drowning to rebirth,[9] are quite familiar notions all over the world. And these ritual deaths have undoubtedly been the origin of many of the atrocities of myth and story. For example, the 'Lemnian deeds,' or the story of the sons of Aipytos, are probably tales reflecting the ritual of an earlier age.

Secondly, as regards the test of mortality, which is Thetis' plea, such rites are liable to be as a matter of fact dangerous. Take, for instance, the roasting rite which the Malay mother has to undergo.[10] In the British Isles exposure at holy wells was recognised as an heroic remedy. The well of Therdyhill will 'either end or mend' the patients, though more are reported to recover than do not.[11] Spartan women washed their babes with wine, 'making trial of their habit of body, imagining that sickly and epileptic children sink and die under the experiment, while the healthy become more vigorous and hardy,[12] and Sir Thomas Browne says of the Greek immersion of infants: 'Nativity may outlast a Natural Birth and a knife may sometimes make way for a more lasting Fruit than a Midwife, which makes so few Infants now able to endure the old Test of the River—natos ad flumina primum deserimus saevoque gelu duramus et undis.'[13]

And together with the actual danger of the rite goes the development of the theory of the ordeal. What the Melanesian calls *mana* has power to blast as well as to bless, and to endure with profit contact with great *mana* your own power must be strong enough.[14] The magical water or the god who directs the poison or the rapier finds

[1] See examples, Henderson, *op. cit.* p. 15.
[2] Hesiod, *Theog.* 346-348.
[3] Pausanias, viii. 41. 3, i. 37. 3; Homer, *Iliad*, xxiii. 140; Schol. A and B, *Iliad*, xxiii. 142.
[4] Skeat, *Malay Magic*, pp. 342, 355.
[5] Roscoe, *J.A.I.* xxxix. p. 189.
[6] Pausanias, 38. 9; iv. 33. 1, viii. 16. 1, viii. 8. 2; Plutarch, *Lys.* 28; Euripides, *Bacchae*, 521.
[7] Paus. i. 34. 4.
[8] See Miss Harrison on the Kouretes and Zeus Kouros, *B.S.A.* xv. p. 324 foll.
[9] Preuss, *Zeitschrift für Erdkunde*, 1905, p. 434.
[10] Skeat, *Malay Magic*, pp. 342, 343.
[11] Scott, *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, vol. ii. pp. 318, 319. Cf. another example in Moore, *Folklore*, v. p. 223.
[12] Plutarch, *Vit. Ly.* cxvi., trans. Langhorne.
[13] Sir T. Browne, 'A Letter to a Friend upon occasion of the Death of his Intimate Friend.'
[14] *Folklore*, xxi. p. 147 foll.

out the weak spot. That is the essence of the ordeal and the ultimate reason why the water of the Styx, the eldest of the *κουροτρόφοι*, was held to be a deadly poison. Mothers all over Europe have employed contact with the fire, not indeed to make their children immortal, like Demeter, but to get back their own healthy babies in the place of changelings or Callicantzari.[1]

And there is yet another element which contributes to the theories of such rites as explained by the different stages of civilisation which have employed them. The Amphidromia, we are told, is a ceremony of purification. That is probably just what it meant to a thoughtful Athenian of the fifth century. To us of course the image of the Lord, who is 'like a refiner's fire,' is familiar enough, and the idea was no less familiar to classical antiquity. Apotheosis by fire, the plea of Demeter's barbarous act, was well known in the ancient world.[2] 'Fire destroys the material part of sacrifices, it purifies all things that are brought near it, releasing them from the bonds of matter and in virtue of the purity of its nature, making them meet for communion with the gods.'[3] And similarly in the apotheosis of Aeneas the river washes away all his mortal past, leaving the divine to seek its home among the gods.

'Hunc iubet Aeneae quaecumque obnoxia morti
Abluere et tacito deferre sub aequora cursu
Corniger ex sequitur Veneris mandata suisque
Quidquid in Aenea fuerat mortate repergat
Et respergit aquis; pars optima vestitit illi.'[4]

W. R. HALLIDAY.

[1] For Callicantzari in Chios see Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion*, p. 208.

[2] Fraser, *Adonis, Attis, and Osiris*, p. 146 *ff.*

[3] *Iamblichos de Mysteriis*, v. 12, trans. Frazer, *loc. cit.* Cf. use of fire in purification. Melampos purified the Proitids *δᾳδὶ μιᾷ σκίλλῃ τε μιᾷ*. Diphil. ap Clem. Alex. Strom. vii. 26. 844.

[4] Ovid, *Met.* xiv. 600.

ON THE '*APOTHEOSIS OF CLAUDIUS*,' CH. 6, ll. 5-6.

'LUGUDUNI natus est, *Marci* municipem vides.' In this description of the Emperor Claudius, given by the goddess Febris to Hercules, the reading 'Marci' has caused a sad deal of perplexity, thanks to its apparent lack of point. From Gronovius onward editors have taken refuge in emendation into 'Munati' or 'Planci,' with reference to the constitution of Lugudunum as a colony by L. Munatius Plancus; while recent annotators, who retain 'Marci' in their text, because of the consensus of MS. authority in its favour, find great difficulty in explaining its relevance to the context.

Professor Bücheler's[1] comment is as follows: 'Facete ita vocari sentio civem Romanum ex colonia municipiove *quasi non natum civem Romanum sed factum*.' Such nicknames were indeed not unknown to Latin usage—witness 'Juniani,' 'Orcivi'—where a similar personal allusion served to designate a special political status. But there is no parallel passage which in any way substantiates the particular idiom 'Marci municeps' as a conventional expression. Mr. A. P. Ball,[2] while rejecting an explanation on the lines of Bücheler's, does not profess to give a satisfactory alternative.

Meanwhile, the personality of 'Marcus' has been identified by de Boissieu.[3] This scholar has given good reason to believe that the constitution of Lugudunum as a colony by Plancus took place at a later date than is usually supposed,[4] and that its original foundation as a municipium in 43 B.C. was achieved under the authority of Mark Antony, who was no doubt, as Mr. Ball suggests, the first 'patronus' of the town.

Once the identity of 'Marcus' with

[1] *Petronii Satirae* (ed. 1904; Weidmann).

[2] *The Satire of Seneca*, etc. (Columbia University Press; 1902).

[3] *Inscriptions antiques de Lyon* (Lyon, 1846-54), pp. 125-132.

[4] The colony of Raurica, which was founded by Plancus probably at the same time as Lugudunum (*C.I.L.* vol. x. No. 6087), cannot have existed before 27 B.C., as is clearly shown by its modern name Augst ('colonia *Augusta*').

Mark Antony has been established, the significance of the whole passage need no longer elude us. It can be made perfectly clear by a reference to two passages in Plutarch's life of Antony.

Ch. 4 *init.*: (ὁ Ἀντώνιος) ἐδόκει τοῖς γραφομένοις καὶ πλαττομένοις Ἡρακλέους προσώποις ἐμφερὲς ἔχειν τὸ ἀρρενωπόν. ἦν δὲ καὶ λόγος παλαιὸς Ἡρακλείδας εἶναι τοὺς Ἀντωνίους.

Demetri et Antoni Comparatio, ch. 3: Ἀντώνιος δέ, ὥσπερ ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς ὁρῶμεν τοῦ Ἡρακλέους τὴν Ὀμφαλὴν ὑφαιροῦσαν τὸ ῥόπαλον καὶ τὴν λεοντῆν ἀποδύουσαν, οὕτω πολλάκις Κλεοπάτρα παροπλίσασα καὶ καταθέλξασα συνέπειουν ἀφέντα μεγάλας πράξεις ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν καὶ στρατείας ἀναγκαίας παίζειν μετ' αὐτῆς.

As the ancestor and prototype of Antony, Hercules with all his slowness of wit ('homo minime vafer') may well be supposed to have understood whom Febris meant to denote by 'your Marcus.' And the piquancy of her allusion becomes evident when it is remembered that the analogy between the careers of Hercules and Antony, as set forth by Plutarch, was not particularly creditable to either: one can imagine Hercules pulling a wry face on Febris reminding him of this association. To anybody who is aware of Antony's connexion with Hercules—and the wits of Rome in the days of Seneca (or Petronius) could hardly fail to notice it in all its bearings—the expression 'Marci municipem' thus appears full of meaning; indeed, it may be regarded as typical of the malicious yet unobtrusive humour with which the 'Apotheosis' is spiced in great abundance.

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PROPERTIUS, II. xxv. 17.

sed tamen obsistam. Teritur robigine mucro
ferreus, et parvo saepe liquore silex;
at nullo { dominae NFVd / de me Dv } teritur
{ sub limine NL / sublumine FDV } amor qui
restat et immerita sustinet aure minas.

1. There is a prescriptive argument against both *sub limine* and the hypothetical *sublimine*, which might have saved Propertian editors a deal of trouble; *immerita sustinet aure minas* presupposes a noun expressing something audible, a sound.

2. Rothstein, whose notes are never irrelevant, feels (though he has some difficulty in making the construction tally with his feelings) that the *restat* needs to be as closely as possible linked up in a phrase with *amor qui* in order to ease off the shock of the monosyllabic hexameter ending. The integrity of this strange piece of metre seems to me manifest: a more improbable conjecture than Baehrens' *amator* was never made.

Parallelism suggests that the hexameter prepared for *immerita sustinet aure minas* some phrase for *scolding*. Neither *convicia* nor *iurgia*, common in such contexts, both of them, will fit this place; but another word will, *lis*.

Comparing

haec postquam querula mecum *sub lite* peregit
(Prop. IV. vii. 95)

and the description of Sisyphus in *Culex* 245, where motives of sense and of palaeography alike commend the reading

acerba
otia quaerentem frustra *sub lite*,

and rectifying the merely consequential corruption of *nullo* for *nulla*, we shall start with

at nulla dominae teritur *sub lite* . . .,

which both the *ductus litterarum* and the shape of the phrase will lead us to complete by the predicate *memor*:

at nulla dominae teritur sub lite memor qui
restat et immerita sustinet aure minas.

('The man who abides constant and with undeserving ear endures menaces, cannot be worn out by any scolding words of his mistress.')

Ter. *Andria*, 281 furnishes a pretty instance of this *memor*:

Mysis. Unum hoc scio, hanc meritam esse ut *memor* esses sui.
Pamphilus. *Memor* essem? O Mysis, Mysis, etc.

Nullo might indeed be left unchanged if we transposed *teritur* and *dominae*: 'Nothing wears out the patient lover who can abide his mistress' scolding,' etc.

ut nullo teritur, dominae sub lite memor qui
restat.

III. xiv. 7.

I doubt if Propertius really wrote such a metrical monstrosity as

pulverulentaque ad extremas stat femina metas,

though none of the commentators appear to feel any scruple about it.

Suppose the text ran,

laetaque ad extremas stat femina pulvere
metas,

and suppose the copyist accidentally skipped the word *pulvere* and added it in the margin, would not

pulvere letaque ad extremas stat femina metas

be almost certain to turn into just what the MSS. now offer?

III. xxi. 16.

Romanae turres, et vos, valeatis, amici;
Qualiscumque mihi, tuque puella vale.

The enormous hyperbaton of *que* and the consequent displacements of emphasis recommend two possible emendations of the pentameter. One, which was suggested to me by Mr. A. B. Muir, a student of this University, is to read

qualescumque mihi; tuque puella vale.

But xviii. makes against this

sed qualiscumque es, resonent mihi 'Cynthia'
silvae.

The other is the re-arrangement

tuque mihi qualis cumque puella vale,

which gives a caesura by tmesis, such as a copyist might not have allowed for a caesura at all, and which at least replaces *tuque* where you would expect to find it.

III. xxiv. 3-6.

noster amor talis tribuit tibi Cynthia, laudes:
versibus insignem te pudet esse meis.
mixtam te varia laudavi saepe figura
ut quod non esses esse putaret amor.

Could the phrase *mixtam varia figura* be used to describe anything but a monstrosity? And, allowing *mixtam* to be sound, would it carry such an emphasis as to make the author avoid the obvious

laudavi varia mixtam, etc.,

and open his verse with a spondaic disyllable? These are two causes for positive suspicion. Next, the *ut* of v. 6 as well as the *toties* of v. 7 alike require a *tam* in v. 5.

Read:

His tam te varia laudavi saepe figura
ut quod non esses esse putaret amor.

Sc. *his versibus*. 'In these I praised you under so many various styles that my fond fancy deceived itself into imagining you to be what you never were.'

By the way, I venture to call the attention of readers of the *C. R.* to Mr. B. O. Foster's convincing explanation of vv. 11-14 of this same poem (see *American Journal of Philology*, vol. xxx. 1).

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NOTES

PLATO, *REPUBLIC*, 614 B.

Ἀλλ' οὐ μέντοι σοι, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, Ἀλκίνου γε ἀπόλογον ἐρῶ, ἀλλ' ἀλκίμου μὲν ἀνδρός, Ἠρὸς τοῦ Ἀρμενίου, τὸ γένος Παμφύλου.

MY lamented friend Mr. Adam had collected all the learning ever published about the *Republic*, and I think I am safe therefore in supposing that the modern commentators are as much in the dark about Er as were the ancients. Illumination may be shed upon him by Moses of Chorene, from whose Armenian History (I. 14, 15), translated into French by P. E. le Vaillant de Florival (1841), I collect this fabulous information. Ara was son of Aram, and suc-

ceeded his father as King of Armenia. Semiramis fell in love with him on hearing by report of his beauty, and invaded Armenia, intending to take him prisoner. But Ara was killed in the battle. 'On trouve Ara sans vie au milieu de ses braves compagnons d'armes: Sémiramis le fait déposer à l'étage supérieur de son palais.' She then attempted to bring him back to life by magic arts, but failed. Unwilling to admit failure, 'elle publie cette nouvelle sur le compte d'Ara: "Les dieux en suçant les plaies d'Ara l'ont rendu à la vie."' It certainly looks as if this Ara was the original of Plato's Er; each of them is a valiant Armenian killed in battle, and each is said to be restored to life. For I think that *τοῦ Ἀρμενίου* originally meant 'the Armenian'; but Plato, having somehow got hold of him under that title, then added in his playful manner *τὸ γένος Παμφύλου*, because Er in his myth is a type of 'all nations and kindreds and tongues.' So he calls Diotima a Mantinean, punning on *μάντις*. But it is also possible to suppose that *Ἠρὸς τοῦ Ἀρμενίου* means 'Ara the son of Aram,' and so the scholiast, who did not see what *Παμφύλου* meant, explains it as 'son of a man named Armenius.'

One may also well ask what is the force of *μὲν* after *ἀλκίμου*. It clearly does not correspond to any suppressed *δέ*; at least it passes my wit to see what the antithesis could be. It seems to me that *ἀλλ' ἀλκίμου μὲν = ἀλλὰ μὴν ἀλκίμου*. *μὲν* and *μὴν* are originally the same word; *ἀλλὰ μὲν δὴ* continually is equivalent to *ἀλλὰ μήν*. There is a passage in Aristophanes (*Acharn.* 428) which seems to settle the existence of this *ἀλλὰ—μέν* conclusively:

οὐ Βελλεροφόντης· ἀλλὰ κἀκεῖνος μὲν ἦν[1] *χωλός, προσαιτῶν, στωμύλος, δεινὸς λέγειν.*

Here it is practically impossible to say that any *δὲ* clause is suppressed because of the *καὶ* which goes with *ἐκεῖνος*. It is true that we sometimes find *μὲν* and *δὲ* mixed up with other connecting particles, as Xen. *Symp.* ii. 9, *ἐν πολλοῖς μὲν καὶ ἄλλοις δῆλον καὶ ἐν οἷς δ' ἡ παῖς ποιεῖ*—nay, Origen *contra Celsum*, i. 2 actually writes *καὶ—μὲν, —καὶ—δέ*; nobody however would, I think, say that in the Aristophanic passage anything of the kind is involved. It means simply '*not but what* my man too was a beggar.' Another very strong instance is *Odyssey*, xv. 405:

οὔ τι περιπληθὴς λίην τόσον, ἀλλ' ἀγαθὴ μέν,

'but good *for all that*,' where again no *δὲ* can reasonably be supplied. Add [Plato] *Eryxias*, 398 B: *οὐ μέντοι ταῦτά γε ξυνέφη ὁ Πρόδικος ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνα μὲν ὡμολόγει*. Not so clear, but still very like the others, is Soph. *O.T.* 769, *ἀλλ' ἴξεται μέν*; but there it is possible to supply a clause like 'but I don't know what he'll say.' Compare further Soph. *O.C.* 44, Plato *Gorg.* 458 B, *Alcib.* I. 106 B, Xen. *Hell.* iv; 34, *Mem.* I. ii. 2, *ἀλλ' ἔπαυσε μὲν*, 'why on the contrary he stopped'; Apollonius Tyanensis, *Epist.*, 8 ad fin., *ἀλλὰ τῇ πατρίδι μὲν ἔλαβεν ἄν*; Julian, *Epist.* 23, *ἄλλ' ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἦν οἷος ἦν*; but in many of these latter cases, as in Galen (Kühn), vol. iv., p. 787, *ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μέν*, it is very doubtful whether we are dealing with the genuine idiom. Perhaps they are only like the common *ἀλλ' ἐγὼ μέν*. The three passages from Homer, Plato, and Aristophanes seem to me to show that it *was* a genuine idiom, though excessively rare.

A sort of halfway house between *ἀλλὰ μὴν* (or *ἀλλὰ μὲν δὴ*) and *ἀλλὰ—μέν* is to be found in *ἀλλ' οὐ μὲν δή* (*e.g.* Soph. *Electra*, 103, Lysias, vi. 39).

Thus *ἀλλ' ἀλκίμου μὲν ἀνδρός* means 'but a brave man for all that.'

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[1] Blaydes indeed alters to *ἀλλὰ μὴν κἀκεῖνος*.

ἘΠΙΓΡΑΦΩ.

UNDER *ἐπιγράφω* IV. Liddell and Scott write:—'*ἐπιγράψαι ἑαυτὸν ἐπί τι, to lend* one's name *to* a thing (as we say), *to endorse* it, Aeschin. 77. 34; *ἑαυτόν τινι*, Ael. *N.A.* 8. 2.' A reference, however, to these passages will show that this is not correct. Aeschines says, *l.c.*, *ἐὰν δ' αὐτόματόν τι συμβῇ, προσποιήσει καὶ σαυτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ γεγενημένον ἐπιγράψεις*, and the meaning is, 'you will claim as

your own, claim credit for.' So in Aelian, *l.c.* νεκρῷ δὲ ἐντυχὼν (*i.e.* the hound) ἢ λαγῷ ἢ συὶ οὐκ ἂν ἅψαιτο, τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις ἑαυτὸν πόνοις οὐκ ἐπιγράφων (*non enim se alienis laboribus ascribit*) *i.e.* does not claim credit for the labour of others. To these may be added two passages from Plutarch: καθάπερ ἔργῳ μεγάλῳ δημιουργὸν ἐπιγράψας ἑαυτῷ τὴν Τύχην (of Augustus); II. 319 E. οἶμαι δ' ἂν αὐτὸν (Alexander) εἰπεῖν πρὸς τὴν Τύχην τοῖς κατορθώμασιν αὐτὴν ἐπιγράφουσαν, *i.e.* claiming the credit for his successes. In a word, the idea is not of *endorsing* another man's bill, but of *signing* another man's picture.

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AUSONIUS' DEBT TO JUVENAL.

AUSONIUS seems to have felt the influence of Virgil and Horace more than of any other Latin classical poet, and that of Catullus in a less degree. But he knew Juvenal well, as the following references may serve to show:

Epigrammata XIII. 3: Non intellecta senectus.

Id. XXXV.: Miremur periisse homines? Monumenta fatiscunt,
Mors etiam saxis nominibusque venit (Juv. *Sat.* x. 146).

Id. IV.: Vigilatas accipe noctes (Juv. vii. 27).

Commemoratio Professorum I. Dicendi torrens tibi copia (Juv. x. 128).

Id. XXII.: Opicas chartas (Juv. iii. 207).

Epitaphia heroum. Flos Asiae (Juv. v. 55).

De XII Caesaribus: Frater quem Calvum dixit sua Roma Neronem (Juv. iv. 38).

Sapientes. Ludius. Finem intueri longae vitae quo iubes (Juv. x. 275).

Idyllia 46: Conditor Iliados (Juv. xi. 180).

He quotes Juvenal at the end of his *Cento Nuptialis:*

Curios simulant et Bacchanalia vivunt.

Epigrammata XV.: ipsa senectus
Expectata diu, votisque optata malignis (ix. 129).

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NOTES ON LUCAN, BOOKS V. AND VI.

Book V. l. 86-7.

Quis latet hic superum? Quod numen ab aethere pressum
Dignatur caecas inclusum habitare cavernas?

Haskins takes 'pressum' as 'forced down from heaven' as though compelled by some superior power. Surely it is here equivalent to 'se premens,' and denotes a voluntary action on the god's part. Taken so it suits the context much better, and fits in admirably with 'dignatur.' 'What divinity, lowering itself from heaven, deigns to dwell in these dark caverns?'

We may compare l. 341 of this same book, 'Numquam sic cura deorum se premit. . .' 'Never does the care of the gods abase itself so much. . .'

Book V. l. 219-20.

Dumque a luce sacra, qua vidit fata, refertur
Ad volgare iubar, mediae venere tenebrae.

Weise, followed by Haskins, takes 'mediae' as 'inter statum furoris divini et receptae mentis humanae.' This makes excellent sense, but surely the poet means, 'inter lucem sacram et vulgare iubar.' As the priestess quits the shrine, forgetfulness came upon her in the leaving, and this is the meaning of the clause introduced by 'dum.' 'Mediae' merely catches up and repeats this previous clause.

Book V. l. 235-6.

Euripusque trahit cursum mutantibus undis
Chalcidicas puppes ad iniquam classibus Aulin.

('And as the waves change the course of the ships from Chalcis, Euripus draws them to Aulis unkind to fleets.')

Weise, in a note on 'iniquam classibus,' refers to the violence of the tide and winds. This is no doubt true, but surely there is a most distinct literary allusion to the stoppage of Agamemnon at Aulis on the way to Troy. Yet Weise and Haskins say nothing at all about this. We may refer to the first Chorus in Aeschylus *Agamemnon*, and also to a phrase in Horace (*Satires*, II. iii. 205), 'adverso litore,' which Palmer translates, 'on the angry shore.' Surely 'iniquam' here has the same connotation as 'adverso' in the Horace.

Book VI. 566.

> . . . Compressaque dentibus ora
> Laxavit.

This is generally taken, 'She opened with her teeth the tightly closed mouth.' It is, I think, better to take 'dentibus' with 'compressa,' 'the mouth with clenched teeth.' Surely the witch opening the mouth with her own teeth calls up a rather impossible picture. The dead man's mouth would naturally be rigid and have the teeth tightly clenched.

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REVIEWS

WALKER'S ANTI MIAΣ.

'Αντὶ Μιᾶς. *An Essay in Isometry.* By R. J. Walker. Macmillans. 1910. Two vols. Pp. vi, 507, 394.

This extraordinary production shows a good deal of reading, much of it of a recondite kind, a great deal of ingenuity, and a great deal of hard work. But alas! all these merits are quenched and confounded by a deplorable lack of common sense and by a headlong audacity of conjectural hypotheses of every sort and description.

The author's objects are two. First to prove that in Greek antistrophic poetry two short syllables may not respond to one long one. Secondly to dispose of all the passages which present this phenomenon.

Unfortunately he confuses these two ends together. So far as I can see he offers no proof whatever of his first thesis except in so far as it is supported by his second. But this is no proof at all. It would be very easy for a man of Mr. Walker's ingenuity and boldness to dispose of all the instances of a dactyl in the first foot of trimeter iambics (*Agam.* 7 and *Antig.* 746 occur to one at once as already so disposed of), but would that prove anything? Not unless the circumstances were such as those pointed out by Bentley or Porson when they laid down the laws concerning anapaestic dimeters and anapaests in iambic trimeter. But in Mr. Walker's case the circumstances are totally different. It is only by the most monstrous and arbitrary violence that he can get rid of the hundreds of exceptions to his rule.

Nor does his hypothesis account for the facts. Let us suppose that the correspondence of two shorts to a long is admitted; what shall we expect? One thing at any rate, that this phenomenon will be commoner in Sophocles and Euripides than in Aeschylus, for everybody knows that Aeschylus is stricter in syllabic correspondence than his successors. Mr. Walker on the contrary says the phenomenon is due to corruption; we should expect then that it will be commoner in Aeschylus. And not only is Aeschylus much more corrupt than Sophocles, but he has a considerably greater quantity of antistrophic verse, the proportion being about eight such lines in Aeschylus to seven in Sophocles. Hence, if Mr. Walker be right, we shall expect the number of violations of his rule in the text of Aeschylus to be something like half as many again as those in the text of Sophocles. Instead of that, we find, taking Mr. Walker's own figures, that there are only 103 instances in Aeschylus to 107 in Sophocles. In Euripides again there are 457, a much greater number than one would anticipate on the corruption theory. But it is obvious that these numbers are quite natural on the ordinary view.

Again the arrangement of the book is very faulty; Mr. Walker just takes the odes of Pindar, Bacchylides and the tragedians, one after another, without distinguishing the rhythms in which they are written. But we might expect to find some difference in this respect. For example, the Dorian odes of Pindar might well be stricter than the Aeolian,

and I should certainly expect them to be stricter than the second Olympian and the fifth Pythian. Mr. Walker lumps them all together; nay, he apparently does not know that there is any difference at all. Never did I see a more astonishing grouping of anything than that which he gives us at vol. i. pp. 70, 71 for the Olympians. 'The second ode alone supplies nine instances,' says he with naïve surprise, and then tells us that ode 'consists of cretics, trochees, (perhaps) spondees, and first, third, and fourth paeons.' Nothing in Pindaric metre is better understood and plainer than the second Olympian, and, as I have already said, it is precisely the ode where we should expect instances of this license; at any rate we all know what an amount of variety we get in Bacchylides when he writes in the same rhythm. Here again the ordinary hypothesis appears to be sound.

Let us take the Dorian or dactylo-epitritic rhythm. Anybody will naturally ask: 'What about the last line of the strophes of the fourth Pythian?' They certainly do not look corrupt. Mr. Walker emends them all thus: 31, for *δεῖπν'* he reads *ἄϊκν'*, as a Doric word with the same meaning. 54, for *Φοῖβος ἀμνάσει* he reads *φαβὶς ἀναμνάσει*, *φαβὶς* being supposed to mean a priestess. 108, for *Αἰόλῳ καὶ* he reads *ἀν' Ἰαωλκόν*. These are certainly ingenious suggestions, but none of them appears to me probable. Rather I should ask why it is that the metrical difficulty recurs thrice precisely at this place of the ode, and I should seek the answer in a musical solution. It is evident that there would be no difficulty in singing a crotchet for two quavers, if both the quavers were on the same note, and it may be suggested (of course merely as a possibility, for we are altogether in the dark about such things) that this responsion was only permitted on this condition, at any rate in the Dorian rhythm.[1] It does certainly, however, appear that the license is very rare in the true Dorian, and for this rhythm Mr. Walker's case is not so devoid of plausibility. But when we turn to the freer Ionian and Aeolian rhythms he seems to me to break down completely. His emendations are not likely to carry conviction to anybody; what shall we say of *ἀραιὸς ἀτμὸς* at *Antig.* 868 ('an unsubstantial wraith') for *ἀραῖος ἄγαμος*, of *ἐν τέλθει γάρ ἐστι νύξ, ἁφᾷ τ' οὐκ ἐπ' ἄμαρ ἔρχεται* ('then Night is queen and Day draws not near with his torch') at *O.T.* 197, of *τίς ἂν δῆτά μοι, τίς ἀμφιστόνων Ἀλιάδων λεχῶν ἀν' ἀϋτμὰς ὑγράς* at *Ajax* 879, above all of *ἔκγναθον* for *ἐξ ἄντρων* at *O.C.* 1571? *ἔκγναθον* refers to Cerberus, who had three heads, and twice three is six according to the mathematicians. Even dochmiacs are not safe from Mr. Walker, who emends them right and left, and has peculiar notions of his own about their metre. A test passage for them is to be found in *Hippolytus* 569-602, where we have four stanzas of five dochmiacs each; it is no wonder that we have not exact syllabic correspondence, and Mr. Walker emends no less than eleven of the twenty lines! If our texts are as bad as all that, what is to be done? But this is nothing to the badness of some of them, it seems. Three (or more) Byzantine scholars of varying degrees of metrical knowledge rewrote the choruses of the *Hercules Furens*, under the eye of a 'great master' (vol. ii. p. 317), I suppose somewhere about the time that Tzetzes was showing the world what he could do in the way of writing Homeric hexameters, for Mr. Walker positively thinks that a great part of these choruses (and of others) was paraphrased into the 'versus politici' of the Byzantine period; the original was consequently lost; then our editor of genius conceived the happy idea of turning back the 'versus politici' into quantitative verses (which nobody at that date could understand); then the 'politici' again were lost, and we now enjoy the finished product of this evolution. He thinks also that the *Electra* of Euripides is spurious from beginning to end, being the composi-

[1] Even if there is anything in this guess, however, it will only apply to such a case as that of the fourth *Pythian*, where a long syllable is exceptionally substituted for two shorts; there never could be any difficulty musically in substituting two shorts for a long.

tion of some Alexandrine successor of the Pliad, that the *Rhesus* is a rewritten version of a genuine play of Euripides, that the mimes of Herodas were written by Herodes Atticus, and that the Simon of those mimes (iii. 26) was Simon Peter.

Nevertheless amid this weltering sea of conjecture there are some good things to be found. Mr. Walker certainly does show that all the cases of the responsion he denies should be jealously scrutinized; editors really have been too much in the habit of taking them for granted. And some of his corrections are good. ἔνευσε at Bacchylides XVI. 87, ἔγεντο at *Septem* 760 (but that had already been conjectured by Arnaldus), κιχὼν at *Phoenissae* 665 are all highly probable. And no doubt there are more, but the matrix in which they are embedded so abounds in false jewels that it is difficult to look without suspicion even upon the true, and it would take a patient man to hunt for any.

To one unfortunate paragraph I feel bound to call attention, vol. i. p. 110. 'No one can entertain a profounder respect than myself for German scholarship; but it is most unfortunate that consideration of "Metrik" has passed almost exclusively into the hands of a school of thinkers, however eminent, who have not been brought up to practise almost from infancy Latin and Greek verse-composition. Without that practice no man is qualified to deal with the niceties of poetic diction and scansion in the ancient languages. That practice Englishmen in the past have enjoyed. *Sic fortis Etruria crevit.*'

Sic credit! The blessings of verse-composition are doubtless great, but they carry with them sometimes a curse. People are apt to think that because they are at home in elegiacs and iambics, they therefore have a supernatural insight into the lyrics of Pindar and Sophocles. If Mr. Walker had never written iambics he might have taken the trouble to learn the difference between the metres of the first and second and sixth Olympian odes, and the men to whom he would have owed this information would have been Germans.

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MÉLANGES D'HISTOIRE ANCIENNE: BIBLIOTHÈQUE DE LA FACULTÉ DES LETTRES DE L'UNIVERSITÉ DE PARIS.

Mélanges d'Histoire Ancienne: Bibliothèque de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Paris. No. XXV. Paris: Alcan, 1909. 8vo. One vol. Pp. 391. 4 illustrations in the text. Price 12 fr. 50 c.

This volume contains three essays: M. Bloch writes on M. Aemilius Scaurus (pp. 1-81), M. Carcopino on Ostracism (pp. 83-267), and M. Gernet on the Corn Supply at Athens (pp. 269-391). There is a misprint on the cover and not a few inside it.

M. BLOCH's essay is largely a defence of Scaurus against the insinuations of Sallust, which most historians have accepted without question, though Cicero, Horace, Seneca, Tacitus, and Juvenal regard Scaurus as a model of all Roman virtues, and class him with Regulus, Scipio, Rutilius Rufus, and even Cato. That Scaurus was 'avidus divitiarum' cannot indeed be denied: his early poverty and later wealth, the anecdote in Cicero *De Oratore* (II. 70. 283), the statement of Asconius that his son's rapacity was 'paternum genus morum,' and the curious phrase of Pliny (*N. H.* 36. 116) 'provincialium rapinarum sinus' fully support Sallust. But corruption by a foreign potentate is a very different matter, and M. Bloch contends that Scaurus was guiltless in his relations with Jugurtha. Sallust, he argues, is notoriously prejudiced against the optimates; the appointment of Scaurus on the Mamilian Quaestio shows that he was regarded as innocent; and lastly, his conduct in the Jugurthine War can be satisfactorily explained. He merely followed the traditional Sena-

torial policy which preferred client princes to provinces. He supports Adherbal during the latter's life, as two princes are easier to keep in order than one; but after his death the choice lies between recognising Jugurtha and annexing, and Scaurus prefers the former course. Jugurtha could never be a serious menace to Rome, and to set up another claimant would be costly and troublesome.

M. Bloch makes his view highly probable, if he does not quite prove it. It should be remembered that Scaurus was subsequently accused under the Varian law of treasonable correspondence with Mithridates, and a little earlier 'ob legationis Asiaticae invidiam,' which is here interpreted as an embassy to Mithridates about 104 B.C. And in both cases he avoids trial. But accusations are too common a political weapon at this period and the incidents too obscure to lend much support to Sallust.

In any case M. Bloch has in this minute and careful study made a valuable contribution to an obscure period of history. On two constitutional points we would differ from him: he apparently regards special 'quaestiones' as 'privilegia' (p. 59), though in this case the penalty is neither 'nominatime' nor yet 'sine iudicio constituta' (*De Domo* 17. 43). And he thinks that the Senatorial 'quaestio' on the adherents of Ti. Gracchus was the first of its kind. But even if the Bacchanalian 'quaestio' may be otherwise explained, and the Roman matrons of 180 B.C. were merely women, the 'publicani' of 138 B.C. (Cic. *Brutus* 22. 85) furnish an earlier example.

M. Carcopino in his elaborate study of ostracism examines minutely its origin, development, and procedure; discusses all its known cases, with special attention to chronology, distinguishing 'les ostracisés imaginaires' (Cleisthenes, Callias, Miltiades, the son of Cimon and Damon) and 'les victimes réelles'; and concludes with a lengthy epilogue on Hyperbolus and the disuse of the procedure, which he attributes to the political clubs.

On the vexed question whether the 6,000 votes were a quorum or a majority, he pronounces for a majority. He allows too little weight to the equation ἑξακισχίλιοι = πάντες Ἀθηναῖοι (And. iv. 4, and more explicitly Dem. xxiv. 46 and 48). That equation has some meaning if 6,000 is the whole assembly; for the whole Ecclesia may without impropriety be regarded as the whole Athenian people. Further, the *whole body* of dikasts is called ἑξακισχίλιοι (And. i. 17. Ἀθπ. 24): whether we believe them to have been πάντες Ἀθηναῖοι (Harp. s.v. Ardettos), or distinguish with Lipsius (*Att. Recht*, i. 135, 144) the practice of the fifth and fourth centuries, matters little. Lastly, Thuc. viii. 72 certainly supports the quorum. Dem. xxiv. 45 may perfectly well mean 'unless the ἄδεια is passed by an assembly of 6,000 at the least,' as in the ordinary phrase ψηφισαμένου τοῦ δήμου.

Among the 'ostracisés imaginaires' is placed Damon, we think on insufficient grounds. It is impossible, we are told, to find a date for his ostracism (a dangerous argument for use in the Pentekontaetia), he was too obscure to be ostracised, and the words in Ἀθπ. 27. 4. relating to the ostracism of Damonides (who is to be identified with Damon, though without the emendation of Wilamowitz), are interpolated: for they are not quoted by Plutarch, who quotes the rest of the passage. The phrase is due to those same oligarchs who vainly imagined the Draconian Constitution, and is an attempt to discredit Pericles and his circle. Now not only is this extremely far-fetched, but the three passages of Plutarch remain absolutely untouched by this argument: for Plutarch distinguished Damon and Damonides, and therefore his twice-reiterated statement that Damon was ostracised is quite unaffected by the genuineness or the reverse of this passage.

The ostracism of Hyperbolus is explained by a combination of the theories of Zurborg and Volquardsen: two stages are distinguished, and Phaeax is treated as a mere puppet of Nicias. The theory explains the facts after a fashion, but is too conjectural for general acceptance.

An elementary mistake occurs on p. 171, where we read that Callias 'fut chargé, en qualité d'ambassadeur, de renouer avec le grand roi Artaxerxès, l'alliance contractée avec Xerxès.' This

may be a slip, but in view of the importance of Her. vii. 151, it is a regrettable slip.

Apart from these points, M. Carcopino's treatise is valuable as a complete statement and careful examination of the evidence.

For M. Gernet we have little space left. In his first chapter he examines the population of Athens, which is estimated at 500,000 to 600,000 souls, the annual consumption, which is reckoned at 7 *μέδιμνοι* per head, in all $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 4 million *μέδιμνοι*, and the production of Attica, which is conjectured to have been 600,000 *μέδιμνοι* at the most, leaving at least 3 millions to be imported. The question of population is dealt with somewhat perfunctorily: neither the theories of Beloch and Meyer, nor the passages of Thucydides are patiently examined.

Chapter II. enumerates the corn-exporting countries, Chapter III. contains what little is known of the *σιτοπῶλαι* and *ἔμποροι*, their attempts at 'cornering,' and their relations, generally amicable, with the Government. In Chapter IV. the attitude of the state towards the question of corn supply is discussed at great length. Authorities are quoted and used with a care which other writers on ancient economics would do well to imitate.

Two old-established theories are combated by M. Gernet. He believes that Pontic corn was of little importance to Athens in the fifth and early fourth centuries, and only becomes important owing to the personal policy of Demosthenes: also that Athens was seldom in danger of famine: corn came there from abroad spontaneously: artificial stimulus from the Government was unnecessary, as is proved by the fact that corn actually paid the *πεντηκοστή*, and that two-thirds of the imported quantity sufficed to feed the population. The laws which prescribed *μὴ σιτηγεῖν ἄλλοσε ἢ Ἀθήναζε* were conceived mainly in the interests of the revenue.

We have only space for the first point: the second we commend to M. Ferrero. If authorities are silent about Pontic corn, they are equally silent about corn from elsewhere: the argument proves too much. *C.I.A.* i. 40 (attributed on p. 318 to the end of the Peloponnesian War, on p. 357, note 1, to the year 428) shows that the Pontic corn trade was in Athenian hands and was jealously guarded: how M. Gernet can make it mean the opposite, we cannot understand. Lysias xxii. 14 shows that Pontic was the stock example of foreign corn: and finally, the nervousness of Athens about the Hellespont from the day after Salamis onwards is only explicable if something vitally important came from there. Nor was the Pontic expedition of Pericles a mere reaction against the 'parti de l'ouest,' but the traditional policy of Athens since Peisistratus.

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DIE ENSTEHUNG DER ODYSSEE UND DIE VERSABZAHLUNG IN DEN GRIECHISCHEN EPEN.

Die Entstehung der Odyssee und die Versabzählung in den griechischen Epen: von August Fick. 1910. Teubner.

This is a reprint of the well-known 'Wiederherstellung' of the *Odyssey*, published in 1883, with a preface of twelve pages, dated October, 1909. The author bears a name which I presume I am right in saying will always be great in the history of Comparative Philology; but his application of his linguistic knowledge to written texts and the history of literature has not yielded permanent results. Indeed, in the former department, he has shown singular violence, and scholars of far less than his attainments have known better how to balance the claims of manuscript tradition and phonetic law; in fact, except *ἠχοῦ* in the Homeric Hymn to Hermes 400, it may be doubted if any alteration under his name will be found in future editions. In the history of literature it is of course by his theory that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* (and most of later

heroic epos also) were composed in Aeolic, and subsequently by one means or another turned into their actual dialect, called Old Ionic by the Greeks, that he is best known. Of the great *flambée* which attended this speculation when it was published thirty years ago, a very small pinch of gray ash is now left. The best that can be said for it, by a candid dialectologist but involved in old vested interests, will be found in Cauer's *Grundfragen der Homerkritik* ed. 2. In this country it was received with mistrust, as contradicting all the tendencies of the Greek mind in literature; the phonetic facts on which it rested have been recently given an entirely different complexion by Paul Kretschmer (*KZ.* xxxi., 1898, *Glotta* i., 1907), and an expert like Bechtel has publicly disavowed it (*Die Vokalkontraction bei Homer*, 1908). If the criteria which distinguish historical Aeolic and Ionic were (as to Ionic at least) the result of contact with the natives of Caria (Kretschmer's hypothesis), these dialectal terms at the epoch of the Colonisation disappear. There also disappear any connexion between epos and the Aeolic race as such—Lesbos, Tenedos, Thessaly, Boeotia; 'North-Greek epos,' the Rückspiegelung of the Aeolic colonisers, our old friend the Thessalian horse (a worthy companion to the Iliadic vine and the Odyssean fig) Pharsalus-Phthia, and Larissa and the Pelasgic Argos. The picture, first drawn by Monro (*Odyssey*, xiii.-xxiv., Appendix, 1901, paper at the Archaeological Congress, Rome, 1903), which results from Kretschmer's account of Ionic, is of an epos in the Greek mainland—and doubtless in the Peloponnese, since the political centre of gravity lies between Achaea and Triphylia, and the home of the Muses is at Dorion in Triphylia. This passed eastward with the Achaean colonisers, and in their new home was given an abiding shape first in two long poems and afterwards in various shorter ones. The language of all these poems is materially the same, and if the latest Cyclic poet used the language of the *Iliad*, some compelling cause must be found to account for the canonisation of this vehicle—and what but the genius of the author of the two oldest poems? (The parallel with Dante, unnoticed by our German friends, was made by Monro.) Homer arrested the Ionian tongue at a moment when the influence of the Carian and Asian home had begun to work but had not completely modified the Achaean speech. The digamma, as a symbol, had gone, and *η* had largely supplanted *ā*, but the language was a long way from the fifth-century dialect which the Greeks called New Ionic, and still retained much which agreed on the one hand with the oldest Attic, on the other with historical Aeolic. This stage of Ionic began and remained the language of epos; the Dorian races knew Homer as the *Ἰωνικὸς ποιητάς* and he imposed his medium on his latest successors.

The poems came to the birth in Old Ionic; in Old Ionic they were propagated over the Greek world, with surface-changes, mostly in the direction of New Ionic and Attic, incidental to oral and clerical tradition. They never had, at birth or in transmission, connexion with Aeolic. This great error was the result of a misreading of language.

The reprinting of this book was uncalled for, but the preface deserves our sympathy and respect. An idea, even if unsuccessful, clears the ground and stimulates thought. In the Homeric Question Fick's place comes after that of Wolf.

Postscript.

The publication in *Harper's Magazine*, January, 1911, of a partial reading of the Phaestos disk as Greek, by Professor Hempl, suggests one or two reflections.

Assuming the correctness of Mr. Hempl's method and results, I notice that both he and Mr. Arthur Evans believe that the disk came from Lycia. Therefore about 1600 B.C. the Lycians spoke this sort of Greek. Now, on consulting Kretschmer's well-known *Einleitung*, I find that the language of Lycia and Caria are materially the same. Homer, in the *Catalogue*, calls the Carians *Βαρβαρόφωνοι*, an epithet which he gives to no other Asiatics, and which clearly cannot be applied to the

speech of the disk. Therefore it would seem that the Carians and Lycians in general spoke a language other than Greek; and again, that the Greek of the disk must have been spoken by a part of the Lycians, not the whole. Here we naturally think of the genealogy of Glaucus in *Z*, where he expounds how both he and Sarpedon were descended from Sisyphus of Ephyra, through the emigrant Bellerophon. The Greek element in Lycia was therefore dynastic. They spoke the language of the disk, the nation generally and the Carians did not.

Now Bellerophon is a very type of Märchen-hero, as märchenhaft as Joseph or Hippolytus. Yet in substance he appears historical. This reflection I commend to the correspondent who first told me of Mr. Hempl's paper. To critics of the Oxford *Odyssey*, I venture to point out that, supposing the transcription correct, we have the article used articularly, and the genitive of *-o* stems ending in *-ov*, at the remote date of 1600 B.C.

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RECENT CLASSICAL BIBLIOGRAPHY.

(1) *Rudolf Klussmann: Bibliotheca Scriptorum Classicorum.* Vol. I., part 1. Pp. 708. 8vo. Leipzig: O. R. Reisland, 1909. 18m.

(2) *Catalogus Dissertationum Philologicarum Classicarum.* Ed. 2. Pp. 652. Leipzig: Gustav Fock, 1910. 7.20m.

(3) *Altclassische Philologie und Altertumskunde, Antiquariats-Katalog.* No. 379. Pp. 665. Ulm: Heinrich Kerler.

For our knowledge of the latest publications in the field of classical literature many of us have to rely on the quarterly numbers of the *Bibliotheca Philologica Classica*, begun in 1874, and now published by O. R. Reisland, of Leipzig. This is supplied *gratis* to all subscribers to Bursian's *Jahresbericht* and to the *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift*, but is, apparently, not sold separately. There is an index for each year; and if, from time to time, these indexes were combined in a separate volume, we should have a convenient conspectus of the classical literature of the period covered in the volume.

(1) The same publishers have now produced, as a supplement to Bursian's *Jahresbericht*, the first instalment of an elaborate and comprehensive bibliography of the literature of classical studies from 1878 to 1896 inclusive. In a volume extending to little more than 700 pages, we here have all the editions of each author, together with all the dissertations and the articles in classical periodicals dealing with that author. The first 158 pages are devoted to the literature of large classes of authors, such as the *Poëtae Scenici* and the *Scriptores Philosophi*, and, in the case of some of the more comprehensive works, we have even a conspectus of their tables of contents. The next 544 pages comprise the literature of all Greek authors from Abercius to Homer. This last item covers more than 100 pages. Although the period embraced in the volume ends, nominally, with 1896, it is extended so as to include later editions of works published in or before that year. Even the price of each item is stated. Within its limits the volume is completely satisfactory. The editor is Dr. Rudolf Klussmann, a retired schoolmaster now resident in Munich, whose favourite study (according to the German *Who's Who?*) is, fortunately for ourselves, classical bibliography. In the preface he gratefully acknowledges the aid he has received from Dr. Postgate and other scholars.

(2) A more limited field is covered by the *Catalogus Dissertationum*, published by Gustav Fock, of Leipzig. But, within its limits, it is much more than a bookseller's catalogue: it is a bibliographical achievement. The 18,300 items of the first edition of 1892 have now risen to no less than 27,400. The

first 400 pages are filled with lists of dissertations on Greek and Latin authors, twenty-three being taken up with Homer and eighteen with Cicero. The remaining 250 pages include dissertations on classical education, history of literature, of philosophy, and of scholarship, history and geography, epigraphy and palaeography, architecture, numismatics, and antiquities in the widest sense of the word. The volume ends with an index. It supplies a very full conspectus of the separate dissertations dealing with the several classical authors and with the various departments of classical learning. Plato fills eighteen pages.

(3) We may conclude by mentioning the elaborate catalogue printed within the last few years by Heinrich Kerler, of Ulm. This supplies in 665 pages a very comprehensive list of editions of classical authors, as well as dissertations upon them. The literature of Homer alone fills twenty-three pages. Heinrich Kerler was once visited by the distinguished Homeric scholar, the late Mr. D. B. Monro, who asked him why he did not remove his emporium to one of the great literary centres of Germany, such as Leipzig. The bookseller replied that nothing would induce him to leave a place where he could enjoy the constant opportunities of swimming in such a delightful stream as the river Danube.

J. E. SANDYS.

ARISTOTLE *DE GENERATIONE ANIMALIUM*.

Aristotle de Generatione Animalium. Translated by A. PLATT. 8vo. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1910. 7s. 6d. net.

THE Oxford translation of Aristotle is making good progress. Mr. Ross's *Metaphysics* is now followed, at no long interval, by the volume before us, in which Mr. Platt disposes of nearly 200 pages of Bekker's text—another solid chunk of the Aristotelian *corpus*. In some respects Mr. Platt's task has been simpler than that of several of the other translators: the text is, on the whole, fairly sound, and the style fairly simple. But Mr. Platt has aimed at producing something more and better than a bare verbal rendering: where there is any difficulty or obscurity in the argument he appends a note, and it is in these numerous, though concise, footnotes, full as they are of zoological information, illustration, and criticism, that the main interest of the volume lies. The command of both fact and theory regarding natural history which Mr. Platt here displays is indeed extraordinary in an amateur, and a proof of remarkable industry and versatility. Those of us who cannot claim even a bowing acquaintance with ascidians and cephalopoda *et hoc genus omne* can only congratulate ourselves and Aristotle on the emergence of an editor so amply equipped for the task of dealing with the mysteries which concern their generation.

With the English of Mr. Platt's translation it would be difficult to find any serious fault. It is seldom that one comes across a passage which is at all wanting in clearness. An exceptional instance is ch. 2 *ad init.*: 'Of the generation of animals we must speak as various questions arise in order in the case of each,' where the English does not seem to make much sense: the Greek runs, *λεκτέον κατὰ τὸν ἐπιβάλλοντα λόγον καθ' ἕκαστον αὐτῶν.* Does, then, *κατὰ τὸν ἐπιβάλλοντα λόγον* mean 'as the various questions arise in order'? Certainly Philoponus (whom Mr. Platt appears never to cite) does not suggest this meaning when he paraphrases *ἐπιβάλλοντα* by *τὸν ἁρμόδιον καὶ προσήκοντα.* Later on in the same chapter Philoponus supplies the right meaning for *περίνεος*, with regard to which, as Mr. Platt observes, L. and S. need correction. At I. 6. 718^{a}7 (*οὔκουν δεῖ ἐν τῷ συνδυασμῷ τὸ σπέρμα πέττειν αὐτούς, . . . ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῆς ὥρας τὸ σπέρμα πεπεμμένον ἀθρόον ἔχουσιν κ.τ.λ.*) Mr. Platt renders, 'They have it all matured together before the time,' reading *πρὸ*

for *ὑπο*: this is a plausible emendation, but it is worth noting that Philoponus comments: *ὑπὸ τῆς ὥρας, λέγων ὥραν τὸ ἔαρ· τότε γὰρ οὗτοι συνδυάζονται.* At I. 13. 720^{a}33 Mr. Platt writes, 'By omitting *ἅμα τοῖς πόροις* I hope I have restored sense to Aristotle; to combine Greek and sense in the received text would puzzle Diels himself': but perhaps we should emend rather than omit—at any rate, Philoponus has *ἅμα τοῖς ὄρχεσιν* in his paraphrase. Another place where Philoponus sheds light on the meaning is I. 15. 720^{b}35: Mr. Platt renders (the brackets are mine)—'It is not an organ useful for generation, for it is outside the passage <in the male>, and indeed outside the body <of the male altogether>,' and he is clearly right as regards the sense, though he does not cite in his support Philoponus's comment. For the note on 722^{b}7 also a reference might have been made to the same authority. In I. 19 we come upon two other places where Philoponus confirms Mr. Platt—viz., with regard to the meaning of *αἱμορροίδες* (727^{a}13) and the omission of *παρὰ* (727^{b}10). The 'foolish remark' in II. viii. 748^{a}20 (*διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι συνεχῶς φέρειν*) which Mr. Platt ejects is construed by Philoponus as applying to the male (*φέρειν = φέρειν γονήν*, cp. 776^{b}16) a possibility which is at least worth noting. Among the many difficult passages where plausible, if not certain, corrections are proposed, special attention may be called to II. i. 732^{a}10, 734^{b}23; II. iii. 737^{a}8, *πνεῦμα* for *σπέρμα* (? *σῶμα*, with *σπέρματος* in the next line); II. iv. 739^{b}11, *κωνικά* for *ἀκόνιτα*; II. viii. 747^{b}22, *ἀνόμοιον ὄν* for *ὅμοιον*; III. xi. 763^{a}23, *μείζους* for *πλείους*, 763^{b}3 *ὁμόρρους* for *ὁμοίους*; V. 2. 781^{b}2. In a few places Mr. Platt seems needlessly suspicious: thus on II. 4. 740^{b}10 he comments '*ἐν αὐτοῖς* is probably corrupt . . . Qu. *ἐν ταῖς ὑστέραις* or the like'; but the simple addition of a comma after *ἀπολυθῶσιν* is sufficient, I think, to restore sense to the passage (cp. Philoponus *ad loc.*): again, at 750^{a}22 *τὰ ᾠά* seems a superfluous emendation. On the other hand, no correction is proposed for such an obscure passage as V. i. 780^{a}8 ('liquid is in general hard to move in the night'): perhaps the transposition of *ἐν τῇ νυκτί* to a place in the preceding sentence (after *κινεῖται*) might afford some easement.

But enough of detail. The textual and critical work is admirable, on the whole, for both acuteness and sanity of judgment; and no less admirable, as has been said, are the ancient and modern instances with which the zoology is illustrated.

In the amount of room allowed him for annotations Mr. Platt is more fortunate than were some of his predecessors, and we are grateful to the editors of the series for their increasing liberality in this respect. To have crowded out, for instance, such a *mot* as that in the last *note* on II. viii. ('mules are fertile of fiction if of nothing else') would have been little short of a crime.

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ΣΤΡΩΜΑΤΕΙΣ.

Στρωματεῖς. Grazer Festgabe zur 50. Versammlung Deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner. Pp. 172, Graz: Leuschner u. Lubensky. 1909.

This memorial volume contains a number of interesting papers of which we can do little more than give the subjects and authors' names. 'On the Formation of the I. G. Comparative,' by Rudolph Meringer, dealing with the comparative of *πολύς*; 'On the Attic Law of Intestacy,' by Arthur Ledl; 'Horace, *Sat.* I. 3,' by A. Goldbacher, comments on verses 7 *sq*, 25, 31, 56; 'A post-Justinian Judgment on papyrus,' by Leopold Wenger, on Pap. Ox. VI. n. 893; 'The Topography of the Carthaginian Mercenary War,' by G. Veith (illustrated); 'Q. Aelius Tubero, the pupil of Panaetius, as author of an astronomical and meteorological work,' by Otto Cuntz; 'Polybios and Livy on Greek Monarchs and Monarchy,'

by Adolf Bauer; 'Athene,' by Karl Schriefl, 'Αθήνη is to be derived from $\eta + \chi\theta\eta\mu + i\bar{a}$ *i.e.* 'die Innerirdische'; 'On Ovid, *Met.* II. 138 *sqq.*' ('tortum—anguem'), by Rudolf Wimmerer; 'Zu den krabanisch-kermischen Glossen,' by J. Stalzer, analysis of the glossary published by Steinmeyer in vol. I. of his Old High German glosses and Goetz in vol. IV. of the Corp. Gloss.; 'Aphorisms on Rhythmical Reading,' by R. C. Kukula, criticisms upon current methods of reading Latin verse; 'A Byzantine Translation of Ovid's Amatory Poems,' by Heinrich Schenkl, excerpts from Cod. Neapolitanus c. II. 32 (circa 1400); 'The Latin Hexameter with incisio post quartum trochaeum,' by Julius Cornu; 'Johannes Hus as a reformer of Latin Orthography,' by Matthias Musko; 'Sprachgeschichtliche Werte,' by Hugo Schuchardt, general observations upon language and linguistic psychology.

SHORT NOTICES

Essai sur la Composition du Roman Gallois de Peredur. Thèse présentée à la Faculté des Lettres de Paris pour le Doctorat d'Université par MARY RH. WILLIAMS, M.A., Fellow of the University of Wales. 1 vol. Pp. vi+123. 10″×6½″. Paris: Honoré Champion. 3 fr. 50 c.

THIS brochure affords an interesting example of the Higher Criticism applied with signal success to Old Celtic romance. The authoress dedicates her work to M. Joseph Vendryes, of the Sorbonne, well known to readers of the *Classical Review* for his work on Greek and Latin accentuation, and to Celtic philologists for his admirably complete and brilliant *Grammaire du Vieil Irlandais*. Miss Williams has carefully examined the various versions of the Percival Legend, with special reference to the Welsh *Peredur* as given in the *Red Book of Hergest* and *The White Book of Rhydderch*, of which diplomatic editions have been published by that incomparable maker of beautiful books, Mr. J. Gwenogvryn Evans.

After carefully comparing the Welsh versions with one another and with the poems of Chrétien and Wolfram, Miss Williams reaches the following conclusions: (1) The Welsh version is neither a translation nor an adaptation of the French romance; (2) it is a contamination of three different stories, one of which is a copy of a French poem dealing with the Holy Grail.

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History, Authority, and Theology. By the REV. A. C. HEADLAM, D.D. Pp. ix+329. London: John Murray, 1909. Price 6s. net.

IN this volume the Principal of King's College has collected a series of essays on questions in dogmatic and historical theology. They are concerned with a defence and restatement of the Gospel, dealing only with certain aspects of the subject, since the writer's intention of publishing a more comprehensive work has been thwarted by the pressure of affairs. The ecclesiastical standpoint is firmly Anglican, the doctrinal point of view is such as will commend itself to the central body of the English Church, but the space devoted to the Eastern Churches is significant of the author's sympathies. In his treatment of historical investigation he recognises the great services which have been rendered by foreign scholars, especially Harnack, but for his own part takes his stand quite decidedly with Bishop Lightfoot. It is inevitable that in handling such thorny subjects controversy should be rather prominent, and Dr. Headlam deals faithfully with tendencies which he believes to be of a mischievous character, such as what is rather oddly known as 'The New Theology.' But leaving aside the controversial aspects of the book, on which it would be out of place to express an opinion here, it may be said that Dr. Headlam has given us an able and learned volume in which he expresses with clearness and decision the views

to which his prolonged study have led him. If one part of the volume rather than another should be selected for special praise it should perhaps be the historical articles at the close on 'Methods of Early Church History' and 'The Church of the Apostolic Fathers.' But the lecture on dogmatic theology contains an excellent statement and defence of the conviction that religion cannot do other than create a theology. Perhaps the author may yet find time to give us the larger work which he contemplated.

ARTHUR S. PEAKE.

La première Églogue de Virgile. Commentaire donnée en partie dans le cours de vacances à l'Université de Louvain en 1902. By EDM. REMY. 1 vol. Pp. xx+159. 9″×5¾″. Louvain: A. Uystpruyst, 1910.

THIS book is an example of method. The author wishes to show how he would teach what presumably we should call a Fifth Form a work like the First Eclogue. The proportion of about two pages of exposition to one line of text seems rather beyond the requirements of this clientèle, but as the editor says when treating of the technique of Virgil: 'Je ne me suis pas borné strictement aux seuls faits communicables aux élèves. Le professeur évidemment doit savoir plus que ceux-ci.' Eighty-four pages, or practically half the volume, are devoted to commentary on the text: the rest is given up to excursuses on the form of the eclogue, its circumstances, the peculiarities of its diction and metrical composition, and the extent of the poet's originality. In the hands of the teacher, perhaps its most useful part is to be found in the suggestions given about reading the Latin aloud so as to show its dramatic meaning, its grammatical balance, and its rhythmical beauties, though it is not every master who would be wise in encouraging his form to guess the emotion that his tone of voice was intended to convey. The account given of the social and economic conditions of the time, as illustrated by the poor freeman and slave, supplies useful suggestion in teaching. A more advanced student than the Fifth Form boy would find the book helpful, though there is nothing about the MSS., and grammatical difficulties are not dealt with at all fully: not the least of the advantages that he would gain would be the constant references to larger works. The work is somewhat carelessly printed, and there are other errors for which the printer is not responsible. Why, in the passage 36-39, is the use of 'vocares' and 'vocabant' together called an oxymoron? We feel relieved when the editor says of this: 'Mais je ne le signalerais pas aux élèves.'

A. S. OWEN.

Keble College, Oxford.

A Chapter in the Story of Roman Imperialism. By TENNEY FRANK. Reprinted from *Classical Philology*, 1909. Pp. 118-138.

IN the discussion of imperialism *v.* nationalism, of expansion *v.* the sovereign rights of other States, the Romans of Augustus' day were vastly ahead of their own countrymen of the third to second centuries B.C. For instance, in reading Livy on the Macedonian Wars it is absolutely necessary to make due allowance for an interval of 200 years, rich in the acquisition of an empire, rich in such theories of justification as the holding of empire brings to a nation; separate out the acquired imperial ideas in Livy's narrative, and the residuum gives us the political thoughts current in 200 B.C. Such is in brief Mr. Tenney Frank's method, and it is a right one; only due allowance must be made for what has been lost as well as for what has been acquired. We do not agree that the Roman diplomacy of 200 B.C. was simple (p. 118); it may appear so, because much has been lost which is not recoverable.

The author would mark a change from a fairly consistent Roman policy of abstention in the East to one of interference, some time between 200 and 190 B.C. We should hesitate to

point to a change of policy at any particular point. For ourselves we should be inclined to put earlier than does the author the idea of acquiring undue influence by setting up pro-Roman oligarchies in the free cities of Greece; but ideas must have been as confused as were actions between 229 and 167 B.C. Mr. Tenney Frank presupposes a little too much consistency and simplicity at Rome. The balance of parties at home and abroad would seem to have been delicate, and the Romans appear acting in an unselfish or in a grasping spirit greatly according to the exigencies of the moment. The whole impression of Roman action in the East is that of living from hand to mouth, and this must modify the author's tendency to reduce everything to too easy a level of consistency. Otherwise this pamphlet is interesting, if somewhat slight.

We should like to ask two questions. Is the evidence on p. 122 *sq.* sufficient to show that Rome meant to deal in a spirit of equality with her *amici* down to so late a date as 190 B.C.? Again, at what figure would a Roman noble in a communicative mood have put the profits of a little war in the East, and that without any question of bribery or embezzlement? The passage in Livy xxxi. 6, where the Senate forces the unwilling comitia to take up the Second Macedonian War (for the benefit of the noble generals?), shows that the rank and file at Rome were not at one with the Senate on eastern questions. Here again is a cross-current, which makes the conception of a simple or consistent Roman policy hard to believe.

LOUISE E. MATTHAEI.

Newnham College, Cambridge.

AGATHOCLES.

Agathocles, Cambridge Historical Essays. No. XV. By H. J. W. TILLYARD. Pp. 326. Index. Cambridge University Press, 1908.

As a collection of correct information well arranged this book is excellent. Mr. Tillyard has been at pains to secure every piece of our scanty information about Agathocles.[1] His equipment as a scholar is so good, that we may rely without misgiving on his general valuation of evidence: as historian his verdict on Agathocles is sane and reasonable. It is a relief to come across so trustworthy a piece of work. Yet it seems a pity that a life so exciting as was Agathocles' in the living should prove a little dull in the telling; Fortune has been niggardly: there is not so much as an authentic portrait of Agathocles, and the recital of his history in such inferior writers as Diodorus, Polyaenus, and Justin is not very convincing. In character he was a rather commonplace mixture of brutality, cruelty, and also of treachery, in fortunes a mere adventurer and no statesman. Mr. Tillyard has made the best narrative possible out of the materials, and, in particular, has told the story of the campaigns in Africa with much skill. The only point in which he has not been full enough is in bringing Agathocles into relation with his times, and showing him typical of some of the less pleasing features of his age.

The photographs of scenery from the author's own camera are a pleasant feature of the book, and the description of the battle-ground by the Himeras is from his personal observation, so that he has every right to bring forward his own explanation of the battle.

L. E. MATTHAEI.

Newnham College, Cambridge.

The Latins in the Levant: a History of Frankish Greece, 1204-1566. By William Miller, M.A. Murray.

MR. MILLER is already known by an able book on near-eastern politics. Here he takes a new topic, one much neglected, both complex and difficult, but very necessary to the understanding of modern history. The only recent book in English that touches upon medieval Greek history is Sir Rennell Rodd's *Princes of Achaia.* Yet the subject is highly instructive, and there are abundant materials in print, as well as whole

[1] Except coinage, which is expressly excluded.

libraries in manuscript. Crete alone would fill more than one volume. It is strange that young scholars do not turn their attention to this field.

The story is complex, as I said, but full of humanity. The adventures of many a one of these medieval chieftains would make a story as good as Alexander Gardner's. We are often reminded of the English and French adventurers in India, before India came under government. Mr. Miller has not space to give these stories in full: amidst his mass of chronicles he can only hint at them. Perhaps some novelists will take the hint. We should be glad of a few works that turned on something else than kisses and gush. Although Mr. Miller has all these facts to deal with, he does his task with spirit and imagination; many a scene lingers in the memory, not a few names call up the picture of a man.

Vividly in these pages do we see the might of the old seafaring states, Genoa and Venice, which have left their traces in great castles all over the Levant. The fighting religious orders, and great Latin families, whose names are not yet extinct, play a great part in the drama. All through the wars and troubles of these centuries there was some kind of government and ordered society, the roots of life which might have grown to greatness: but with the Turkish conquest all is changed. The Turks, with their cynical contempt for all but their own aggrandisement, left behind only the ignorant and the humble. It is their destruction of the ruling class that has made the modern revival of Greece so difficult, and has caused its weakness.

Mr. Miller is not quite a pioneer in this history, but he works from original authorities (a good bibliography is appended), and he has earned our gratitude. It is not to be expected that future research will not improve upon his work, or correct it; but the reader may trust it as an honest and careful account of a time of which little is known.

W. H. D. Rouse.

VERSION

'WHITHER AWAY?'—A Reply.

Mistress, I go the beaten way,
  The way that many a one has trod;
On, on, and on until the day
  That lays me 'neath the sod.

No faery gleam, no magic light,
  An arid track, a sky of gray—
Patience and courage infinite
  My only hope and stay.

Ella Fuller Maitland.

(In *The Spectator*, September 7th, 1901, p. 317.)

'QUO VADIS?'

Quo vadam, rogitas; eo, Lycori,
Quo multi prius ire perstiterunt.
Pergendum'st sine fine, donec adsit
Quae me caespite lux suprema condat.
Non stellis via, non nitore dio
Collucet polus. Aret usquequaque
Sublustri Iove callis: ire tantum
Constanter manet, ire, nec minorem
Aerumnis inopemve me fateri.

D. A. S.

NOTES AND NEWS

It is very interesting that the Municipality of Rome should offer a prize for the best copy of Latin verses; but in view of the attitude of modern scholarship it is also rather surprising. Germany cares nothing for these elegant arts; America in this, as in other educational matters, follows the lead of Germany; and in France apparently schoolboys are to learn only French. Unless Italy, fortified by the example of Leo XIII., has kept the sacred fire alive in her seats of learning, England (where some skill in composition has always and justly been held to be part of the equipment of a scholar) must be the Latin versifiers last asylum. Even here he must apologise for his existence to critics who have no taste or aptitude for what they call useless accomplishments. Still there are some even among our younger scholars who are well able to support the best traditions of an 'old-fashioned' classical education; and we hope that they are competing for the prize. The subject may still inspire, though it cannot be called exactly novel.

Defeated last term on the larger issue, the assailants of 'compulsory Greek' at Oxford are to renew the attack in another form. This time, what is demanded is exemption for boys who intend to be candidates in the Honour School of Natural Science, and therefore, as it is alleged, are unable to learn the rudiments of Greek. A petition to this effect has been sent to the Hebdomadal Council, signed by about 200 members of the congregation. The 200, however, are not quite unanimous; for instance, the Regius Professor of Medicine signs with the proviso that he does not wish students of Medicine to be relieved from Greek. Council will have some difficulty in framing a statute on the lines desired by the petitioners. If they relieve medical students from Greek, they disregard the wishes of perhaps the most important signatory. If they exempt everyone else and leave medical students *in statu quo*, the statute will be illogical and even absurd.

At their December meeting, the Headmasters' Conference passed a resolution, which, so far as its meaning appeared after discussion, allowed an option for certain classes of students. It is unfortunate that the Conference never allows time enough for full discussion; but it must be admitted that hardly any speakers defended compulsory Greek. Such a subject, however, crucial for the matter of education, ought to be discussed in all its bearings, its merits or demerits, and the results of the proposed change. Sir E. Ray Lankester has no doubt in his own mind. His address to the Science Masters last month bore the title of Compulsory Greek *versus* Compulsory Science, which shows that regards the two as incompatible. Why do so many on both sides take this line?

Why, indeed, are there two sides? A proper scheme of education ought to include all necessary subjects in due proportion; yet most speakers take up one subject and champion it against all others. Thus Sir E. Ray Lankester wishes to put 'a well-considered course of science' in place of 'the cumbrous efforts to teach the Greek language to schoolboys.' His speech was full of epithets like these, that beg the question at issue. Perhaps it is not yet too late to plead for harmony instead of quarrelling, and a well-considered course of education instead of this or that subject.

It is worth while to call attention to the paper read on January 10th by the Head-master of Clifton before the Incorporated Association of Headmasters. Mr. King, as reported in the *Times*, sketched the lines of modern education in France—lines which we show symptoms of wishing to follow—and pointed out that they are severely criticised by French opinion. 'In France lately there had been an interesting controversy with regard to the new programme fixed for the seconding schools in 1902, the results of which were meeting with a good deal of criticism, and had caused widespread dissatisfaction. They had always understood the pride of French education to be that it produced clear thinking and clear expression, but they were now told that, as a

result of the new programme, general culture was declining and with it the power to think, compose, and write.

'The idea was to teach French alone, to do away, they were told, with dead languages and the history of a profitless past. According to critics, the result had been that Latin had lost its educative force, that there was no Greek to second Latin, while French had become a special subject like the rest and was perishing.

'The modern student, it was said, could not write French and did not think. Taste, composition, and style were going. Minute specialisation took the place of study of the great authors, and *savants* took the place of humanists.'

'Doing away with dead languages and the history of a profitless past,' does not, apparently, bring the millennium after all! Well—England is still at the parting of the ways.

CORRESPONDENCE

ARISTOTLE'S *POETICS*.

To the Editor of THE CLASSICAL REVIEW.

Mr. Hamilton-Fyfe, in the *Classical Review* for this month, in his comments upon Aristotle's *Poetics*, ch. xxi. § 5, seems to take it for granted that *ἰαμβοποιεῖν* means 'to write hexameters.' May it not equally well be translated 'to write iambics.' The two confessedly corrupt, and unsuccessfully emended lines, if read accentually, quantity being disregarded, make comic senarii of a sort, thus:

1. Ἐπιχά | ρην εἶ | δον Μαρα | θῶνά | δε βαδίξ | ουντα |

2. οὐκ ἂν γερά | μενος τὸν | ἐκεί- | νου ἑλλέ | βορον |

all accented syllables being counted as long, and unaccented as short. The only foot that is faulty is No. 4 in line 1—but I think that one MS. reads Μαραθωνάδε. May not *ἐκτείνειν ἐφ' ὁπόσον βούλεται* mean 'to make an accented syllable as long as you please,' an unaccented syllable being shortened? It is a strange fact that a modern Greek would consider these lines iambics, and no amount of torturing them by emendations and addition of letters could twist them into accentual hexameters for him.

I should say *ἰαμβοποιήσας ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ λέξει* might mean 'taking the speech (in which the passages occur) just as it stands, and turning it into iambics.'

ALFRED D. COPE.

The Rectory, Little Bromley, Manningtree.
December 31, 1910.

To the Editor of THE CLASSICAL REVIEW.

Re ARISTOTLE, *POET.* 1458[b] 7.

MR. FYFE replies:

I did not translate *ἰαμβοποιεῖν* as 'to write hexameters.' I took it to mean simply to 'parody,' like *ἰαμβίζειν* with the sense of 'iambic metre' inert in the word. In the whole of this passage Aristotle is speaking of the proper use of poetic licence and drawing his examples now from Epic, now from Tragedy. At this particular point his attention is fixed on Epic, as is shown by the words *ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπῶν* in l. 16. It therefore seems probable that Eucleides was making fun of the incontinent use of poetic licence in *Epic* and that his lines are therefore mock *hexameters*.

They can be forced into almost any metre. It seems more natural to suppose them to be meant for hexameters, both for the reason given already and because this particular licence of lengthening short syllables by 'ictus' is characteristic of Epic. The pet licence of Tragedy is noted below in the allusion to Ariphrades. I doubt very much if *ἰαμβοποιήσας ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ λέξει* could bear the meaning he suggests, and, anyway, why should Eucleides want to turn it into comic senarii? To suit the context he must have turned it into either tragic iambics or hexameters: the latter, I still think.

Merton College, Oxford.
January 8, 1911.

To the Editor of THE CLASSICAL REVIEW.

THE emendation in Plutarch's *Life of Lycurgus* (*Classical Review*, 24, 240) has not been neglected, but approved by the best editor of the *Vitae, Sintenis*, I Lips., 1884, p. ix and (text) 83, 27 (Bibl. Teubner).

H. DIELS, LL.D

Berlin, December 18, 1910.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Publishers and Authors forwarding Books for review are asked to send at the same time a note of the price.

**** Excerpts and Extracts from Periodicals and Collections are not included in these Lists unless stated to be separately published.*

Altchristliche Texte. By C. Schmidt and W. Schubart (Berliner Klassikertexte). $10\frac{1}{2}'' \times 7\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. 140. Mit 2 Lichtdrucktafeln. Berlin: Weidmann, 1910. M. 10.

Barbagallo (Corrado) Lo Stato e l' istruzione publica nell' imperio Romano. $8'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. 432. Catania: Fr. Battiato, 1911. L. 6.

Caesarstudien nebst einer Analyse der Strabonischen Beschreibung von Gallien und Britannien. Von Alfred Klotz. $9\frac{1}{4}'' \times 6''$. Pp. 267. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1910. M. 6.

Cicero. Selected Letters. Edited by E. Riess. $7'' \times 4\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. lix+396. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1910. Cloth, 3s. 6d.

Costa (G.) I Fasti Consolari Romani. Vol. I., in two parts. $9\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. x+547 and vi+150. Milan: Libreria Editrice Milanese, 1910.

Curle (J.) A Roman Frontier Post and its People: The Fort of Newstead. $12'' \times 9''$. Pp. xix+432, with many plans, full-page plates, and illustrations in text. Glasgow: Maclehose, 1910. Cloth.

Cyzicus: Its History and Antiquities. By F. W. Hasluck. (Cambridge Archaological and Ethnological Series.) $8\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. x+326. Cambridge: University Press, 1910. Cloth, 10s. net.

Demetrii et Libanii qui feruntur *τύποι ἐπιστολικοί* et *ἐπιστολιμαῖοι χαρακτῆρες*. By V. Weichert. $7'' \times 4\frac{3}{4}''$. Pp. lxxiii+36. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1910. M. 2.60.

Die Grabschrift des Aberkios, Ihre Überlieferung ihr Text, von W. Lüdtke und Th. Nissen. Mit einer Tafel. Teubner's Text. Leipzig, 1910. M. 1.

Dioniso. Saggio sulla Religione e la parodia religiosa in Aristofane. By Carlo Pascal. $8'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. xvi+260. Catania: Fr. Battiato, 1911. L. 5.

Donatiana. By Paulus Tscherniaef. $9'' \times 6''$. Pp. 211-222. Varsovie University, 1910.

Fairbanks (A.) A Handbook of Greek Religion. $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5''$. Pp. 384. New York: The American Book Co., 1910. Cloth.

Fiske (G. C.) Lucilius and Persius. (Extracted from Trans. Amer. Philol. Ass. xl. 1910.) $9'' \times 6''$. Pp. 121-150.

Fitzhugh (T.) Evolution of the Saturnian Verse. (Extracted from Proc. Amer. Philol. Ass. xl. 1910.) $9'' \times 6''$. Pp. xxix-xxxviii.

Foster (B. D.) On certain Euphonic Embellishments in the Verse of Propertius (from Trans. Amer. Philol. Assoc., 1910, vol. xl.). $9'' \times 6''$. Pp. 31-62.

Fries (C.) Studien zur Odyssee. 1. Das Zagmukfest auf Scheria. $10'' \times 6\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. x+340. Leipzig: J. C. Heinrichs, 1910. M. 9.

Furtwängler (A.) Beschreibung der Glyptothek König Ludwig's I. zu München. Zweite Auflage, besorgt von P. Wolters. $8'' \times 5''$. Pp. vii+418. München: Buchholz, 1910. M. 3.50.

Grueber (H. A.) Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum, Catalogue with Introduction. Two vols., and 123 plates in separate volume. $10'' \times 6\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. cxxvi+594 and 592. 1910.

Haldane (R. B) Universities and National Life: Three Addresses to Students. $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5''$. Pp. 110. London: John Murray, 1910. Cloth, 2s. 6d. net.

Harvard Studies in Classical Philology. Edited by a Committee of the Classical Instructors of Harvard University. Vol. XXI. $9'' \times 6''$. Pp. 171. London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1910. Paper boards, 6s. 6d. net.

Heidrich (G.) Arrian's Anabasis. Zwei Teile. I. Einleitung und Text. II. Erklärende Anmerkungen und Wörterbuch. $8\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6''$. Pp. 114 and 134. Vienna: F. Tempsky, 1911. Cloth, M. 1.75 each.

Histoire de France depuis les origines jusqu'à la Révolution. Tome Neuvième. Le Règne de Louis XVI. (1774-1789), par H. Carré, P. Sagnac, et E. Lavisse. $9\frac{1}{2}'' \times 7\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. 446. Paris: Hachette, 1910. 10 f.

Homer (Odyssey) Faesi. Vol. II., Books VII.-XII. Ninth Edition, by J. Sitzler. $8'' \times 5''$. Pp. 268. Berlin: Weidmann, 1910. M. 2.60.

Lawson (J. G.) Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion: A Study in Survivals. $8\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. xii+620. Cambridge: University Press, 1910. Cloth, 12s. net.

Livy. The Seven Kings of Rome. By G. H. Hall. Macmillan's Elementary Classics. $6'' \times 4''$. Pp. x+146. London: Macmillan and Co., 1910. Cloth, 1s. 6d.

Maclure (F. C.) Greek Accents. $7\frac{1}{4}'' \times 4\frac{3}{4}''$. Pp. 16. Gill and Sons, 1910.

Maronzeau (J.) La Phrase à Verbe Être en Latin. $10'' \times 6\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. viii+334. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1910.

Mommsen (T.) Gesammelte Schriften. Vol. VI. (Vol. III. of Historical Writings). $10'' \times 6\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. viii+695. Berlin: Weidmann, 1910. M. 17.

Mosso (A.) The Dawn of Mediterranean Civilisation. Translated by Marian C. Harrison. With 203 illustrations. $10'' \times 6\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. xxiii +424. London: Fisher Unwin, 1910. Cloth, 16s. net.

Myres (J. L.) Greek Lands and the Greek People. Inaugural Lecture. $9'' \times 6''$. Pp. 32. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1910. 1s. 6d. net.

Niedermann (M.) Outlines of Latin Phonetics. Edited by H. A. Strong and H. Stewart. $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5''$. Pp. 108. London: Geo. Routledge and Sons, Ltd., 1910. 2s. 6d. net.

Novum Testamentum Graece. The Revisers' Text, with a new Apparatus Criticus. By Alexander Sonter. $8'' \times 5''$. Pp. xxiv+480. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1910. Cloth, 3s. net.

Octavius (M. Minucii Felicis) On Introduzione e Commento di Luigi Valmaggi. Biblioteca Scolastica di Scrittori Latini, con Note. $7\frac{3}{4}'' \times 5''$. Pp. xxxii+98. Turin: Paravia and Co., 1910. L. 1.60.

Ovid (Metamorphoses) Stories Chosen and Edited by D. A. Slater. $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5''$. Pp. 140, with 6 full-page illustrations. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1910. Cloth, 2s. 6d.

Pascal. See *Dioniso.*

Persius, Juvenal, and Sulpicia (Satires) Otto Jahn. Fourth Edition, by F. Leo. $8'' \times 5''$. Pp. xxiv+304. Berlin: Weidmann, 1910. M. 3.40.

Plato (Protagoras) By A. Th. Christ. $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5\frac{1}{4}''$. Pp. 107. Vienna: F. Tempsky, 1910. Cloth, M. 1.

Plaumann (G.) Ptolemais in Oberägypten. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Hellenismus in Ägypten. Historische Abhandlungen. Heft xviii. $9'' \times 6\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. xii+136. Leipzig: Quelle and Meyer, 1910. M. 4.50.

Plutarch (Auswahl) By H. Schickinger. II. Teil. Erklärende Anmerkungen. Mit einem Wörterverzeichnisse. $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5\frac{1}{4}''$. Pp. 192. Vienna: F. Tempsky, 1911. Cloth, M. 1.50.

—— Leben des Lykurgos. Von W. Sieglin. $9\frac{3}{4}'' \times 6\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. 132. Berlin: Weidmann, 1910. M. 4.40.

—— Cimon and Pericles, with the Funeral Oration of Pericles. Newly translated, with Introduction and Notes, by B. Perrin. $9'' \times 6''$. Pp. xiv+288. New York: Scribner, 1910. Cloth, $2 net.

Polaschek (Anton) Schulwörterbuch zu Caesar's Bellum Gallicum. Fünfte Auflage. Mit 72 Abbildungen und Karten. $9\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. 176. Vienna: F. Tempsky, 1911. Cloth, M. 2.

Prinz (K.) Lateinisches Lesebuch, für Gymnasien und andere Lehranstalten mit Lateinunterricht. Zwei Teile. I. Bruchstücke aus Leichten Prosaikern. II. Erklärende Anmerkungen und Wörterbuch. Mit Karten und Plänen. Vienna: F. Tempsky, 1910. Cloth, M. 1.50 each.

Quellenkunde zur Weltgeschichte. Ein Handbuch. Unter Mitwirkung von Dr. Adolf Hofmeister und Dr. Rudolf Stübe bearbeitet und herausgegeben von Dr. Paul Herse. $10'' \times 7''$. Pp. xii+400. Leipzig: Theodor Welcher, 1910. M. 4.80.

Reinhardt (C.) De Graecorum Theologia, capita duo. $9\frac{1}{4}'' \times 6\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. 122. Berlin: Weidmann, 1910. M. 4.

Rodd (Sir R.) The Englishman in Greece. A Collection of Verse of many English Poets, with an Introduction. $7'' \times 4\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. 328. Oxford: University Press, 1910. Cloth, 5s. net.

Rostowzew (M.) Studien zur Geschichte des Römischen Kolonates. Erstes Beiheft zum Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete. Herausgegeben von Ulrich Wilcken. $10'' \times 6\frac{1}{2}''$. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1910. M. 14.

Samter (Ernst) Geburt, Hochzeit und Tod. Beiträge zur vergleichenden Volkskunde. Mit 7 Abbildungen im Text und auf 3 Tafeln. $9\frac{1}{4}'' \times 6''$. Pp. 222. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1910. M. 6.

Sandys (J. E.) A Companion to Latin Studies. $9\frac{1}{4}'' \times 6''$. Pp. vii+891. Cambridge: University Press, 1910. Cloth, 18s. net.

Schrirmer (K.) Bilder aus dem Altrömischen Leben. Mit 30 in den Text gedruckten Abbildungen. $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5''$. Pp. viii+148. Berlin: Weidmann, 1910. Cloth, M. 2.50.

Schuppe (W.) Grundriss der Erkenntnistheorie und Logik. $9'' \times 6''$. Pp. x+189. Berlin: Weidmann, 1910. M. 3.

Shorey (P.) A Symposium on the Value of Humanistic particularly Classical Studies: The Classics and the New Education. III. The Case for the Classics (from *School Review*, Nov., 1910). $9'' \times 6\frac{3}{4}''$. Pp. 585-617. Chicago University Press.

—— *φύσις* Μελέτη Ἐπιστήμη. (From Trans. Amer. Philol. Ass., 1910, vol. xl.) $9'' \times 6''$. Pp. 185-201.

Slater (D. A.) Aeneas and other Verses and Versions. $8'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. 61. Oxford: University Press, 1910. Cloth, 2s. 6d. net.

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The Classical Review

MARCH 1911

ORIGINAL CONTRIBUTIONS

NOTES ON No. 112 IN THE COLLECTION OF FAYOUM PAPYRI.

(Text transcribed from Professor Lietzmann's *Greek Papyri Selected and Explained*, published by Deighton, Bell and Co., Cambridge, 1905. The document is a letter from L. Gemellus, a veteran settled in the Fayoum, to Epagathus, who appears to be an agent employed by him in the management of his fields and olive-yards. Gemellus spells very badly, but his mistakes are useful as indications of the manner in which Greek was pronounced in his day—viz., the first century C.E.)

1. Λούκιος Βελλῆνος Γέμελλος Ἐπαγάθωι τῶι ἰδίωι χαίρειν. Εὖ πυήσις διῶξαι τοὺς σκαφήτρους τῶν ἐλαιώνον καὶ τοὺς ὑποσχεισμοὺς καὶ διβολήτρους τῶν ἐλαιώνον καὶ τὰ ἀναπαύματα ὑπόσχεισον καὶ διβόλησον, ἐπιτίνας τὸν ζευγηλάτην εἶνα ἑκάστης ἡμέρας τὼ ἔργον ἀποδῦ καὶ μὴ τῦς κέρασι (?) ἀριθμὸν ταυρικῦν κόλλα.

Ἐπαγάθωι τῶι ἰδίωι. 'Iota subscriptum' has been 'subscriptum' only since the thirteenth century; previously it was 'adscriptum' (*προσγεγραμμένον*). Strabo xiv. 41 observes that *πολλοὶ χωρὶς τοῦ ι γράφουσι τὰς δοτικάς* (see Jannaris, *Historical Greek Grammar*, 20c). Lietzmann, however, prints this *ι* as 'subscript' frequently enough. *πυήσις* = *ποιήσεις*. The spelling proves that at the time the document was written (end of the first century C.E.) *υ* = *οι* in pronunciation, and *ι* = *ει*, as nowadays.

διῶξαι. 'You will do well to push on.' We should have expected a participle rather than an infinitive, as in Acts x. 33, *καλῶς ἐποίησας παραγενόμενος*, Hdt. v. 24 *εὖ γὰρ ἐποίησας ἀπικόμενος*. But cf. Ps. Sol. ii. 27, 28 *οὐκ ἐν ζήλει ἐποίησαν, ἀλλ' ἐν ἐπιθυμίᾳ ψυχῆς, ἐκχέαι τὴν ὀργὴν αὐτῶν εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐν ἁρπάγματι*, and S. Luke i. 54 *ἀντελάβετο Ἰσραὴλ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ μνησθῆναι ἐλέους*. Acts xv. 10 *τί πειράζετε τὸν Θεὸν ἐπιθεῖναι ζυγὸν κ.τ.λ.* is perhaps not a case in point, for *τὸν Θεόν* may be an interpolation (Blass, *Grammar of the New Testament*, 69. 4 n.). In Hebr. v. 5 *γενηθῆναι* may be taken as standing in place of *γενόμενος*.

σκαφήτρους = digging. L and S give *σκαφητός* as a word used in this sense by Theophrastus and Strabo. Cf. *σκῆπτρον*, *σκᾶπτον*, *σκηπτοῦχος*, *σκηπτροφόρος*.

ἐλαιώνον for *ἐλαιώνων*. Notice *ο* for *ω*, as in modern Greek we find *τόρα* for *τώρα* (=now). There is no difference in pronunciation between *ο* and *ω* in modern Greek, and evidently there was none in the first century.

ὑποσχεισμούς = ploughing, for *ὑποσχισμούς*. Notice *ει* for *ι*, as in *εἶνα* (for *ἵνα*) below. This is just such a misspelling as a modern Greek who was not strong in orthography might make, owing to the identity of *ει* and *ι* in pronunciation.

διβολήτρους = hoeing. The Latin equivalent would be 'bidentationes' (from 'bidens,' a hoe). Cf. *διβόλησον* (from *διβολέω*) below.

ἀναπαύματα = fallow-land (the land which is 'enjoying its sabbath').

ὑπόσχεισον, for *ὑπόσχισον*. Cf. *ὑποσχεισμούς* for *ὑποσχισμούς*, above.

ἐπιτίνας for *ἐπιτείνας*, *ι* for *ει*, the error opposite to *ει* for *ι* in *ὑπόσχισον*. Compare the use of *ι* for *ει* in *πυήσις*=*ποιήσεις*. The word means 'urging'; cf. Xen. *Hipparch.* i. 13 *ἐπιτεῖναι* (*τοὺς ἱππέας*) *τρέφειν τε ἄμεινον καὶ ἐπεμελεῖσθαι μᾶλλον τῶν ἵππων. ζευγηλάτην* = ploughman.

εἶνα=*ἵνα*.

τώ=*τό*; cf. the contrary error of *o* for *ω* in *ἐλαιώνον*.

ἀποδῦ=*ἀποδοῖ*, *τῦς*=*τοῖς*. Notice *υ* for *οι* as in *πυήσις*=*ποιήσεις*. *ἀποδοῖ* is the 3rd person singular conjunctive (not optative), *οι* being substituted for *ῳ*. See Blass, *Grammar of the New Testament Greek*, p. 49 (E.T.). Cf. *παραδοῖ* in S. Mark iv. 29 *ὅταν παραδοῖ ὁ καρπός, εὐθὺς ἀποστέλλει τὸ δρέπανον.* (BDℵ read *παραδοῖ*, A C *παραδῶ* [*ι* adscr. omitted].) In Ps. xl. (xli.) 3 and 1 Macc. xi. 40 *παραδοῖ* is optative, standing for *παραδῴη*.

κέρασι. Lietzmann's conjecture from *κει*[ ]*ασι*. The meaning he supposes to be, 'don't tie together a number of bulls by the horns.' The injunction seems to be lacking in point. Lietzmann's rendering proceeds on the assumption that *κόλλα* is 2nd person singular imperative. But it might be 3rd person singular conjunctive, by dropping *ι* adscriptum. See Jannaris, *Historical Greek Grammar*, § 20. Another assumption is that *ταυρικον* is genitive plural. But it might be accusative singular. The injunction may relate to the 'service' of cows (*κεράδες*) by bulls. Against this supposition, however, there is the gender of *τῦς* (*τοῖς*), unless we are to allow the possibility of Gemellus' writing *τῦς* for *ταῖς* (or *τὲς*). In modern Greek, and even in mediaeval, *ῆ* or *οἱ* has taken the place of *αἱ*. See Jannaris, *op. cit.* § 560.

2. *τὼν ὤγμον τῆς Ἀπιάδος ἕως σήμερον οὐ ἐθέρισας, ἀλλ' ἡμέληκας αὐτοῦ, καὶ μέχρι τούτου τὼ ἤμυσυ αὐτοῦ ἐθέρισας, ἐπέχον τῷ δακτυλιστῇ Ζωίλωι, καὶ εἶνα αὐτὸν μὴ δυσωπήσῃς, ἀθέριστον αὐτὸν ἕως σήμερον ἀφῖκας. διὼ μένφομαί σαι μεγάλως. ἐπίγνοθι εἰ ἐσκάφη ὠ τῆς Διονυσιάδος ἐλαιών. εἰ μή, δίωξον αὐτοῦ τὼν σκάφητρων ἐν δυσὶ ἡμέρας. συνφέρι γὰρ ἐν' ικκον αὐτὸν σκαφῆναι.*

τὼν ὤγμον=*τὸν ὄγμον* (the final *-ον* in *ωγμον* obliterated in MS.) *ω* for *o*. Additional proof of identity of *o* and *ω* in pronunciation at the time of writing. *ὄγμος* is a good old Homeric word (*Iliad*, xviii. 546). Properly it means a furrow; here, *pars pro toto*, it signifies a field.

Ἀπιάδος—*Apias* from Apis, as *Dionysias* below from Dionysos, *Herodias* from Herodes.

ἕως σήμερον. Cf. 2 Cor. iii. 15 *ἕως σήμερον κάλυμμα ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν αὐτῶν κεῖται*, Thuc. iii. 108 *ἕως ὀψέ*, Plato, *Symp.* 174 *εἰς τήμερον*, 1 John ii. 9 *ἕως ἄρτι*, S. Matt. xi. 23 *μέχρι τῆς σήμερον*, xxvii. 8 *ἕως τῆς σήμερον*, xxviii. 15 *μέχρι τῆς σήμερον* or *μ.τ.σ. ἡμέρας*. S. Paul Rom. xi. 8 *ἕως τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας*, 2 Cor. iii. 14 *ἄχρι τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας*.

οὐ ἐθέρισας. Note the hiatus. This is not an example of accented or emphatic *οὔ*. Illiterate or non-literate writers, however, were apt to be careless about hiatus. See Blass, *Grammar of New Testament*, § 82. 2.

τὼ for *τό*.

ἤμυσυ for *ἤμισυ*. *ι*=*υ* in pronunciation.

ἐπέχον for *ἐπέχων*, 'through waiting for.' Cf. Acts iii. 5 *ὁ δὲ ἐπεῖχεν αὐτοῖς προσδοκῶν τι παρ' αὐτῶν λαβεῖν.*

δακτυλιστῇ, possibly = date-merchant. See Liddell and Scott, *s.v.* *δάκτυλος* iii.

εἶνα=*ἵνα*, as before.

εἶνα αὐτὸν μὴ δυσωπήσῃς. Awkward order: hiatus between *εἶνα* and *αὐτόν*, as between *οὐ* and *ἐθέρισας* above. The verb *δυσωπεῖν* is found, but only in the passive voice, and in the sense of 'to be put out of countenance, to be shamed' or 'to be timid,' in the Attic period (ending 300 B.C.: Jannaris). In the active voice, and in the sense of 'to importune' or 'to be importunate,' it is used by Philo, Plutarch, and Lucian.

ἀθέριστον. Lietzmann observes that the syllable *τον* was omitted by the writer.

ἕως σήμερον, v.s.

ἀφῖκας for *ἀφῆκας*, *ι*=*η*.

διώ=*διό*. Cf. *τώ*=*τό* above.

μένφομαι for *μέμφομαι*. Gemellus' spelling of this word appears to have been influenced by his habitual spelling of such words as *συνφέρι*=*συνφέρει*, *συμφέρει*.

σαι for *σε*. Evidently *αι* and *ε* were identical in pronunciation, even as they are nowadays. They are interchanged with great frequency in inscriptions. Instances of their interchangeability are found in papyri as far back as the second century B.C. See Jannaris, *Historical Greek Grammar*, § 49. In 2 Tim. iv. 13 all uncials (none earlier than fourth century C.E.) give *φελόνην* except L (ninth century), which, like the cursives, shows *φαιλόνην*. In Acts ii. 9 the MSS. show Ἐλαμεῖται, Ἐλαμῖται, Ἐλαμῆται, and Αἰλαμῖται. In the LXX Gen. x. 22 and xiv. 1 Αἰλάμ, Isa. xxi. 2 Ἐλαμεῖται (or Ἐλαμῖται), Jer. xxxii. 11 Αἰλάμ, xxv. 14-xxvi. 1 Αἰλάμ with v.l. Ἐλάμ in 16, xxvi. 2 Αἰγύπτῳ with v.l. Ἐγύπτῳ, Isa. xxii. 6 *οἱ* Ἐλαμεῖται or Ἐλαμῖται. In Luke xix. 4 A has *συκομορέα*, other codd. *συκομοραία*. In Lietzmann, *op. cit.*, No. 8 (a document belonging to the latter years of the second, or the early part of the third, century C.E.), we find *ὑγιένω* for *ὑγιαίνω*. See Blass, *op. cit.* § 3. 7.

ἐπίγνοθι for *ἐπίγνωθι*.

ὠ for *ὸ*.

τὼν σκάφητρων for *τὸν σκάφητρον*. New Testament illustration in Luke xiii. 8 *ἕως ὅτου σκάψω περὶ αὐτὴν* [sc. *τὴν συκῆν*] *καὶ βάλω κόπρια*, and Old Testament illustration in Isa. v. 6 *ἀνήσω τὸν ἀμπελῶνά μου, καὶ οὐ μὴ τμηθῇ οὐδὲ μὴ σκαφῇ*.

ἐν δυσὶ ἡμέραις. Note (1) the hiatus in *δυσὶ ἡμέρας*, produced by omission of *ν ἐφελκυστικόν*. Hiatus of this kind is common in Herodotus—*e.g.* *πέμψειε ἀπολιπόντι, ἐκέρδηνε ἐλάνθανε δέ, ἡδομένοισι ἦν, αὐτοῖσι ἀνδράσι εἶλον, φασὶ εἶπαι* (viii. 5, 10, 17, 83, 88). 'To judge from the inscriptions, papyri, and earlier MSS,' observes Jannaris (*op. cit.* § 221), 'movable *ν* is almost indiscriminately appended . . . and frequently stands even against metre.' If, then, the *ν ἐφελκυστικόν* was again and again allowed to stand where it ought not, it is not surprising to find it sometimes not standing where it ought. Blass, *op. cit.* Append. p. 328 shows that the word *εἴκοσι* is generally without *ν* on Attic inscriptions of the classical period, also in the MSS. of Strabo, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Athenaeus, and others of the 'Graeco-Roman' age (to use Jannaris' chronology), and *without exception* in the older papyri.

The form *δυσί(ν)* for *δυοῖν* comes into use from the time of Alexander onwards (Jannaris, § 631).

(2) *ἡμέρας* for *ἡμέραις*.

συνφέρι for *συνφέρει* or *συμφέρει*. The *ν* of *συν* in this verb is assimilated as *μ* to the following *φ* in the MSS. of the New Testament; on the other hand, the primary MSS. show the *ν* retained without change in most compounds of *συν*. See Westcott and Hort's Greek Testament, vol. ii. Appendix p. 156, and quotation from the *Monumentum Ancyranum* below, on the date of the letter.

εν· ικκον. Lietzmann proposes *ἐν μικρῷ χρόνῳ* as the corrected reading, supplying *μ* and suggesting that Gemellus used *ἐν* with an accusative instead of the dative. Jannaris, *op. cit.* § 1565 cites an instance of *ἐν* with accusative from the 'Apocalypse of the Holy Theotokos, concerning Hell'—*πλῆθος ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ γυναικῶν ἐκαίοντο ἐν αὐτά*. He points out that in the period B.C. 300—A.D. 600 *ἐν* with dative was used frequently for *εἰς* with accusative (just as *vice versa* *εἰς* was used frequently for *ἐν*, § 1548), hence *ἐν* came to be used with an accusative, and finally was extended altogether by *εἰς*. Lietzmann refers to an ungrammatical use of *ἐκ* in Fayûm Papyr. 117. 5. Jannaris, § 1570 cites several instances (from the eighth century C.E. and onwards) of *ἐκ* (*ἐξ*) with the accusative—*ἐκ τὴν κόπρον, ἐκ τὰ μέταλλα*, etc.

μικκόν. Cf. Ar. *Acharn.* 909 *μικκός γα μᾶκος οὗτος*, Theocr. v. 66 *ἴθ', ὦ ξένε μικκὸν ἄκουσον | τεῖδ' ἐνθών*, viii. 64 *μηδ' ἀδίκει μ' ὅτι μικκὸς ἐὼν πολλαῖσιν ὁμαρτέω*.

3. *μὴ σπουδασέτωσαν ἄλω ανταλομμινα καὶ τὴν Σενθέως ἕως γράψω. τὰς ἄλως οὐ πάσας θλάσον ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος. μὴ οὖν ἄλλως πυήσῃς. Ἔρρωσο. ἀσπάζου Ἥρωνα καὶ Ὀρσενοῦφιν καὶ τοὺς ἐν ὔκῳ πάντες. (ἔτους) β' Αὐτο-*

κράτορος Καίσαρος Νέρουα Τραϊανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ, Παχὼν κς'.

σπουδασέτωσαν. Lietzmann thinks that this is a *lapsus calami;* 3rd person plural first aorist imperative active written with *ε* in place of *α*. Perhaps it is an instance of an assimilation the reverse of the familiar one shown in *εἶπα, εἶπαν, ἔλαβα, ἐλάβοσαν*, etc., for *εἶπον, ἔλαβον.*

ανταλομμινα. This may be some name in the genitive case. Was Gemellus spelling out Ἀντύλλου Μηνᾶ ('of Antyllus Menas') in some peculiar way of his own? Or do the letters stand for *ἀντ' ἄλλων* Μηνᾶ? — a λ being omitted, and *ν* assimilated to the following *μ*. If this were the case, the sentence would be an instruction not to hurry the work on the threshing-floors of Menas and Sentheus, in preference to other things, until Gemellus should write. With the indefinite or impersonal plural *μὴ σπουδασέτωσαν* compare the instances in S. Luke xii. 20 and 48, S. Matt. v. 15, Apoc. vi. 4 and xii. 6.

τὴν Σενθέως, sc. *ἄλω.*

οὐ for *μή*, the proper negative with an imperative. Lietzmann suggests *αὖ.*

πυήσῃς = ποιήσῃς. υ for *οι.*

Ἔρρωσο = vale. Cf. *ἔρρωσθε* (valete) Acts xv. 29 and *ἔρρωσο* xxiii. 30. P. Oxyr. ii. 292, iii. 531; P. Fay. 123 (Lietzmann, Nos. 3, 4, 7)—common in papyri. *εὐτύχει* is a variant.

ἀσπάζου. Cf. Rom. xvi. 3-15.

ὔκῳ = οἴκῳ. ἐν οἴκῳ: cf. 1 Cor. xi. 34, xiv. 35, and *εἰς οἶκον* (= *ἐν οἴκῳ*) Mark ii. 1.

πάντες for *πάντας.* This substitution of *ες* for *ας* in the accusative plural in nouns of the first and third declensions is quite common in papyri. In the B G U i. 261 (Lietzmann 10), for instance, we find *χέρες* for *χεῖρας, στατῆρες* for *στατῆρας.* The same substitution is also found in the 2nd person singular of the perfect indicative active — *e.g. δέδωκες* for *δέδωκας, ἤρηκες* for *εἴρηκας, οἶδες* for *οἶδας, loc. cit.* Jannaris, *op. cit.* § 332*b*.

'The twenty-sixth of Pachon, in the second year of Imperator Caesar Nerva Trajanus.' Trajan's regnal years must be reckoned from his adoption by Nerva, *i.e.* from October, A.D. 97 (Merivale, viii. 13). His second year, then, ran from October 98 to October 99. Pachon or Pachons, called Bashans by the modern Copts, runs from May 8 to June 7 (Gregorian).

Lietzmann prints *Νερούα.* The diphthong *ου* represents *υ* or *u* (semi-vowel at most) in the Latin original. In pronunciation, one would suppose, the accent fell on the first syllable—*Νέρουα.* A diaeresis seems to be needed in *Τραιανοῦ*, though Lietzmann does not print one.

Σεβαστοῦ. Cf. *Mon. Ancyr.* § 34 *δόγματι συνκλήτου Σεβαστὸς προσηγορεύθην.*

Γερμανικοῦ. Trajan received the title of Germanicus at his adoption, the announcement of which found him at Cologne (Merivale, viii. 18-19, 22).

EQUATIONS AND INTERCHANGES OF VOWELS WHICH APPEAR IN P. FAY. 112.

1. *ι = ει. πυήσις, ἐπιτίνας, συνφέρι.*[1]

   ει = ι. ὑποσχεισμούς, ὑπόσχεισον, εἶνα.[1]

   ι = η. ἀφῖκας.

2. *υ = οι. πυησις, ἀποδῦ, τῦς, πυήσῃς, ὔκῳ.*

   υ = ι. ἤμυσυ.

Thus we get *οι = υ = ι = ει = η*, as in modern Greek.

3. *ο* and *ω.*

   (*a*) *ο* for *ω*—*ἐλαιώνον, ταυρικὸν* (?), *ἐπέχον, ἐπίγνοθι.*

   (*b*) *ω* for *ο*—*τώ, τὼν ὤγμον, διώ, ὡ, τὼν σκάφητρων.*

Ω and O are indistinguishable in modern Greek pronunciation.

4. *αι = ε. σαι* for *σε.*

αι and *ε* are indistinguishable in pronunciation.

πάντες for *πάντας*—assimilation of accusative to nominative plural—at the end of the letter, is another point of resemblance between colloquial Greek of the first and the twentieth centuries.

[1] *ι* and *ει* frequently interchange in MSS. of Greek Bible and New Testament.

The interchanges of *αι* and *ε*, *ο* and *ω*, and *ι*, *ει*, *η*, *οι*, *υ* appear in a multitude of inscriptions and papyri. 'Modern' Greek, then, is not quite so modern as its greater syntactical simplicity and the extensive admixture of Arabic, Italian, and other foreign words into its vocabulary would tempt one to think it.

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SOME NOTES ON THE ΠΑΙΔΙΚΑ ΑΙΟΛΙΚΑ OF THEOCRITUS.

I. Theocritus XXIX.

Several passages in this poem have, I think, been misunderstood, and the misunderstanding has in one case at least caused needless emendation even in the excellent Oxford Text. The first passage is ll. 4-8, which I propose to read as follows, restoring the Aeolic forms:—

4 ff. *οὐκ ὄλας <σε> φίλην με θέλεισθ' ἀπὺ καρδίας·*
γινώσκω· τὸ γὰρ αἴμισυ τᾶς ζοΐας ἔχω
ζὰ τὰν σὰν ἰδέαν, τὸ δὲ λοῖπον ἀπώλετο,
κὤτα μὲν σὺ θέλεις, μακάρεσσιν ἴσαν ἄγω
ἀμέραν· ὅτα δ' οὐκὶ θέλεις τύ, μάλ' ἐν σκότωι.

4 C *ἀκόλας* (*ἀκ* corr. to *οὐκ*) : O *φιλέειν μ' ἐθέλησθ' ἀπὸ* 5 O *ἄμισυ* : O *κ' ὥταν* or *χ' ὥταν* 8 O *ὅκα* : O *ἐθέλῃς* or *ἐθέλεις*.

4 The emphatic position of *οὐκ ὄλας* coupled with the *γάρ* of l. 5 shows that the heart in question is the speaker's. *φίλην* and *φιλέην* were probably both possible in Aeolic.[1] Cf. l. 31, where *σε* again has fallen out, as Buecheler saw, but where we should keep *νοέοντα*, cf. 29. 9; and *με* is supplied by all editors after *μῆνα* 30. 2. Haplography and misunderstanding of the accusative-and-infinitive with *θέλω* would account for the loss of *σε* here. 'Thou wilt not that I love thee with a whole heart, for owing to thy beauty I have but half a life (living self) to love thee with.' Lines 7 and 8 carry on the *γάρ*-clause and explain the Elizabethan conceit. Cf. Shaks. *Sonnet* xxxix., 'O, how thy worth with manners may I sing, | When thou art all the better part of me? | What can mine own praise to mine own self bring? | And what is 't but mine own when I praise thee?' and Sidney 'My true love hath my heart and I have his,' etc.

θέλεισθα: it is remarkable that in the extant passages of Alcaeus and Sappho and in the Aeolic poems of Theocritus there is no place where the form *ἐθέλω* is really necessary, and *θέλω* is always found in the inscriptions. The word occurs altogether twenty-four times. The MSS. read *ἐθέλω* in five certain places, in three of which I propose to read *οὐκί* for *οὐκ*, Sa. 1. 24 *κωὐκ ἐθέλοισα*, l. 9 of this poem, and l. 29 of the next *εἴτ' οὐκ ἐθέλω* (*New Fragts.*[2] Sa. 5. 5 *σᾶμ' ἐθέλης* is doubtful, but we could read *σᾶμα θέλης*). For the form *οὐκί* (not *οὐχί*) see *Ib.* Sa. 2. 8 note and App. Sa. *β*. 9; cf. Theocr. 30. 14. The fourth place is the present passage, and the fifth is Theocr. 30. 28 *εἴτ' ἐθέλω*. Both the last may be corrected by the mere shifting of an apostrophe.

16-20 *καί κέν σευ τὸ κάλον τις ἰδὼν ῥέθος αἰνέσαι*
τῶιδ' εὖθυς πλέον ἢ τριέτης ἐγένευ φίλος,
τὸν πρῶτον δὲ φίλεντα τρίταιον ἐθήκαο

[1] It is tempting to call *φιλέειν* non-Aeolic. But Sappho's *ἀδικήει* 1. 20 and *ποθήω* 23, and *καλήω Et. Magn.* 485. 45, coupled with the ictus-lengthening of *ε* in *τεμένηος* and *τετραβαρήων* Alc. 152 and 153, and the Inscr. *διακ*]*ονεόντες*, *ἀγρεόμενοι*, and *ποτεόνται* (an *ε*-verb in Aeolic, cf. *ὄρημι*) Alc. 43, point to the use of three forms corresponding to the Attic verbs in *-έω*—e.g. *κάλημι καλέω* and the ictus-form of the latter, *καλήω*. Theocritus' forms, therefore, *δοκέεις* 29. 19, *φιλέει* 28. 14, *φορέοισι* 28. 11, *φιλέοντα* 29. 9, *νοέοντα* 29. 31, and *φιλέειν* here, are not necessarily to be condemned.

[2] *The New Fragments of Alcaeus Sappho and Corinna*, Deighton Bell and Co., 1909.

ἄνδρων τῶν ὑπὲρ ἀνορέαν δοκέεις
πνέειν·
φίλη δ', ἆς κε ζόης, τὸν ὔμοιον
ἔχην ἄϊ.

16 O *καὶ* 18 or *φιλέοντα*? O *φιλεῦντα* 19 *ὑπὲρ ἀνορέαν* Ahrens: O *ὑπερανορέων πνέειν* C: KDB *πνείειν*.

The lover's advice, ll. 12-20, is 'stick to one friend.' Translate 16-19 'and if one but see and praise thy fair face, straightway thou art more than a three years' friend to him, and him that first loved thee thou reckonest in three *days* one of those men whose (*τῶν*) very manhood thou seemest to disdain.'

καὶ κέν . . . αἰνέσαι: if I am right in taking *λύσαμεν* Alc. *New Fragts.* 1. 17 and *ἔσταμεν fr.* 15. 7 as subjunctives, *αἰνέσāι* may be subjunctive here. In that case *κέν* need not be altered to *μέν*, and we get a regular present general condition. The grammarians give the Aeolic optative as *τύψεια, τύψειας, τύψειε, τύψειμεν, τύψειαν*. Besides this passage there are only three aorists optative extant, all second persons singular, *ἀκούσαις* Alc. 83, *οἰδήσαις Adesp.* 56A. 6=*New Fragts.* Sa. 2. 6 (more probably a participle), and *ἐπαινέσαις* Theocr. 29. 11. These may well be contractions for *-ειας*, but *-ειε* would not contract to *-αι*.

18 *τρίταιον*: perhaps *τρίταιος*, which, with *πρῶτον* before it and a misunderstanding of the construction of *ἐθήκαο* might easily get altered.

19 *τῶν ὑπὲρ ἀνορέαν δοκέεις πνέειν*: for this meaning of *ὑπερπνέειν* cf. Philostr. p. 587 *τὸ προοίμιον τοῦτο ἦν ὑπερπνέοντος τοὺς Ἀθηναίους*. Ar. *Lys.* 276 *Λακωνικὸν πνέων*, and Pindar *P.* 11. 30 *ὁ χαμηλὰ πνέων*. KDB's *πνείειν* may represent a written *πνέFειν* or *πνέFην*, cf. *New Fragts.* Sa. 6. 6 (seventh century), where Κλειΐς seems to represent an earlier ΚλέFις, the first syllable being metrically doubtful. In *fr.* 85, however, we want – ∪, and should read the ictus-form Κλεῦις ΚλεῦFις or ΚλέFFις (see below on Theocr. 30. 5).

20 *ἆς κε ζόης*: all MSS. have *κε*. Doubled consonants were sometimes pronounced singly not only medially (e.g. Alc. 84 *περράτων* but 33 *περάτων*) but also initially. For, if we may adopt Hoffmann's ingenious theory (*Gr. Dial.* 2, p. 459), *γἄρ ἄναξ* represents what, with the ictus on the *γάρ*, would remain *γὰρράναξ* for *γὰρFάναξ*. The non-lengthening of *κε* before *ζ* here is exactly parallel, provided we can believe that one, at any rate, of the sounds written *ζ* (or *σδ*) in Aeolic was not a pair of dissimilar consonants such as *zd*, but a doubled consonant of some kind, e.g. *ẓ* (French *j*) doubled. Cf. Timoth. *Pers.* 203 *μηκέτι μέλλετε, ζεύγνυτε*.

τὸν ὔμοιον: =*τὸν αὐτόν*, so Antiphon 5. 76 and Pl. *Phaedr.* 271A.

25 *πὲρρ ἀπάλω στύματος*: used like *ὑπέρ* with *λίσσομαι* in Homer 'for the sake of' and so 'by.' That Aeolic *πέρ* or *πέρρ*=*ὑπέρ*, however, is a myth that still needs refutation. See Herwerden,[1] *Lex. Suppl.* 1910, 'eadem forma [*πέρ*] *ὑπέρ* significat.' Both prepositions are found in Aeolic in their usual senses. In certain passages, it is true, *περί* has one or other of the meanings of *ὑπέρ*, e.g. Sa. 1. 10 *περὶ γᾶς μελαίνας*, Alc. 93 *κεῖσθαι πὲρ* (MSS. *παρ*) *κεφάλας μέγας . . . λίθος*, Hesych. *περρέχειν· ὑπερέχειν*; but so it has in the Attic *περιγίγνομαι*, in *περιέχω* Thuc. 5. 7. 3, in *ἀμύνεσθαι περί* Id. 2. 39. 2. That there was a time when the possible meanings of *περί* and *ὑπέρ* overlapped a good deal is probable from the Homeric *περὶ πάντων*, e.g. *Il.* 9. 38 and passages such as *Od.* 5. 130 *τὸν μὲν ἐγὼν ἐσάωσα περὶ τρόπις βεβαῶσα*. Lesbian seems to have prolonged this stage; that is all. In the new fragment of Sappho (*New Fragts.* 4. 10), quoted by Herwerden in support of his statement, the MS. really reads not *πάντα περέχοισ' ἄστρα* but *πὰρ τὰ περέχοισ' ἄστρα*, i.e. *παρ' ἃ περιέχουσιν ἄστρα* 'compared with the stars that surround her.'

29 Read *ἐπομμαδίαις* (so C) with Hoffmann.

31 *ταῦτα χρὴ σε νόεντα πέλειν προτιμώτερον* (C *προτιμότερον*: cett. *ποτιμότερον*: edd. *ποτιμώτερον*): the earliest metaphorical use (Plat. *Phaedr.* 243D doesn't count) of *πότιμος* 'drinkable,' in the sense of 'pleasant' generally, would seem to be Theophr. *C.P.* 4. 4. 12 *καρποὶ γλυκεῖς καὶ πότιμοι*, and even

[1] Since this was set up in type I have learnt with regret of the death of this distinguished scholar.

there 'juicy' would do. Is it possible that we are here dealing with another word with which this *πότιμος* was eventually confused? What is wanted here is 'kinder' in the lover's sense, 'more friendly,' 'tractable,' 'conformable,' as Mr. Weller would say. *πότιμος* or *πρότῐμος* from *ποτί* or *προτί* and *-ι* the root of *εἶμι*, might well have this meaning ('in a coming-on humour,' as the country folk say), and C's confusion with *πρότῑμος* seems to point to the presence of *ρ* in his archetype. Some of the later examples of the use of *πότιμος* seem to show traces of this meaning: e.g. Heliod. 3. 10 *εὐόμιλον καὶ ποτιμώτερον τὸ συμπόσιον ἀπεργαζόμενος*, and Diog. Laert. 7. 47, of the philosopher Bion, 'But with some people he was quite sociable (*πότιμος*) and able to enjoy a joke.' For *προτί* in Lesbian see note on 30. 24.

32 *καί μοι τὠραμένωι συνέραν ἀδόλως σέθεν*: a comparison with Sappho, *New Fragts.* 3. 2. *τεθνάκην δ' ἀδόλως θέλω* shows that the emphasis lies on *συν-* rather than on *ἀδόλως*. The latter should be taken with *τὠραμένωι*, 'one who really loves you.' To take it with *συνέραν* is to weaken the force of *συν-*, and *συν-* has the gist of the whole poem.

40 *παυσάμενος χαλέπω πόθω*: so KD and C in margin; C in text has what Ziegler reads either as *μ"οιωῳ* or as *μ"ούνῳ*. It is clear that the writer of C could have had before him nothing so easy and usual as *πόθω*. Is this a trace of *μόνω*, genitive of *μόνος*, 'madness,' connected with *μαίνομαι* and *μέμονα* as *γόνος* with *γέγονα* and *φόνος* with *θείνω*?

To bring out the point of my suggestions, I venture to add a rendering of the whole poem. Theocritus, as subject, metre, and dialect alike show, is imitating the Lesbian love-poetry of Alcaeus and Sappho. The dialect was purely literary in his time, and in all probability had associations for his readers somewhat similar to the associations the Elizabethan love-poetry has for us. The subject of both these poems and of XII. has its English counterpart in many of Shakespeare's Sonnets and at least one well-known poem of Sir Philip Sidney.

'In sack, out sooth,' sweet friend, they say;
We drink, so let's give truth her way.
I'll tell, for one, what 's in my soule—
Thou wilt not that I love thee whole.
For by thy beauty's pow'r, I wis,
But half my life my own life is;
Thou giv'st me yes, I live ahigh,
Thou giv'st me no, i' th' hell I lie.
Why so wicked? why consign
A friend to wo? if word of mine
Thou 'lt but hearken, youth to age,
Thou 'lt live to bless my tutorage.
Hear then—one tree should hold one nest,
And that where climbs no noysome beast;
Yet thou art never at a stay,
Thou mov'st house from day to day.
For if a gallant praise thy face,
He 's straight a friend of three years' place;
Thy first friend 's lost, within three days,
'Mid th' abjects of thy too-proud gaze.
True to one friend alwáy, thou 'lt find
The world pay honour, Love be kind,
Love that out-subtles every art,
Love that melted this hard heart.
O by those lips I prythee know
Thou younger wast a year ago;
Ere eye may wink, there 's wrinkles making;
Youth, once fled, there 's no o'ertaking;
Wing'd she flies, and to' us poor things
'Tis ill to catch that flies with wings.
Come think on this, and kinder be;
Let 's make true lovers, thee and me:
Then, when thee Time a beard shall send,
We 'll be Achilles and his friend.
But if i' th' wind my words be sown
And thy heart say me 'Peace, begone,'
Though now o' th' golden fruit I 'ld seise thee,
Fetch Hell's watch-dog an it please thee,
Then, shouldst knock me at the door,
I 'ld stay within, heart-whole once more.

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Addendum.

l. 3 *κἤγω μὲν τὰ φρένων ἐρέω κέατ' ἐν μύχωι*: nobody seems to have noticed this most extraordinary, if not impossible, word-order. Some scribe or editor knew the scansion, but not the Aeolic use of digamma. Read *κἤγω μὲν Fερέω τὰ φρένων κέατ' ἐν μύχωι.*

THE TWO BURIALS IN *ANTIGONE*.

WHY is the act of burial twice done upon Polynices?

As part of the machinery it is useful, perhaps indispensable. The first burial, done undetected, exasperates Creon, makes him threaten the louder, and puts him into the proper mood for his after harshness. It serves also to show up Creon's character, for the obstinate man is hardened by thwarting. Creon's first speech 162-210 is quiet enough, and full of his favourite moralising; he does not expect to be disobeyed, his view to him is so obviously just, and indeed it has some justice in it, or at least the principles he avows are good. When the watchman comes in, he annoys Creon from the first by beating about the bush; a hint of disapproval from the chorus 278-9 makes Creon more angry still; he works himself up like the lion lashing his flanks with his tail, and after hinting that the chorus may be in the plot, threatens horrors upon the watchman if he does not find out who did it. Everybody is in the plot, it seems: the watchman himself has been bribed. Creon does not see how ridiculous these ideas are, and how unreasonable it is to expect that the doer will show himself there again. The symbolical act once done, it could not be undone. All this makes a very proper mood for the cruelty which is to follow.

But if the two burials are useful to the plot, as exasperating Creon before the doer is found, that does not justify the poet in giving us two burials unless it is likely in itself that there should be two. I do not see why Antigone should come back. She has done her part, and I suppose she does not want to die; Haemon is evidence to the contrary. If taxed with the deed she will not deny it, but there is no need to walk into the tomb. I think we may take it that the second burial is not natural; for Jebb says (429): "I have never seen this question put or answered." He suggests, not confidently, that the χοαί *may* have been omitted. He does not say why Antigone should have been such a fool as to do half the rite and leave the rest undone; nor gives any reason why the words of Sophocles should not include χοαί. Sophocles says (245): Κόνιν παλύνας καφαγιστεύσας ἃ χρή. If χοαί were necessary, she therefore did the χοαί: that is a fair inference. Jebb's guess is the refuge of despair.

When Antigone appears, she casts dust and pours three libations; but if she came to repair the omission, she need not have wasted time over the dust. I will not press that point, however; enough for me that ἃ χρή includes the χοαί, if words mean anything.

Observe what Antigone does when she appears. She sees the corpse bare (ψιλὸν νέκυν); cries aloud, and curses those who have done the deed. What deed? Jebb says, 'Stript the corpse of the dust which she had sprinkled on it' (426). But Sophocles says nothing of the dust which she had sprinkled upon it; Sophocles says that she cried aloud to see the corpse bare, that is, not buried as it should be, and cursed those who left it unburied. That, I submit, is the proper meaning of the words, which every reader would have understood so if there had been no first burial; and although ψιλόν may be used if the body has been stript of the dust which she had sprinkled upon it, it may also be used of a body that is stript of its body armour, or stript of its clothes, or stript of anything else. It means in fact stript, and nothing else. What Antigone says is perfectly natural to say if she now sees the corpse for the first time; and what she does is not natural if she has done it before, so Jebb implies by trying to explain it.

If Antigone did the act of burial twice, she did it in a state of unreasoning emotion: if she came a second time to look on the corpse, she was drawn by a morbid attraction. There are characters that can be thus drawn to act; not, I think, Antigone, who has her acts quite under control, and only in the last scene allows her feelings to break out, when all is over and death is at hand, when the sight of Haemon reminds her of what she has lost. As I see her, she has a clear knowledge of what is to be done, and she will not shrink from doing

it at all costs; but when the thing is done, there is no more anxiety for her: the ghost will be laid to rest, the dishonour atoned. I leave it to others to show how the Antigone of the rest of the play could be so foolish as 'not to bring the χοαί' (Jebb on 429), so reckless as to haunt the spot where her deed was done: so strong to plan, so weak to do.

If I were a Homeric critic, I should now pitilessly cut out all that relates to the first burial, and point in triumph to the later part of the play, where nobody ever mentions two burials. Not a word in the dialogue of Creon, Ismene, and Antigone need be altered if there were only one burial. Surely this is a clear case of a Dunciad within the Antoniad; and how happy we shall all be when the malignant growth is cut away, although it contains some beautiful passages, well worthy of Sophocles. Another Sophocles —or was it Socrates? no matter— is mentioned in Apuleius's *Golden Ass;* perhaps he wrote them, and Pisistratus put them in, with his well-known mania for editing.

But I have another idea, suggested, oddly enough, by Sophocles himself. I like reading the classical authors without notes or comments; they are so much easier to understand. When I read the Antigone thus, I see that Sophocles tells us all about that first burial—at least all we ought to want. Ismene did it. She says so herself twice: once in 536 δέδρακα τοὔργον, once in 558 καὶ μὴν ἴση νῷν ἐστιν ἡ ξαμαρτία. Nobody paid any attention to Ismene; she was a nice girl, soft-hearted and devoted, but a shadow of her strong sister, and no one listened to her when her sister was there. She thinks she can save Antigone by a fib, so thin that anyone can see through it. She could not have invented even that fib, if it had not been true. She even appeals to Antigone to back her up, after Antigone has confessed. Silly girl! go away, and leave us to serious business. Shadow to the last, she goes, and we hear no more of Ismene until 1911.

A closer analysis will help us to see the situation. Before the play begins, Antigone has made her resolve; she has to tell Ismene, her faithful shadow, and she expects Ismene to help her, as she has always done. But Ismene is shocked. This is no child's play, but a terrible thing; the bare idea is enough to frighten a timid girl. Creon's edict is law for her: it is cruel, but they must obey the stronger; the dead will understand and forgive. It is a senseless plan. Antigone, in her high mood, is impatient, and bids Ismene go tell all the world if she will: her resolve is fixed. Ismene's thought, first and last, is, how she can save her sister: and how can she? There is only one way: to do it herself, since it must needs be done. She does not see that this will not help Antigone; that Antigone will never leave her to bear the blame alone. I think no one will forget how those who seem to be weakest often can be heroic for one beloved; what many a woman has done for her child, Ismene may do for her sister, in a sort of frenzy of devotion. We are not shown the spiritual struggle that led to this resolve. Ismene leaves Antigone protesting to the last against the act, but that is nothing: methinks the lady doth protest too much. The thought of the stronger works in the mind of the weaker: all in a moment she turns round, and in all haste goes and does it. But we are shown the reaction. Few men, and fewer women, suffer no reaction after a desperate deed. Clytemnestra seems to have felt none; Antigone shows signs of it at last; and Ismene, the shadow, once the deed is done, collapses. Creon saw her raving and out of her wits (492): he suspects her at once, not by an act of reason, but because he suspects everybody, and she is brought in to be questioned. The reaction is enough to account for her state, without supposing that she knew of the second burial. She may have known of the second burial, which would only make matters worse, by showing that she had acted in vain: but the dialogue is more poignant if the persons are all talking at cross purposes, Antigone speaking of the second burial, Ismene of the first, and Creon swearing that everyone was in the plot. If Ismene did not know what Antigone had done, τῆς αἰτίας (537) refers to the plan as proposed, which she thinks Creon has heard of; Antigone clearly does not know that Ismene had

done anything; her words are said without hesitation (539, 546). Like Damon and Pythias, each wants to save the other, and Ismene, if she cannot save Antigone, will die with her: Antigone thinks this an excess of devotion, useless and needless. Let me give this dialogue in a paraphrase:

Is. I did it—you will not refuse me now, will you? although you did say rather cruelly that I should not help you. Yes, I helped, and I share the guilt.
Ant. No, you did not wish to do it, and I gave you no share.
Is. Ah, I will share your trouble!
Ant. The dead know who did it: you are ready to talk, but you would not help.
Is. O my sister, do not despise me! Let me die with you, and share the honour of doing right by our brother.
Ant. One death is enough; do not pretend to what you did not touch.
Is. Can I live without you? (*She begins to weaken.*)
Ant. You have Creon left to love.
Is. Oh, how cruel you are!
Ant. Ah, it hurts me no less.
Is. Can I do *nothing* to help you? (*She gives way.*)
Ant. Save yourself, that is all I want.
Is. Oh, how wretched I am! I may not even die with you!
Ant. You chose life, and I chose death.
Is. No, I *will* speak!—
Ant. Our aims are different, you see.
Is. But our offence is the same;
Ant. Do not trouble; you live, I am dead long since.

And so, obedient, a shadow to the last, Ismene disappears. She did her best for Antigone, and failed: she stood by her in the face of death, and she was not allowed to die. Perhaps there was a feeling of relief when she found that she was not allowed to die. Anyhow, she had done her best; she told the truth, and was laughed at. No one took any notice of Ismene; even the furious Creon ignored her. In two thousand years no one has taken any notice of Ismene; but there is more than a touch of humanity in her. A shadow she may have been by the side of Antigone; but when Antigone has gone to her end, Ismene remains, and takes a more solid form. We seem to see even a whole human being, not unlike some we have known in the flesh, not at all clever, but affectionate as a dog, and ready in spite of shrinking to face all terrors if love drives them to it.

W. H. D. Rouse.

NOTES

THE ALLEGED HYPERBATON OF *HEROIDES* 3. 19.

saepe ego decepto uolui custode reuerti:
sed me qui timidam prenderet, hostis erat.
si progressa forem, caperer ne nocte timebam,
quamlibet ad Priami munus itura nurum.

To save space I must dogmatise. Briseis, I think, is speaking of the time when she is already a prisoner in Agamemnon's tent. In l. 17 *custode* (cp. *Her.* 4. 142) is the guard who watches her by day while the Greeks are fighting. This guard she might evade and pass *back* through the Greek lines to Achilles. But some Greek might stop her (*prenderet*), and such a one would be as bad as a Trojan (*hostis erat*). On the other hand she might, in the darkness (*nocte*), go *forward* towards Troy (*progressa*); she would then, probably, be taken prisoner (*caperer*), and be added to the establishment of some Trojan princess.

The verb *caperer* precedes *ne* because it is contrasted with *prenderet*: a Greek would only lay hands on her, whereas a Trojan would take her captive. The word *nocte* is ἀπὸ κοινοῦ with *progressa* and *caperer*.

It does not, therefore, seem necessary to follow Madvig (approved by Housman) in putting a comma at *ne*, and taking *nocte* with *progressa* only. Palmer's objection to *nocte* is answered by *Her.* 3. 91, 92. See also *C. R.* Vol. XXI. p. 43.

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OVID, *HEROIDES*, XV.-XXI.

16. 333 (331).

ibis Dardanias ingens regina per urbes.

P.[1] says *ingens* = divinely tall. But it may equally well mean 'mighty,' 'great,' *i.e.* 'important.' *Cf.* Livy 5. 17. 1, *ingens vates* = 'a mighty seer,' and 4. 6. 5 and 42. 12. 3. So in Greek, *μέγας*, *e.g.* Plato *Prot.* 316 E, *μέγας ὢν σοφιστής*.

17. 67.

sed si iam vellem fines transire pudoris
tu melior culpae causa futurus eras.

P. speaks of *eras* as 'poetic for *esses*.' It should be unnecessary to point out that *futurus eras* is a regular variety of *esses*, just as *fuisses* may be resolved into *futurus fuisti*.

P. makes a further slip on 18. 13, where he says that *non poteram celare* is for *non potuissem*. Here *non poteram celare* is merely a normal resolution of *non celarem*, *i.e.* 'I *should not have been* concealing' becomes 'I *could not have been* concealing.'

Grammarians have not always made plain that in the apodosis the imperfect subjunctive expresses an *incomplete* action or condition (whether in the past or present), while the pluperfect subjunctive expresses a *complete* action or condition (whether in the past or present). For instance, *moreretur* = 'he would have been dying (now or then),' whereas *mortuus esset* = 'he would have been dead (now or then).' The importance of this fact in regard to the imperfect is seen when I speak of 21. 205. It is merely the accident of our idiom that *esset* must be translated 'should have been': we have no form 'should have been being.'

A recollection of this would have prevented P. from writing on 18. 43, 44, '*vellet* . . . *paterere*, *i.e.* 'voluisset . . . passus esses.' Thus at 20. 227, 228, *appeteres*, 'you should have been seeking' (= *appetere debebas*), is answered by the normal 'habendus *erat*,' not 'habendus *fuit*.'

17. 71.

acceptissima semper
Munera sunt, auctor quae pretiosa facit.

Shakespeare (*Ham.* 3. 1. 100) has the converse: 'Rich gifts wax poor when givers prove unkind.'

17. 107.

ad possessa venis praeceptaque gaudia serus.

P. reads *praecepta*. Some MSS. have *praerepta*.

No doubt Ovid has such (to us) frigid phrases of the jurist. But the repetition of the same idea is somewhat weakly expressed. Moreover, one would expect *ad praecepta venis possessaque*, which is the order at Lucr. 6. 1050. I would rather believe that Ovid wrote *praecerptaque gaudia*; *cf.* 20. 143 and Ovid *A. A.* 3. 661, *aliae tua gaudia carpent*.

18. 53.

interea dum cuncta negant, ventique fretumque.

P. takes *cuncta* as accusative, *i.e.* 'give me a flat refusal.' May we not take *cuncta* as subject? We can press the sense *coniuncta*, and the force is, 'since the elements *conspire* to say me nay.'

18. 58.

iactabam liquido bracchia lenta mari.

lentus is 'tough, hard, resisting, wiry,' whether literally or in metaphor. See my note, *C.R.*, Vol. XXI., p. 43. Here it is in clear antithesis to *liquido* = 'unresisting.' Translate 'Tossed through yielding waters arms of steel.'

18. 150.

publica non curat sidera noster amor.

publica = 'open to all,' 'that all may see.' This is more evidence in favour of *mare publicum* at Hor. *Od.* 3. 24. 4. It is a curious coincidence that Livy 23. 19. 14, which gave Lachmann his *terrenum*, provides an instance of *dum* and present indicative (for subjunctive) as in l. 205 of this epistle.

19. 171, 172.

vel pudor hic utinam, qui nos clam cogit amare,
vel timidus famae cedere vellet amor.

Housman rejects Purser's rendering, and supplies *amori vellet cedere* with *vel pudor hic utinam*. This is very hard. It would be more simple to take *famae* as genitive with *timidus* (*cf.* Ov. *Met.*

[1] P = Palmer's Edition, 1898.

5. 100, Hor. *A.P.* 28) and *cedere* absolute = 'depart, pass away, or yield, submit' (as in Lucr. 5. 1271 etc.). Thus we may translate: 'Oh that the shame which forces us to love in secret might pass away, or love might vanish fearful of ill report.' (Literally, of course: 'would that it had been wishing to pass away.')

20. 59.

et decor et vultus sine rusticitate pudentes

Purser translates: 'looks modest yet refined.' But this would imply that modesty and refinement were rare in combination. 'Shy yet refined' is not open to this objection.

20. 172.

ad te, Cydippe, littera nostra redit.

Here *redit* = *redditur* (*cf.* 18, 10), *i.e.* 'is delivered.' Somewhat similar is Cic. *Rosc. Amer.* 44. 128, *in tabulas . . . redierunt*, where *redire* = *referri*.

20. 241, 242.

longior infirmum ne lasset epistula corpus
clausaque consueto sit sibi fine, vale.

With P.'s interpretation we must supply *ut* out of *ne* in *ne lasset*. This supplying of the positive is more common after *sed* (as regularly after ἀλλά) ; *cf.* Livy 3. 48. 1, Cic. *De Off.* 3. 2. 9, Tac. *Hist.* 2. 52 *ad fin.*, Verg. *Aen.* 1. 674, Hor. *Sat.* 1. 1. 2, Lucr. 4. 611. But see Madv. *De Fin.* 1. 16. 51.

If the clause be Final we should expect *claudatur*. A simple alteration would be *nec lasset*, where *neque . . . que* = μήτε . . . τε = not . . . but. *Lasset* and *clausa . . . sit* would then be jussives, and *vale* would be in apposition with *consueto . . . fine ;* or, following the analogy of *De Fin.* 1. 16. 51, we need make no change, but could translate *que* by 'but,' *i.e.* 'Let not a too long letter weary thy weakened frame, but may it close with the wonted ending, "Fare thee well."'

21. 198.

in dextrum versor, cum venit ille, latus.

in dextrum . . . latus evidently means 'to the wall.' I suppose that the head of a Roman bed was so arranged that in facing the room and an 'adsidens' one would, as at dinner, be reclining on the left elbow. For a person in bed, see Schreiber's *Atlas of Antiquities*, Plate lxxxii., Nos. 3 and 5.

21. 201 and 205.

ingemit et tacito suspirat pectore.

For *tacito . . . pectore, cf.* Prop. iii. (iv.) xxi. 32, iii. xxv. 30, Tib. iv. 13. 8. One could fancy that l. 27 of Prop. iii. (iv.) xxi., where '*linguae*' = eloquence, had suggested *lingua* in l. 205 of this epistle, for the words

si mihi lingua foret, tu nostra iustius ira
qui mihi tendebas retia dignus eras

may fairly be translated: 'had I *but had* a tongue to speak out, thou, who didst spread the net for me, more justly hadst earned my wrath.'

Here it is important to observe that *foret* refers to the past. Literally it is: 'if there had been being a tongue to me.' The girl, at the time when she behaved so coldly to her betrothed, was prostrated by fever. She had no tongue *then*, otherwise she would have relieved her feelings and partially comforted her young man by a violent tirade against the deceitful Acontius. This is not 'amazing irrelevancy,' but human nature and very feminine. Housman's objection that 'she has a tongue' carries no weight if *foret* be taken as referring to the past.

A much more serious defect is that in four consecutive lines we have *mihi* second word. The corruption may lurk in MIHIL, and one might conjecture either 'at' (with π) 'nihil inde feres: tu,' etc., *i.e.* 'but you will gain nothing from my admissions; rather it was you who ought to have incurred my wrath'; or 'si nihil icta forem, tu,' etc., *i.e.* 'if I had not been smitten (by the far-shooter Acontius), he would have got the benefit of my spleen.'

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REVIEWS

DIONYSIUS HALICARNENSIS *DE COMPOSITIONE VERBORUM.*

PROFESSOR RHYS ROBERTS has again earned the gratitude of scholars by this very full and careful edition of what is perhaps the most important work of one of the greatest of the Greek Rhetoricians. If, during the course of this review, I point out what appear to me to be shortcomings, it must not be supposed that I underrate the magnitude or the importance of the work. Anyone who has attempted to cross the uncharted seas of post-Aristotelian, or at least post-Ciceronian rhetoric, knows the difficulty of the subject, the complexity of the terminology, and the slenderness of the help which is to be obtained from any book written during the last hundred years. In fact, may it not be said that our knowledge of theoretical rhetoric has gone back during the last century? And yet the rhetoric of the ancients—regarded as the formulation of laws of what makes speech *effective*, just as grammar formulates the laws of what makes speech *coherent* and *intelligible*—is a wonderful piece of work. Anyone who really penetrates it will recognise not only its extreme acuteness but also the truth of its results; the only drawback being that these results, though true, are also possibly useless. *Possibly* useless—though I do not feel by any means sure of it. At any rate, I have a strong conviction that, if we are entirely ignorant of this side of ancient science, we shall only partially comprehend the ancient mind.

Dr. Roberts' book is arranged in the best and what I hope will soon be regarded as the only way—that is, with introductory essays, text and translation side by side, textual and elucidatory notes, and a glossary. The notes are good throughout, with much valuable illustration, particularly from modern literature. Their faults, so far as they have any, are entirely faults of omission. There are some difficulties which might have received attention, and in particular the very difficult, if not corrupt, passage at the end of chap. xxiv. is very inadequately treated. What is said of the notes may also, I think, be said of the translation as a whole, leaving out of the question for the moment the renderings of technical terms. The translation is throughout idiomatic; it reproduces admirably the spirit of the original, and there are not many individual passages (again with the above-mentioned exception) where its accuracy seems to me to be at fault. Amongst such passages are the following: In p. 66 the translation of *συναυξομένη* as if it agreed with *ἡλικία* instead of *κατάληψις* seems a slip which materially alters the sense of the passage. In p. 74 *πολλοὶ ποιηταὶ καὶ συγγραφεῖς φιλόσοφοί τε καὶ ῥήτορες* does not mean 'poets and prose-writers (philosophers and orators),' but 'poets and historians and philosophers and orators,' as indeed it is translated in the parallel passage in p. 104.

When, however, we come to the translation of technical terms, I do not find myself quite as often as I should have wished in agreement with Dr. Roberts. And here I would make a preliminary remark. It may very possibly be the case that in all, or most, of these instances Dr. Roberts is right, or as right as it is possible to be under the circumstances, and it is certainly the case that the terms which I think he has translated wrongly are only a few out of many; but I hope it will not be said that therefore to criticise his renderings is pedantic or meticulous. It seems to me that in such a book as this 'terminological exactitude' is all-important. A Greek or Latin rhetorical treatise is essentially a scientific work with a very definite and carefully drawn up terminology, and to render these terms exactly is as important as it would be in translating a modern scientific book. I hope, therefore, no further apology is required for the following list.

First and foremost stands *σύνθεσις τῶν ὀνομάτων* itself, which Dr. Roberts now

translates 'literary composition.' In his earlier book on the 'Three Literary Letters' of Dionysius he wrote: 'The best equivalent would be *composition*, if the word had not so wide a range. As it is, *arrangement* or *order* must serve.' I think his earlier feeling was the truer, and that the reasons he now gives for adopting the wider term are quite unsatisfactory. It seems to me that the whole meaning of the treatise is in danger of being obscured by the use of such a phrase as 'literary composition.' Surely Dionysius carefully adopts a term which has a very restricted meaning, and his main point is that what was often thought to be a very unimportant part of composition is really very important.

To my mind almost the most interesting point in the treatise is the antithesis between τὸ καλόν and ἡδονή in literature. In his earlier book the editor represented τὸ καλόν by nobility. He now gives 'beauty.' Here, again, I incline to think the earlier rendering was nearer the mark, for it is clear that in his use of καλός Dionysius has in his mind something ethical, not, I presume, unconnected with the philosophical antithesis between the two words. At any rate, I think Dr. Roberts is wrong when in translating compounds in καλλι- he loses sight so completely of the Dionysian καλός as to translate καλλιλογεῖσθαι by *embellish* and καλλιλογία by *elegance*. In both the passages in this book in which Dionysius uses καλλιλογία he associates it with σεμνός and the like, and in *De adm. vi. dic. in Dem IV.* it is used of Thucydides; while in the case of other compounds with καλλι- there is nothing to show that the writer does not bear in mind his own idea of καλόν.

On p. 96 there is a serious slip in translation. Dionysius speaks of the Stoics as οὐ μικρὰν φροντίδα τοῦ λεκτικοῦ τόπου ποιουμένους, where Dr. Roberts translates λεκτικὸς τόπος as the 'department of discourse,' as if the meaning was that the Stoics studied rhetoric; but of course, as he knows well, and indeed remarks in the glossary, λέξις or λεκτικὸς τόπος = *elocutio*, and is fundamentally distinguished from the other divisions of rhetoric. Perhaps the most interesting term used in this book is πίνος, with its cognates πεπινωμένος, εὐπινής, and ἀρχαιοπινής. Dr. Roberts has convinced himself, I think on inadequate grounds, that the metaphor is from the *patina* produced by oxidation of bronze statues. I should rather think that it is generally used of any deposit produced by time, and that the best illustration would be Longfellow's 'tales that have the rime of age.' Is not its rhetorical use in fact an illustration of the general truth that dirt has to the ancient mind perhaps more painful, but less degrading, associations than to ourselves? It is, I presume, because he traces the metaphor to statuary, that Dr. Roberts uses 'mellow' and 'mellowness' as English equivalents. But the word appears to be always associated with the 'severer' half of literary terms. Indeed, we find αὐστηρὰ καὶ πεπινωμένη λέξις in *De adm. vi. dic. in Dem V.*, and I cannot myself associate 'mellow' with such a phrase as this. If we cannot adopt Longfellow's phrase, I think the best course is to take a hint from Tyrrell and Purser on Cic. *ad Att.* xiv. 7, where the litterae πεπινωμέναι, which Cicero says he has received from his son is translated 'a letter with a classic touch.' 'Classic' does suggest antiquity, and if it does not quite sufficiently connect itself with 'severity,' at any rate it does not belong to the smooth and florid side of things. I think Dr. Roberts will admit one thing —that no father since the foundation of the world ever did or could say that he had received a 'mellow' letter from his undergraduate son.

In several places τρόπος is translated as 'metaphor.' But the rhetoricians certainly distinguished the two, and held that 'trope' included, beside metaphor, hypallage, catachresis, and the like. That Dionysius accepted this is shown by οὔτε ὑπαλλαγαὶ οὔτε καταχρήσεις οὔτε ἄλλη τροπικὴ διάλεκτος on p. 28. It is better surely to use trope (in inverted commas), and explain in a note. 'Recognised words' is certainly not a right equivalent for κύρια ὀνόματα (p. 208). As indeed is quite clearly stated in the glossary, the word means in such cases rather 'literal.' Nor do I think

that in διαβέβηκεν ἐπὶ πολὺ ταῖς ἁρμονίαις (p. 216) the editor can justify the translation 'broad effects of harmony.' Other phrases in the same chapter seem clearly to show that the meaning is rather 'with its junctures widely separated.'

When Dionysius says that, if he were to quote some examples, his treatise would be σχολικὸν μᾶλλον ἢ παραγγελματικόν (p. 214), Dr. Roberts may be right in translating 'a course of lectures rather than a manual.' It depends, I suppose, upon the sort of lectures one is used to. To myself, perhaps through reminiscences of extension lecturers and their strivings after 'broad effects,' the word suggests rather the opposite of σχολικόν, which I take to be detailed class-work, the sort of work which is elsewhere said to be suitable to *αἱ καθ' ἡμέραν γυμνασίαι*. In the glossary we find 'after the manner of lectures, tedious.' I do not think the word carries this latter meaning with Dionysius. In fact, he says that such a treatment is ἴσως οὐκ ἀηδές. It may carry such a meaning elsewhere, where the writer starts with a contempt for schools and schoolmasters. But Dionysius is a schoolmaster himself.

I should like to discuss some other words, but I also fear τὸ σχολικόν. But before passing on, I must mention one important word. This is ἦθος, particularly in the passage in chap. xxii., where Dionysius says, of the 'austere arrangement,' that it wishes κατὰ πάθος λέγεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ κατ' ἦθος (p. 212). Dr. Roberts translates 'it wishes to stir emotion rather than to reflect character,' and refers to Jebb's *Attic Orators*, I., pp. 30, 31. There Jebb quotes with approval this opinion of Dionysius as meaning 'that the austere style (*sic*) addresses itself directly to the feelings: it does not care to give a subtle persuasiveness to the words by artistically adjusting them to the character and position of the person who is supposed to speak them. It is tragic, yet it is not dramatic.' But if we turn to a closely allied passage, *De adm. vi. dic. in Dem*, chap. ii., we find it stated, of the λέξις of Thucydides and Lysias respectively, δύναται εἰς πάθος ἐκείνη προαγαγεῖν εἰς δ' ἦθος αὕτη καταστῆσαι. Here clearly the ἦθος is rather τοῦ ἀκούοντος than τοῦ λέγοντος. And I cannot but feel that here, and often elsewhere, we have the distinction that Quintilian says was sometimes made between the two—viz., that πάθος is *adfectus concitati*, and ἦθος *adfectus mites et compositi;* and, again, that πάθος is *temporale*, but ἦθος *perpetuum*. In other words, ἦθος, when contrasted with πάθος, means a calm, reasonable, stable state of mind. If I am right in this, neither 'reflect' nor 'character' are the words we want in translating κατ' ἦθος, though I will not venture on a substitute. ἦθος is perhaps the most puzzling of all rhetorical terms.

I dare say Dr. Roberts will have something to say to all, or nearly all, these criticisms, and probably I stand on firmer ground when I say that the materials for testing them ought to be found in the glossary. In plain fact, I think the glossary is the least satisfactory part of the book. As a vocabulary, in which the ordinary student can find what the editor believes to be the meaning of each word, it is no doubt perfectly adequate; in fact, from this point of view, it is unnecessarily full. Nor yet do I deny that it may serve, as the editor hopes it will, as a contribution to a new dictionary of rhetoric. That is to say, there are a good many useful references, particularly from Dionysius himself, and from the *De Elocutione* and the περὶ ὕψους, which might be set down with advantage in an interleaved edition of Ernesti. But I think it might and should be more than this. After all, the number of important and difficult terms in the *De Compositione* is limited, and one might expect to find them treated fairly exhaustively. I may mention two sources especially, which do not seem to have been used as well as they ought. In the first place, the editor does not seem to have worked sufficiently with Ernesti as his basis. I do not judge this merely from the rather odd fact that there is not a single reference in the glossary to that great work, but from other and more general signs. In the second place, there are no illustrations from Hermogenes' περὶ ἰδεῶν in the

glossary, and but few in the notes. Thus, Dr. Roberts, in mentioning *συνθήκη* as a variant for *σύνθεσις*, writes as though it were a rare and casual variant, and ignores the fact that it is the term regularly used by the writer who held, in Greek rhetoric, a more acknowledged hegemony than was held in Latin rhetoric by any writer, not excepting Cicero and Quintilian. Again, if Hermogenes had been consulted properly, I do not think the editor would have written exactly as he did about *χρῶμα*, or omitted *λαμπρός* from the glossary. It should, however, be noted that much that seems meagre in this book may be supplemented from the glossaries in Dr. Roberts' other editions. Thus, for instance, *πίνος* appears at first sight to be inadequately treated, nor does the editor refer us to any other book. But the word is treated more fully in the 'Three Literary Letters,' and the two together make a good and careful, if somewhat unconvincing, piece of lexicography.

The introductory essays contain a great deal of interesting matter, and many subsidiary questions, such as accents, Greek music and phonetics, are touched on helpfully, if somewhat lightly. The chief faults of this part of the book are, firstly, that it needs to be fused with the earlier book on the 'Three Literary Letters.' Thus, the modern testimonials (if I may use the word) to Dionysius' merits as a critic on pp. 60, 61 have a certain banality as they appear here. Read in conjunction with pp. 47-50 of the earlier book, they would fall into their proper place. Secondly, the editor seems to me to dwell too much on subsidiary questions. The essay on 'Normal Order in Greek' is a valuable piece of work, but really it is rather an essay on what Dionysius has omitted than on what he actually says. Something of the same kind may be said about the remarks on Polybius. What I principally look for in an introduction to the *De Compositione* is an answer to the questions: (1) what is the author's theory; (2) in what relation does it stand to other theories on the subject; (3) what is its value. On the first of these Dr. Roberts gives us a full and lucid account of Dionysius' main ideas, but there are certain points which still call for explanation. Thus, I should like to hear something about Dionysius' estimate of the place of *πραγματικὸς τόπος* in education. Dionysius does not say much about it, but what he does say seems to me to differ essentially from what is said by other writers. Again, I am quite at sea as to Dionysius' views on *σχηματισμός*. Once more, what are the relations of the three *συνθέσεις* to the three *χαρακτῆρες τῆς λέξεως*? To turn to the second point—the relation of Dionysius to other writers—we might have been told something of the contents of G. Ammon's *De Dionysii Halicarnensis librorum rhetoricorum fontibus*, a book which I am unable to find in the University Library. A detailed comparison with the remarks of Aristotle, Cicero, and Quintilian would not have been amiss. In particular, has that doctrine of *ἡδονή* and *καλόν* any history outside Dionysius? I do not remember it elsewhere, and Hermogenes' conception of *κάλλος* seems essentially different; while from the way that Ernesti speaks of it, I should imagine that it was born with Dionysius, only to die with him. But the point is quite worth investigating.

As to the third point—the value of Dionysius' theory or theories—let it be said at once that many very useful remarks are made in the notes. In particular, Dionysius' conception of Homer as an artist is very properly emphasised. But the main point which Dionysius makes comes to this, that *σύνθεσις* is more important than *ἐκλογή*, and that this is proved (1) because many passages which contain nothing but common words are pleasing, and that therefore the pleasure must be produced by the *σύνθεσις*; (2) because, if the *σύνθεσις* is destroyed, the effect is destroyed. I confess that both these arguments seem to me absurd. The first is surely largely refuted by Dionysius' own doctrine of *τὸ πρέπον*, for the effect of a passage may be often due to the *κοινότης* of the words; and, as for the second, while no one doubts that *σύνθεσις* is an indispensable element in both *κάλλος* and *ἡδονή*, that does not prove that it is the chief element. And does not

Dionysius completely ignore the truth that, over and above both ἐκλογή and σύνθεσις, there is another element far more subtle and more potent? Did Dionysius know, do we know, what the effect of the passage from *Odyssey IV.* would be on one who did not know Homer otherwise? Is not its power chiefly due to the numberless associations and memories which it calls up of the other parts of the *Odyssey?* On these questions Dr. Roberts is silent. All he contributes is a brief remark in connection with the extract from Herodotus I., that 'Dionysius seems to allow too little for the charming naïveté of Herodotus' mental attitude.' Perhaps he will answer that these are questions too far-reaching for an edition which seeks rather to elucidate than to estimate, and, if so, perhaps he will be right. But the questions, if not answered, might at least have been formulated.

I may conclude with some words of unstinted praise on two points. Firstly, all the textual work, *apparatus criticus*, and information on the MSS., seems to me to be admirably done. Secondly, the book is a storehouse of references to valuable modern books, which, because they are on comparatively obscure subjects, are little known even to professed classical students.

F. H. Colson.

DIE ÜBERLIEFERUNG DER GYNAEKOLOGIE DES SORANUS VON EPHESUS.

Die Überlieferung der Gynaekologie des Soranus von Ephesus. Von Johannes Ilberg. (Das XXVIII. Bd. der Abhnl. d. phil.-hist. Klasse d. K. Sach. Geschlft. d. Wissenschaften. No. II. mit sechs Lichtdrucktafeln.) There is an appendix containing photographs of two pages of the Parisinus manuscript, and seven of the illustrations from the Brussels manuscript of the uterus in normal and abnormal conditions of pregnancy. Leipzig: Teubner, 1910.

Professor Ilberg, by a weighty essay on the place of Soranus in the development of Graeco-Roman medicine, has again laid both scholars and historians under great obligations. An eminent disciple in the school of Diels, Ilberg brings to these studies not only the equipment of fine scholarship, not only much literary labour, but also what with these qualities is most fruitful, a strong and large understanding, a firm grasp of the relative values of his facts. So far as I know Ilberg has not graduated in medicine, but nevertheless his work is always competent in this respect, and does not fail in the sense of intimacy with the more technical sides of the faculty.

The enormous ascendancy of Galen, the vast output in which he even exceeded that which surprises us in the writers on many subjects in the first two centuries of the empire, his intricate and ardent dialectic which endeared him to the logicians and rhetoricians of his own and many later centuries, his teleological philosophy which endeared him to the Church, and moreover the brilliancy and real fertility of his genius, by overshadowing obscured and even effaced the traditions and documents of his predecessors. Thus, as again, in the time of the discovery of printing, a change of fashion brought destruction to multitudes of precious manuscripts. Lost in the glamour of Galen, in the Middle Ages even the invaluable Celsus was forgotten. Not only so, but the animosity of Galen against Methodism threw the work of this school into the greater neglect. To repair the devastations due indirectly to Galen, Diels, Ilberg, and Wellmann have done and are doing much; and by their labours—we wish we could add by the labours of English scholars also—upon such Fragments as have drifted down upon the rafts of time, some not unsubstantial reconstruction is being made of that period of shattered literary tradi-

tion which extends between the decadence of Hippocratic medicine and the rise of Galen; a period followed by the reign of the Byzantine summists, the chief of whom was Oribasius.

Yet between the later Hippocrateans and Celsus had flourished the brilliant school of Alexandria, led in Medicine by Herophilus and Erasistratus; of this school however little remains but the odour of the cask. In the Fitzpatrick Lectures of 1909 I considered the place of Asclepiades, and of Celsus, in the Alexandrian tradition; and a like emphasis may be laid on that of Soranus. If almost as unfortunate as Asclepiades in the obliteration of his works, Soranus, who received his medical training in the later Alexandria, was more fortunate in the upholding of his good name; he has been regarded in all later times as a great if half-forgotten physician. If then we have to reconstruct the work of Soranus, we have not to refurbish his character.

Of his important work on gynaecology we have no complete and no direct survival. By a Cuvierian process of piecing together fossil fragments Ilberg in the work before us —a work whose comparatively small bulk does not signify the labour it contains—has endeavoured not unsuccessfully and very usefully to restore that part of the relics of Soranus which concerns gynaecology, a sphere of medicine in which he had a great, and for many later centuries an abiding, renown. In this Review I need not say that ancient and mediaeval writers were in the habit of lifting audaciously from each other without acknowledgment, literary ethics being in this respect unknown. On the other hand in controversy names were mentioned freely enough, if not with the forensic libelling of Roman manners, yet with acrimony sufficient to discredit opponents whose replies have vanished. Happily for Soranus Galen cited him with respect.

Now concerning the literary remains of Soranus: in the Bibl. Nat. is a manuscript of the fifteenth century (Parisinus graecus, 2153), a kind of handbook on Articella, the middle part of which is a document of 67 leaves—a gynaecological compilation without author's name. Upon it is written in a rough hand *Σωρανός ἐστιν*. On the identification of constituent parts of this handbook, which in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries had a great vogue in the practice of midwifery, I may not here dwell in detail, and as the identification is not very difficult the need is the less. The first critical edition of the Parisinus, by Dietz, was posthumously published, without the advantage of the editor's own care, in 1838, as being the whole of it, *Σωρανοῦ Ἐ. περὶ γυναικείων παθῶν*. But, as I have said, less than half of it was attributable to the master himself. Ermerins did something to discriminate its contents, especially as to the parts of Soranus embedded also in the XVIth or Gynaecological Book of the *Ἰατρικὰ* of Aetius, which even yet are imperfectly edited. But the Parisinus contains additions of considerable importance, both of sentences and of chapters, especially on diseases of children and in anatomy and physiology. The Aetius chapters (XVI. 50-87) were, so to speak, a canvas upon which the 'Soranea' were worked in.

The next important step in the reconstruction of Soranus was taken by Valentine Rose. There was a familiar Latin book known in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries to the obstetricians as the *Gynaecia Muscionis*. Its history is a curious one. It is the Latin form which proves to be the original work, the earliest known MS. being an illustrated MS. of the ninth to tenth century now at Brussels (Bibl. Roy. 3701-3715. Muscio occupies the second part of it). The Greek rendering—under the fancy ('mundgerecht') title of 'Moschion,' falsely supposed to be based on the 'Genetia' of Caelius Aurelianus, and to be of the eighth to ninth century, is much later. The erroneous notion of its antiquity Valentine Rose corrected in an able study (Soranus, 1882), where he proved the 'Moschion' to be Muscio, and—as Moschion—to have a pedigree not older than the fifteenth century, and, indeed, to be of very subordinate value. Many of the ignorances and errors of the 'Graeculus' are set forth by Ilberg. Getting rid then of this Greek pastiche, it is on the Latin midwives' book that

we fall back for any light it may throw collaterally upon the Soranus from whose hands it was supposed to have come. To identify the Soranus remains these relations had to be made clear.

'Muscio' professes to have had two works of Soranus before him, a brief and catechetical and an ampler work. He followed in the main the briefer and more didactic of the two, but he padded out his rendering from the larger treatise. Soranus, in all that we know of him, was disposed to be sententious, to utter maxims to be learned by rote; this we perceive, for instance, in the substantial Fragments of the 'Acute and Chronic Diseases' preserved by Caelius Aurelianus. There are similar reasons to suppose also that, after writing his larger books, he drew up a book of Responsiones, or catechism (cf. 'Interrogationes' of Caelius Aurelianus). Now, in these features of composition Muscio also coincides with Soranus as we know him from other sources. The illustrations probably derive originally from the smaller or catechetical book of Soranus, and were produced to facilitate the abbreviation. They have been carefully studied by many commentators; lately by Sudhoff (*Studien d. Gesch. d. Med.* IV.).

The outcome of his farther study of the Parisinus compilation Ilberg sums as follows: Of the original date of it there is no evidence; the Byzantine physician put in nothing characteristic of himself or of his period. A tag from Meletius may well have been added later. It may have been written in the decadence of the seventh or in the awakening of the ninth century. The anonymous author had before him in its two forms the work of Soranus—*περὶ γυναικείων παθῶν* and also the XVIth Book of Aetius; these he undertook to blend into a new book. Passing over the alteration of chapters, the scissors of the compiler were applied to what were probably four books of the original Soranus. Book I., excerpted and transposed, he reproduced nearly in full. Book II. was also preserved, and its order better retained. Book III. was more defectively dealt with and, under the example of Aetius, suffered interpolations and corruptions. Book IV. suffered still worse things ('traurig ruiniert'); it was reduced to perverted scraps. On the whole it would seem indeed that the Aetius work was the frame, and supplied the larger part of the compilation; and, as Ilberg remarks, compilers were far less scrupulous than transcribers.

Up to the time of Oribasius the texts of Soranus seem to have been in fair preservation; and from this valuable compiler many smaller emendations and additions have been taken, into the detail of which I cannot enter here. Probably Oribasius contains also other portions of Soranus, portions now beyond identification; though some passages of the Alexandrian tradition may have passed to Oribasius directly from Philumenos.

Of the links which bound Soranus to the earlier Alexandria, one of the chief was the works of Demetrius of Apamea (about 250 B.C.), a disciple of Herophilus, whose teaching, especially as to causes, Soranus cites with admiration. It was the boast of the Methodists, indeed, that they regarded *μόνον πρὸς τὸ παρόν*; for causation led oft to remote inquiries, and the only anatomy required for Methodist purposes was the constriction or relaxation of the tissues affected; thus immediate clinical observation was for them all in all. It would be remarkable then that one standing in the following of Herophilus should accept the arid universals of Methodism, and look upon anatomy as *ἄχρηστος*, and ministering to mere curiosity—*χρηστομαθείας ἕνεκα*, and upon the study of causes as otiose; but in this, as in many other respects, Soranus, as Galen perceived, was greater than his school. The larger idea of molecular biology was being degraded into the arid formulas of the later Methodists, which justly provoked the ire of Galen; and it is true that from their shackles Soranus did not shake himself free. He, too, was captive—more, so I think, than Ilberg seems fully to admit—to the empty abstractions of mere molecules and pores; to be satisfied with the *κοινότητες* of *strictum* and *laxum;* until diagnosis consisted of little more than '*στεγνοπαθοῦν καὶ ῥευματιζόμενον ὀξέως ἢ χρονίως.*' Still, it is no less true that

these views—these concentrations on *τὸ παρόν*—fastened the attention upon those masterly clinical observations in which Soranus excelled, and to the merits of which Ilberg and his colleagues by their generous labours are doing a late and now necessarily imperfect justice. To use this commentator's words Soranus 'ist kein Toter'; he stands on the heights of ancient medicine, both in learning and practice, and in loyal regard to tradition. His disciples were taught not only *claudere librum ut cogitent;* but also and more *claudere librum ut videant et curent.*

It is in the treatment that the Methodist doctrines peep out unmistakeably; as in the elaboration of his local applications to command the permeability of the tissues affected. In surgery he was cautious and conservative; he would not betake himself to operation until other means had failed.

As to his ethical attitude, which was honourable, Ilberg refers us to a paper, 'Zur gynaekologischen Ethik der Griechen,' in the Archiv für Religionswissenschaft, XIII. (which I have not seen) on *φθορά*—the decision between the life of mother or child—as illustrated by the maxims of Soranus and Aetius.

CLIFFORD ALLBUTT.

THE COINAGE OF PERGAMON.

Die Münzen von Pergamon. By HANS VON FRITZE. Berlin, 1910 (Verlag der Königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften. In Kommission bei George Reimer). Pp. 108. With 9 plates.

DR. H. VON FRITZE, who has been specially engaged in researches for the Mysian section of the Berlin *Corpus Nummorum*, and who has already discussed in separate articles some important points in the numismatics of Pergamon, has now produced this very scholarly and learned monograph. It is a model of thoroughness, and will be extremely serviceable not only to numismatists, but to all who are interested in the history of the famous capital of the Attalids. Though the book does not profess to be a formal corpus of Pergamene coinage, it is obvious that the careful handling and comparison of many specimens have preceded its production: the compilation of the table of dies (p. 13) would alone prove this.

In dealing with the regal coinage, which, as is well known, is inscribed solely with the name of the founder, Philetaerus, Von Fritze pays a tribute to the merits of Imhoof-Blumer's *Münzen der Dynastie von Pergamon*, an essay published more than twenty-five years ago. He has, however, had access to a larger number of coins than his predecessor, and his arrangement in various respects differs from Imhoof-Blumer's. Thus, he assigns the beginning of the Cistophoric coinage at Pergamon to the reign of Eumenes II., and not to the reign of Attalus I. In the Philetaerid series, also, some re-attributions are proposed, but without disturbing the foundations laid by Imhoof-Blumer.

The theory of arrangement is as follows: Philetaerus, the founder of the kingdom, struck silver coins in his own name, but with the head of his suzerain, Seleucus I. On the death of Philetaerus in 263 B.C., Eumenes I. broke away from the Seleucids, and put the strongly characterised head of Philetaerus upon his coins. Next, Attalus I., who first took the title of King (though not on the coins), and who had gained renown as victor over the Gauls, entwined the diadem of the Philetaerus-head with a laurel-wreath, and on his later coinage employed this wreath without the diadem. This King also altered the pose of the seated Athena on the reverse of the tetradrachms, so that the goddess —the divine bringer of victory, celebrated by so many monuments and festivals in the Attalid dominions—was made to extend a wreath to crown the name ΦΙΛΕΤΑΙΡΟΥ.

Just as there is only one regal name (Philetaerus) on the whole series of coins, so there is only one portrait-head —that of Philetaerus. The only exceptions to this are the head of Seleucus

on the earliest money and a portrait of Eumenes II. on a specimen in the British Museum, which in every way stands apart from the rest of the coinage. A third exception has, indeed, been claimed by Mr. Wace, who has ingeniously argued that a tetradrachm (Pl. II. 10) in his possession bears the features of Attalus I. Against this view there is the strong argument of the improbability of a change of portrait being made in so stereotyped a series; and though, no doubt, the peculiarities of this particular head are distinctly marked, yet it hardly seems legitimate to lay much stress upon them when it is remembered that the Pergamene tetradrachms never, essentially, varied in type, and, consequently, were produced, over a long series of years, by die-engravers of differing degrees of skill and conscientiousness. I was formerly inclined to concede to Wace that the Philetaerus-head on his interesting coin was actually assimilated to the features of Attalus I. (as the head of Herakles on some late Alexandrine coins was made to resemble the features of Mithridates VI. of Pontus); but even this view seems untenable in the face of Von Fritze's observation that the peculiarities noted by Wace are to be found, though not, indeed, in complete combination, on certain other tetradrachms of the regal series—tetradrachms which all numismatists, including, doubtless, Wace himself, admit to represent the portrait of Philetaerus.

From the table of dies supplied by Von Fritze, it appears that during the regal period of 147 years at least 141 dies were used at Pergamon. But the number of dies differs considerably in different reigns: thus, while Eumenes I. has only 9 dies for 22 years' reign, Attalus I. has 63 for 44 years. From the much larger proportion of dies to years under Attalus as compared with Eumenes we may well gather, as Von Fritze remarks, that it was under Attalus that a great expansion of the kingdom took place and that its commerce notably increased.

Considerable space is rightly devoted to the types, which, in the Imperial period, become especially varied and interesting. From the time of the Antonines onwards the Pergamenes indulged in bronze or brass coins of unusually large module, and these (so-called) 'medallions,' while they offer more opportunities to the engraver, give the modern numismatist a better chance than usual of identifying minor details.

The great divinity of the Attalid period is Athena, but Asklepios, whose official worship dates, as Von Fritze suggests, especially from the time of Eumenes I., is not absent. He is represented both seated and standing, and Von Fritze supports, with additional arguments, the view that I put forward many years ago that the seated type reproduces the Asklepios statue of the sculptor Phyromachos. In the Imperial age the God of Healing assumes a position of the highest importance; but we meet on the coins, as Von Fritze is careful to point out, a whole array of divinities, who are otherwise known to us from the inscriptions and monuments of Pergamon. Thus we have Zeus with the epithet Philios. Athena, less important, indeed, than in the regal period. Apollo Smintheus (p. 59), who is not, however, otherwise known in connexion with Pergamon. Dionysos, often mentioned in the inscriptions as Kathegemon. Demeter (Karpophoros), whose temple has been brought to light. Hermes, the Cabiri and Dioscuri, illustrated by some curious types, and various other divinities and local heroes.

Among the temples and altars represented we find the temple of Augustus and Roma, the temple of Asklepios Soter, and the Trajaneum. One altar, figured in Pl. IX. 5, is identified as the copy of an altar which has been found during the excavations in front of the temple of Demeter, and Von Fritze accepts Héron de Villefosse's important identification of an altar protected by a baldachino on a 'medallion' of Sept. Severus as the Great Altar of Pergamon.

In conclusion, I would call the attention of numismatists to various other sections in this monograph that have been worked out with much care. These deal (i.) with the interpretation of monograms, etc., and it is suggested that some found on the bronze of the regal period may be resolved into the names

of cities (as Thyatira), which may have joined together to defray the costs of special festivals; (ii.) a discussion of the Alexandrine types that Müller has attributed to Pergamon; (iii.) the dating of the bronze coins of the regal period is well determined, also the attribution of those bronze coins of Imperial times which lack the Imperial name and effigy; (iv.) the various inscriptions found on Imperial coins are investigated; and (v.) we are supplied with a full list of magistrates' names and titles, and a good critical list of the alliance coins (Homonoia - Münzen) struck by Pergamon in conjunction with other cities.

WARWICK WROTH.

DIE ORIENTALISCHEN RELIGIONEN IN RÖMISCHEN HEIDENTHUM.

Die orientalischen Religionen in römischen Heidenthum. By FRANZ CUMONT. Translated into German by GEORG GEHRICH. Pp. xxiv + 344. Leipzig: Teubner, 1910. M. 5.

PROFESSOR CUMONT'S book took its origin some years ago in lectures delivered at Paris and Oxford. It reaches England again in an enlarged form and in a German translation.

The delay has not been without its advantages. For those who believe in a general movement of thought, Cumont's book falls into its place along with speculations like that of Rudolf Eucken in *The Problem of Life*, where the meaning of the Roman Empire is gathered from the lips of Augustine; or along with Schweitzer's *Quest of the historical Jesus*, where the historical method is once more vindicated against an arbitrary analysis of isolated texts. The true interpretation of the Roman Empire will not be found by merely assembling the materials for a judgment. We all know compilations interesting enough to which high names are given, promising more than the reader finds. There are many scholars who, instead of filling fresh notebooks, might well turn to account the example which Cumont sets in the book before us, and put in order the results of their reading.

The body of the work is made up of brilliant sketches which show how, in their various ways, the religions of the East contributed to the spiritual life of the empire. These sketches are rendered the more valuable by the notes and bibliographies which are relegated to the end. But these sketches are part of a careful scheme. The data gathered together from the various traditions and practices of the Orient are so grouped and ordered as to carry the reader almost inevitably to the unusually wide generalisations which constitute the conclusion. These generalisations are not severally novel, but when they are taken together the effect of them is novel.

The substance of Professor Cumont's thesis is this: that the coming of the East to Rome transformed the Rome of Augustus—with its meaningless state religion and its barren individual life—into something deeper and more cosmopolitan, the empire which was the predecessor and true source of modern Europe. Instead of recording the decline and fall of the empire of the West, the first four centuries of the Christian era mark the rise of a new age. The individual now comes to his own, not as a citizen of Rome but of the world of Rome, and also as the object of a divine providence which lifts him above the iron chains of destiny. And it is this latter advance which enables the man or woman, amid the ruins of a falling world, to ride the sea of time and come to new havens.

Two centuries before Augustus, the East made its attack upon the West with the carnal weapons of Hannibal and Carthage. But the year in which Cybele came to Rome preceded the disaster of Zama. In the worship of Cybele the conqueror admitted to his capital the forerunner of the successive worships of Egypt, Syria, and Persia. The Baal Moloch, the Lord King of Carthage, was one day to come from

another Semitic city in the train of Aurelian, and the god of Hannibal ruled over the posterity of his conquerors. To the undiscerning eye of the old-fashioned Roman it seemed as if the dregs of the East were choking the Tiber. The converted Pharisee, however, was a better prophet than Juvenal. Upon Paul and his friends *τὰ τέλη τῶν αἰώνων κατήντηκεν*. The ends of the worlds did, indeed, meet in the religion which was ultimately victorious.

Cumont dwells with sympathy upon the contributions which were made to philosophy by the priests and thinkers who took the religions, often rudimentary, of local centres, dwelt upon what was common to them all, and, by referring even coarse usages to a spiritual purpose, lifted them up towards a higher morality and a profounder consolation. The worshippers of Cybele found themselves treated as individuals after being merged in the formalism of a purely state religion. Egypt, with its mysteries, appealed to, and thereby almost created, a sense of the after-life. When Syria gave to Aurelian the Baal of Palmyra, she gave also the belief in the unity of God. Babylon with its astrology raised the afterworld from the depths of Sheol and Hades to regions beyond the stars. Lastly, and chiefly, the Persian view of the world, as the scene of the great conflict between good and evil, led to an eschatology which in some respects is that of the gospels.

The priests and thinkers of Babylon and Alexandria 'before and along with Christendom spread doctrines which at the end of the antique world reached general recognition along with Christianity.' They scattered doctrines out of which innumerable philosophies were to rise, and baulk many a modern thinker of the claim to originality. Nietzsche mounted '6,000 feet beyond men and time' for the moment when 'the fundamental idea of his work—namely, the Eternal Recurrence of all things'—should occur to him. This dogma had already been tried and found wanting by the antique world. Nietzsche's conception of the antique was too narrow.

The sincere student of religious history need not boggle at those usages and ideas which Christianity inherited. They belonged to the whole world which environed Christianity. Lactantius and Arnobius and Augustine mislead us by their attacks upon the moribund religions of Rome and Greece: moribund for the worshippers of Mithra and of the almighty Sun, no less than for the worshippers of Jesus. We can turn over the pages of the 'Consolation of Philosophy' which repeats the commonplaces of the time, and wonder whether the author is a pagan or a Christian. So wide-spread was the common fund of moral ideas!

Once more in the history of the world the East stands face to face with the West. Once more an Eastern kingdom stands face to face with a Western empire, as Persia, under the Sassanids, stood over against a less noble Rome. Will a second Athanasius arise, or are we at the beginning of a new era? Such are some of the questions which Professor Cumont forces upon us.

FRANK GRANGER.

THE EGYPTIAN NOMES.

Die Ägyptischen Gaue und Ihre politische Entwicklung. By PROF. GEORG STEINDORFF. From the 27th vol. of the Abhandlungen of the Phil. Hist. Class of the K. Sächs. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, No. 25. Leipzig: Teubner, 1909.

PROF. STEINDORFF'S short critical monograph on the Egyptian nomes will be of use to all students of Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt. In a short space he traces the history of the local divisions of Egypt and their government from the earliest times till the end of the native monarchy, showing that the nome-divisions which we meet with in the Revenue Papyrus and elsewhere under the Ptolemies are by no means the same in number or extent as those which existed either under the Old Kingdom (3500—2500 B.C.), or under

the (Thothmosid and Ramessid) Empire (1500—1000 B.C.). To give, as is habitually done, the list of nomes which was inscribed upon the monuments as a true list of the local divisions of Egypt at all periods, is an error. These lists perpetuated till the Ptolemaic age (for reasons of solemn religious conservatism) the nome-divisions of the Old Kingdom; the real Ptolemaic divisions differed widely from these, and bore different names. Yet not so widely as the Imperial local departments had differed from the old nomes. Under the XVIIIth Dynasty (perhaps already under the XIIth) the nome-provinces and their noble rulers disappeared in favour of departments based upon the chief towns, and ruled by royal officials. Prof. Steindorff shows how, under the weak government of the later Empire (XXth Dynasty) and the Priest-Kings, Tanites, and Bubastites, these departmental 'sheriffs' became hereditary chiefs (as the old nome-princes had from the Vth to the XIIth Dynasty), and founded little local kingdoms always fighting with one another and submitting alternately to Assyrian and Ethiopian conquerors. Then came the renascence under the Saïte Psammetichos, and, true to the archaistic spirit of the time, which wished to forget the Empire and to restore the primitive simplicity of the Old Kingdom, the whole system of the town-departments was abolished, and an attempt was made to restore the ancient nome-system of three thousand years before. This could not be done either entirely or correctly, and the result was the actual nome-system as we have it in the Ptolemaic papyri, which differs considerably from the fictitious nome-system perpetuated on the walls of the Ptolemaic temples.

This thesis is maintained by Prof. Steindorff with vigour and success; he seems to have proved his point. On matters which do not affect his main contention, his conclusions are here and there open to question, however. Thus his tacit refusal to accept the usual identifications of Het-bennu, the capital of the Eighteenth Nome of Upper Egypt (Sepa), with the classical Hipponon, and of Hesebka or Kaheseb, capital of the Eleventh Nome of Lower Egypt (which bore the same name) with Kabasos, the modern Shabbâs, is curious. These identifications seem likely, in default of anything else more probable. His criticism of the current theory which explains the hieroglyphic symbols of the nomes literally as the 'Nome of the Hare,' or of 'The Sceptre,' the 'Oryx-nome,' and so forth, a theory adopted by Prof. Eduard Meyer in the new edition of his *Geschichte des Altertums*, is interesting, if not entirely convincing. It looks as if from the beginning some of the ancient nomes had names of this type ('Oryx-nome,' etc.), while others were known by the names of their chief towns (as Ueset or Tj'emet, the Theban nome) or by the names of the gods worshipped *κατ' ἐξοχήν* in them (as Anubis, the Seventeenth home of Upper Egypt). In Greek papyri of Ptolemaic and Roman times the designation after the name of the chief town is exclusively found; and probably this practice, taken over from the imperial town-department system, was retained in popular *parlance* under the Saïtes, the old provincial names having been forgotten.

Prof. Steindorff points out what has not been noticed before, that the symbol—a crocodile with a feather on its head—of the Sixth Upper Egyptian nome (which has therefore been called the 'Crocodile-nome'), is in the oldest representations a crocodile with a knife in its head; and it was at Tentyra, the capital of this nome, that, as Strabo says (17, 814), in opposition to the rest of Egypt '*ὁ κροκόδειλος ἠτίμωται καὶ ἔχθιστος τῶν ἁπάντων θηρίων νενόμισται*,' while Aelian adds that he was here killed by being wounded in the eyes. 'Besserer Kommentare zu dem uralten Gaubilde bedürfte es kaum'; the nome was originally called that of the Crocodile-killers, and the picture-hieroglyph shows how the people of this peculiar province killed the elsewhere sacred animal.

Researches such as these are always useful to the classical student, and it is not seldom nowadays that the modern critical study of the monuments of Egypt yields explanation of otherwise inexplicable facts or illustration of interesting passages in the authors who refer to the Nile-land.

H. R. Hall.

CLARK'S *FONTES PROSAE NUMEROSAE* AND *CURSUS*.

(1) *Fontes Prosae Numerosae.* Collegit ALBERTUS CURTIS CLARK. Pp. 48. Oxonii, e Typographeo Clarendoniano, MCMIX. Price 4s. 6d.

(2) *The Cursus in Mediaeval and Vulgar Latin.* By ALBERT C. CLARK. Pp. 31. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1910. Price 2s.

THE former of these volumes is meant, as the Preface tells us, 'for the use of students attending a course of lectures which I propose to give upon the metrical element in Latin Prose.' Its contents are arranged in the following sections: *Testimonia, Auctores, Bibliography.* The divisions headed *Testimonia* and *Auctores* consist of carefully chosen extracts illustrating the precepts and the practice of those writers or speakers (Greek as well as Roman) from whom most is to be learnt about numerous prose. In the second publication, which is a reprint of a paper read to the Oxford Philological Society, the author sketches briefly the history of metrical and accented prose from early Greek to late Latin times.

In the *Bibliography*, which the Preface to the *Cursus* supplements slightly, Mr. Clark gives a list of the various Continental scholars who have worked at this subject. So far as Cicero is concerned, the best known researches are those of Zielinski, whose *Clauselgesetz* was reviewed by Mr. Clark in this journal some five years ago (*C.R.* XIX. 164-172). In that review full justice was done to Zielinski's work. The theory and practice of Cicero is the central point in the entire study; and it is not unnatural that extracts from the *Orator* should form nearly half of Mr. Clark's *Testimonia*. It is a comfort to know from the *Orator* that Cicero does not consciously obey all the 'rules' and 'laws,' or consciously profit by all the 'licences,' which Zielinski has discovered. Composition and analysis are two distinct processes; and when (as in Cicero's case) the composer turns analyst, he does not proceed recklessly to sign away a freedom which he prizes above all things. He feels that, in ending his sentences, he is guided by artistic instinct rather than by formal rules. Variety rather than monotony is his aim. His ear finds no pleasure in a long succession of monosyllables, or of disyllables, or of words otherwise too like to one another. Without formulating any invariable rule, he knows that his final clause will 'run' badly if, through being composed entirely of short or of long syllables, it becomes a trot or a tramp. He will formulate no invariable rule, for his nice sense of sound will tell him that, when the occasion requires it, such a sentence-ending as 'includuntur in carcerem condemnati' is all the more effective because it is so rare. Fragments of the familiar metres used in poetry he will commonly avoid; but even these he will sometimes use. His favourite cretic and dichoreus (favourite because of their pleasing alternation of long and short syllables) he will keep in check, lest his cadences should become a kind of sing-song or refrain, with a merry audience joining in. In a word, he will be the first to see that tastes differ and languages differ and occasions differ, and that *μεταβολὴ πάντων γλυκύ.*

But the late Latin imitators of Cicero, and the late Greek imitators of Isocrates and Demosthenes, too often chose rhythmical slavery rather than rhythmical freedom; and some of the extracts in these two volumes make sad reading. Language has become a bad master rather than a good servant; the difference between prose and verse is forgotten; substance is sacrificed to sound; the object is not to have something to say, but to say nothing with effect; the lower rhetoric which panders to an uncultivated ear is preferred to that higher rhetoric (the only rhetoric worth anything) which seeks to convey thought as truthfully, as plainly, and as persuasively as possible. 'No one,' says Mr. Clark, 'could suspect [from the first book of the *Republic*] that Thrasymachus was one of the greatest inventors in the field of literature that the world has seen, who laid down the lines upon which prose

was to develop for nearly two thousand years.' If the excesses of some of the later Greek and Latin writers are to be laid at Thrasymachus' door, one could wish that Socrates, who never wrote at all, had still more effectually discomfited the progenitor of so much literary ineptitude.

Mr. Clark's own paper is most lucid, interesting, and comprehensive. Towards its close he argues, with much probability and originality, that the *cursus mixtus* [*i.e.*, that composite *cursus* in which some of the *clausulae* are metrical, while others are accentual rather than quantitative] originated at a much earlier date than that of St. Augustine. He shows reason for believing that it was characteristic of vulgar or colloquial Latin, as opposed to the *sermo urbanus*. He finds traces of it in Petronius, Vitruvius, Frontinus, and in some among the more intimate of Cicero's *Letters to Atticus*.

Both volumes are printed with great accuracy. But there is a trifling error on p. 37 l. 4 of the *Fontes:* and can ὅπως, on p. 13 (extract 5) *ibid.*, be defended? *Cursus*, p. 31: If Cicero had meant the end of the sentence, would he not have used τελευτή, in order to avoid ambiguity? Just one more point, suggested by *Cursus*, p. 5, 'the theory of the period is that of a rise and fall.' The underlying idea of the period would seem to be that not of any musical cadence but of a rounded sentence in which a feeling of suspense as to the full meaning is maintained from start to finish. Compare, for example, Aristot. *Rhet.* iii. 9, 3 λέγω δὲ περίοδον λέξιν ἔχουσαν ἀρχὴν καὶ τελευτὴν αὐτὴν καθ' αὑτὴν καὶ μέγεθος εὐσύνοπτον and Dionys. Hal. *de Lysia* c. 6 (with reference to Theophrastus' view of Thrasymachus, not adopted by Dionysius) ἡ συστρέφουσα τὰ νοήματα καὶ στρογγύλως ἐκφέρουσα λέξις.

W. Rhys Roberts.

PROU'S *LATIN PALAEOGRAPHY.*

Manuel de Paléographie latine et française, par Maurice Prou. 3e édition, entièrement refondu. Accompagnée d'un Album de 24 planches. Pp. ix+509. Paris: Picard et Fils, 1910. 15 francs.

This is the best Manual of Latin Palaeography, and should be got by everyone who has anything to do with Latin MSS. The last part, between a third and a half of the whole book, absorbs Chassant's *Dictionary of Abbreviations*. These abbreviations are the kind used in charters and MSS. from the twelfth century onwards. In a chapter in the middle of the book the abbreviations used in earlier MSS. are discussed, but no list is given.

Prof. Prou lays stress in his Preface on the unambitious aim of this manual: 'Ce n'est pas un traité complet et scientifique de paléographie . . . mais un court manuel élémentaire et pratique destiné, non aux érudits, mais à tous ceux qui ont besoin d'apprendre à lire les manuscrits et les chartes.' In spite of this, his book may be recommended to others also who are past the beginning stage. For although Latin Palaeography is too vast a subject to be treated satisfactorily in some 500 pages, or rather 300 (for 200 are occupied by the *Dictionary of Abbreviations*), good bibliographical notes are added to each paragraph for those who wish to go more thoroughly into any particular topic. And Prof. Prou is so completely up to date, that even 'érudits' will learn something from him; for example, from his remarks on the term 'Lombardic script' (pp. 75 *sqq.*), that the term should be used only of Italian writing, and that the old careless practice of applying it to any kind of pre-Carolingian minuscule, whether written in France or Switzerland or elsewhere, should be given up. But the truth is that we still lack a precise nomenclature for Latin scripts. And why? Because we lack full knowledge of their varieties. Even so well-known a term as 'Half-uncial' is of uncertain connotation, because the limits between it and, on

one side, 'uncial,' on another side, that script of St. Gall 1395 (frag. 1), which the St. Gall Catalogue calls 'Römische Minuskel des VI Jh.,' have never been clearly drawn. Nor has Anglo-Saxon script been definitely marked off from Irish. And although Beneventan script, the script of South Italy, has characteristic features which make it unmistakable, the script of North and Central Italy is still a *terra incognita* to Manuals of Palaeography. They are silent on those peculiar forms of *g*, of *ti*, of *ss*, or those peculiar abbreviations of 'eius,' 'misericordia,' 'noster,' which enable us to locate an Italian MS. of the eighth or ninth centuries. Visigothic script, too, is still insufficiently known. The French catalogue of the Autun MSS. describes the Visigothic minuscule of No. 27 as 'cursive mérovingienne.' The German catalogue of the Trèves MSS. describes the ordinary Caroline minuscule of No. 170 as 'Visigotisch.' And even in our New Palaeographical Society's Publications the Visigothic minuscule of the Manchester Smaragdus is called 'pre-Caroline minuscule of the Visigothic species' (or 'of Visigothic type').

Dr. Loew's book on Beneventan script will soon be in our hands. There is some prospect of its being followed by a book on Visigothic. When each variety of script has received in this fashion a special treatment, Latin Palaeography will at last achieve that 'sharpening of her weapons' for which Traube called.

W. M. Lindsay.

St. Andrews, N.B.

GREEK ATHLETIC SPORTS AND FESTIVALS.

Greek Athletic Sports and Festivals. By E. Norman Gardiner. 1 vol. 8″ × 5″. Pp. xxiv + 533. Illustrations, 190 in text. London: Macmillan and Co., 1910. 10s. 6d.

Mr. Norman Gardiner, whose study of Greek athletics has already been much appreciated by readers of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, has in this volume amplified and elaborated his theme, and the result is a book which will be accepted by most classical scholars as an authoritative exposition of the subject.

Himself an athlete of some repute, the author brings to the consideration of ancient athletics an enthusiasm which would necessarily be lacking in one who was simply a student. All through the book, particularly in the chapters describing the various sports, we find him trying to fathom the how, why, and wherefore of everything; consequently his conclusions, whether on gymnastic or historical points, being based as far as possible upon personal observation or experiment, carry more conviction than if they were colourless reproductions of the investigations of others.

His claim that he has included in this book more of the subject than has ever been treated in a single volume before, seems justified. The first part, which I understand is wholly new, consists of a history of Greek athletics and of the accompanying festivals from the earliest times—he begins with the games of Patroclus—down to the end of the fourth century A.D. The story of the development of these meetings, from the time when they were instituted as a practical help towards the more efficient bearing of arms until they degenerated into sterile professionalism, is well and clearly told, and the author is ever ready to apply his reading of history to the downward trend of present-day athleticism—and not without reason. The Olympic festival is given a complete chapter to itself, while the Pythian, Isthmian, and Nemean are treated together. Athens deserves, and receives, separate consideration, and there is also a chapter on Roman athletics.

Probably the second part, in which the various gymnastic sports and exercises are analysed and explained in detail, will prove the more interesting to the general reader. As the long-forgotten throwing of the diskos has been revived and reconstructed in our modern Olympic festivals, it is interesting to

find that Mr. Gardiner denounces (and I think with justice) the grotesque and artificial method which the authorities are pleased to call 'Hellenic'; and it is reasonable to suppose that if his criticism were brought to the notice of the officials, this ungraceful performance would soon vanish from the programme.

In one small point I venture to question Mr. Gardiner's judgment. Fig. 112 represents two men wrestling, and he describes it as a not very satisfactory illustration of *παράθεσις* (the manœuvre by which a side-hold is effected). To me it seems to be an excellent picture of a 'cross-buttock,' the commonest trick-throw in Cumbrian wrestling. The figure on the right has only to fling his opponent's body across his own to hurl him off his legs; and it should be observed that in so doing he places himself in precisely the same position in relation to his opponent. It is merely a question who gets first 'heave': possibly this is the reason why this knock-out throw is so seldom used by good wrestlers—the attacker, if detected, is so easily caught in his own trap.

But this is only a detail. The book as a whole is written in a bright and good-humoured style, and has true sportsmanship embedded in every page. It will act as an excellent tonic for boys afflicted with the athletic craze and a decadent passion for statistics and records. It ought to find a place in every school library and on every prize list, and I hope that all librarians and head-masters will carefully consider it for these purposes.

I had almost omitted to mention one of the most fascinating features of the book—its illustrations. They are of many kinds and derived from many sources—photography, gems, pottery, coins, and what not. They are uniformly excellent, and (what is more) they are truly illustrative of the text.

R. B. LATTIMER.

SHORT NOTICES

L'Emploi du Participe Présent Latin à l'Époque Républicaine. Par J. MAROUZEAU. 1 vol. 10″ × 6½″. Pp. 84. Paris: Champion, 1910. Fr. 3.

WE have here an interesting study by an experienced investigator. M. has examined Pl., Ter., Cato, Varro (r.r.), Caesar (B.G. only), and his continuers, Sall., Catullus, Lucr. He has also made 'sondages confirmatifs' in Nepos and in the following works of Cic.: *in Cat.*, *pro Marc.*, *pro Lig.*, *de Divinatione*. It is to be regretted that he has not made a fuller study of the language of Cic. One constantly feels, especially in the chapter on the 'Relation du Participe avec le Verbe Principal,' that the evidence is incomplete, that the most important witness has not been called. *E.g.* on p. 27, where the participle is compared with the gerund (*e.g.* Pl., ut cruciere . . . currens with Ter. miserrumus fui fugitando), Sall. is the only prose writer cited; it would be well to refer to Lebreton's list of Ciceronian examples (*Études sur la Langue et la Gram. de Cic.*, pp. 400-404). Again, we read on p. 33: 'Seul Salluste adjoint au participe régime un adverbe ou une conjonction: Iug. 38, 2: veluti cedentem.' Yet Cic. uses *ut* and *quasi* in the same way: *eum* (i.e. *animum deus*) . . . *ut dominum atque imperantem oboedienti praefecit corpori* (Ti. 21).

But, though M. does not give an adequate account of the use of the participle in classical prose, he gives in considerable detail the history of its gradually extending use up to Cic.'s time and among many of his contemporaries. Some of the results of his researches may be mentioned. It is often said that the present participle is rare in the nominative. M. shows, on the contrary, that from Pl. to Cic. the nom. is commoner than any other case, and that in many writers the nom. of the participle is the only case which is used with any freedom to govern an object or object clause. *E.g.* Terence has a number of examples of the nom. sing. of the types *exspectans si quid . . .; nuntians me venisse; nihil suspicans mali*, but his only

examples of *oblique* cases with 'régime verbal' are *dum . . . veniret exspectantem; pollicitantem et nihil ferentem; eius noctem orantem.* This preference for the nom., or rather, this avoidance of the oblique cases, is shown by many of Cic.'s contemporaries. 'C'est par le nominatif que le participe présent s'implante de plus en plus dans la langue littéraire; c'est aussi par le nominatif qu'il a conquis peu à peu la faculté d'avoir un régime.'

There is an excellent chapter headed 'Expression du temps.' M.'s conclusion is: 'Le participe n'a pas pour fonction de dater l'action qu'il exprime; . . . c'est par une interprétation, fondée sur le sens de la phrase, le sens et l'aspect des deux verbes, qu'on donne au participe une valeur temporelle.' 'Dans la phrase de César, B. G. vii. 15, 6: *Datur petentibus venia, dissuadente primo Vercingetorige, post concedente* aucun des trois participes n'exprime une action littéralement contemporaine de l'action principale.'

W. E. P. PANTIN.

LIVE LATIN.

Orationes tum Crewianae tum gratulatoriae in Theatro Sheldoniano plerumque habitae auctore W. W. MERRY, D.D. Clarendon Press, 1909.

Orationes et Epistolae Cantabrigienses (1876-1909). By J. E. SANDYS, Litt.D. Macmillan, 1910.

WHAT'S in a name? Something, the reader will think, when he reads the witty pages of Dr. Merry. The subject of the Crewian orations is the same: a sketch of the notable men who have died in the late year, and reflexions on the gaieties of the summer term. But there is much variety in the treatment, many a happy quotation, many a neat jest, the play of fancy over undergraduate flirtations and their 'sisters, their cousins, and their aunts.' Afternoon tea, the Eight Hours' Bill, motor-cars, current events of history, appear in faultless Latin. I have not observed whether all the *clausulae* are Ciceronian: I should think that in the neighbourhood of Mr. A. C. Clark it behoves a Latinist to be careful, but, for my part, Cicero was not the only man who wrote Latin. I prefer Erasmus to Marcus Antonius Muretus, and Dr. Merry to the *Perioche* of Livy. This we may call the *Perioche* of Oxford, which will be a most instructive study when Ruskin College takes the place of Balliol, and when the House of Commons has asserted the right of every man to have a degree.

Dr. Sandys has not the same opportunity for touching lightly upon the daily life of Cambridge; but his work presents a remarkable series of contemporary portraits. His index of sixteen large pages contains some hundreds of names, those who have been presented for honorary degrees, and other men of eminence; each of these has his biographical sketch, which must have tried his modesty often to hear, although fortunately many of the eminent men in question would not be able to understand their own praises. Dr. Sandys is quite as clever as Dr. Merry in his quotations, but his aim is more serious. Many of them are very happy indeed. His command of Latin is extraordinary, and he has often an allusion to the history of the outside world.

These books help us to understand how needless it was to invent Esperanto.

W. H. D. R.

Corpus Scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Latinorum. Vol. XLVI. *Tyrannii Rufini opera. Pars I. Orationum Gregorii Nazianzen novem interpretatio. Edidit* AUGUSTUS ENGELBRECHT.

STUDENTS of Rufinus have had access to his translations of Basil and Origen in the Benedictine editions of the *Clementine Recognitions* in Cotelier and Migne; of other works in Migne's volume of Rufinus (XXIII.). The *Ecclesiastical History*, one of Theodore Mommsen's last works, is printed with the Berlin edition of Eusebius. But these versions from Gregory Nazianzen have hitherto been read only in Muling's edition (Strassburg, 1508) and that of Leipzig (1522), in which latter Oration two is given in a modern version. John Wrobel, more than twenty years ago,

undertook to edit the whole of Rufinus for the Vienna *Corpus*. After spending many years in collations, he began and carried through about a quarter of this first volume, when he died in June, 1909. The present editor hopes to give us the whole remains of Rufinus, including the translations. His MSS. here range from the ninth to the eleventh century. The text is followed by three indexes—(1) *locorum*; (2) *nominum et rerum;* (3) *verborum et elocutionum*. The two latter are imperfect, the names *Elia* and *Sareptena uidua* being omitted in the former, and in the latter *capsaces olei* (p. 181, l. 3). The word *capsaces* is unknown to Lewis-Short. In one of five annotated lexicons I refer to III. *Reg.* 17, 14 (Cypr., p. 387, Hartel), *Aug. Serm.*, 239, 3 (Migne, xxxviii. 1128). Add Migne LXVII., 518a. Some scholar familiar with Church history, with ancient romances and plays, and late Latin, could not choose a more attractive book to edit than the *Clementine Recognitions* in the version of Rufinus. More than one student, whose attention I have called to the book, has been fascinated by the study of it. An edition with full commentary is a crying need of the hour.

JOHN E. B. MAYOR.

DELOS.

Delos: Exploration Archéologique faite par l'École Française d'Athènes. Fasc. I. Introduction: *Carte de l'Île de Delos au* 1/10,000 *avec un Commentaire Explicatif.* Par ANDRÉ BELLOT. Fasc. II. *La Salle Hypostyle.* Par G. LEROUX. Paris: Fontemoing.

ALTHOUGH these first instalments of the French excavation are not so important for most readers as others will be, they are full of valuable information. Captain Bellot's chart is a marvel. It is contoured, and has marked on it apparently every ancient stone in Delos and Rhenaea; while the actual heights taken in the survey are printed on a transparent sheet that can be put over the chart. All details of the triangulation are given in tables, and inset are some charming photogravures of the island and its harbour from different points. The second fascicle has photogravures and plans, with drawings of the important architectural features (capitals and so forth), inscriptions found in the hall, and the later remains found on the same site.

This hall is assigned to the year 250 or a little after. It recalls the Egyptian type of the later empire and the Roman basilica. Since one has now been found in Delos, on the road from Egypt to Italy, the theory is supported that the Basilica was derived from Egypt through Alexandria.

On its site was built later a Christian or Byzantine building; lamps found in it have Christian emblems, as the cross. In the ruins were found also some inscribed altars and tombstones of familiar types, and a winged female in high relief. Roman houses were also built in the area of this hall; part of a pointed stucco decoration remains in one place.

Amongst the plates at the end are some attempts at a reconstruction of the hall, with modern beams and tiles. The shape may be correct, but the combination of materials give an effect which is unlikely to have pleased a Greek eye.

W. H. D. ROUSE.

Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms in der Zeit von August bis zum Ausgang der Antonine von Ludwig Friedländer. Achte neu bearbeitete und vermehrte Auflage.

THIS eighth edition appears in four volumes (Vol. III. being divided into two) in 1910. Friedländer died at Strassburg, December 26, 1909, *aet.* eighty-five, a few days after giving the last touches to the last volume of his masterpiece. Every edition was so superior to its forerunners, that some of us have been obliged to buy them as they came out. For this edition Friedländer acknowledges the help of O. Crusius, O. Hirschfeld, and Chr. Hülsen. The 'Nachwort' is signed by G. Dehio, who contributed to the edition of 1888.

J. E. B. M.

NOTES AND NEWS

We make no apology for calling attention to the very entertaining and impressive Gigantomachia which Mr. Lang and Professor Murray have been kind enough to exhibit recently in the *Oxford Magazine*. It would require the pen of Homer (if Homer had been present on the occasion) to describe adequately this brief and lively duel between the Polychronist and the Monochronist theories of the *Iliad*. For first did the one champion take up an hypothesis, black, jagged, and huge, which not two Germans of this age could believe (but he alone believed it quite easily), and hurled it at his adversary's Mycenaean shield of six indubitable strata; but the shameless assumption was checked thereby and glanced aside. Next did the other hero lift up a much larger hypothesis, and threw it, nor missed, at the foeman's book: through six editions did the missile go, urged by vast strength; but the seventh stopped it, made of the hide of a calf. Then did they rush together like wild boars, and one or other must have perished; but Apollo carried both away, ἐκάλυψε δ' ἄρ' ἠέρι πολλῇ—the battle ended as usual in a thick mist of uncertainty. It was a very pleasant passage of arms, and a model for controversies between the learned.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Publishers and Authors forwarding books for review are asked to send at the same time a note of the price.

*** *Excerpts and Extracts from Periodicals and Collections are not included in these Lists unless stated to be separately published.*

Aristophanes (The Peace) Edited by C. E. Graves. $6\frac{1}{2}'' \times 4\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. xv+143. Cambridge: University Press, 1911. Cloth, 3s. 6d.

Baldwin. See *Petronius.*

Bombay Classical Association (Proceedings, 1910), with five contributed articles on classical subjects. $8\frac{1}{4}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. 70. Bombay: *Times* Press, 1911. Rs. 1.8 net.

Bond (R. W.) Early Plays from the Italian, with Essay, Introduction, and Notes. $8'' \times 5\frac{1}{4}''$. Pp. cxviii+332. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911. Cloth, 7s. 6d. net.

Caesar (Gallic War) Translated by F. P. Long. $7'' \times 5''$. Pp. viii+278. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911. Cloth, 3s. 6d. net.

Classical Studies (The Year's Work in) Edited by Dr. Rouse. Fifth year of issue, 1910. $8\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. 180. London: John Murray, 1911. 2s. 6d. net.

Duhain (G.) Jacques de Tourreil, traducteur de Démosthène. $10'' \times 6\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. 274. Paris: Honoré Champion, 1910. Fr. 6.

Eitrem (S.) Beiträge zur griechischen Religionsgeschichte. I. Der vordorische Widdergott. $9\frac{1}{4}'' \times 6\frac{1}{4}''$. Pp. 24. Christiania: J. Dybwad, 1910. 1s.

—— Eine christliche Inschrift aus Chios, mit 1 Tafel. $9\frac{1}{4}'' \times 6\frac{1}{4}''$. Pp. 12. Christiania: J. Dybwad, 1910. 1s.

Fitzhugh (T.) The Literary Saturnian. Part II., Naevius and the later Italic Tradition. Pp. 124. University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va.: Anderson Brothers, 1910. $2.

Gildersleeve (B. L.) The Termination -κός in Aristophanes. From *Amer. Journ. Phil.* xxxi. 4. $9\frac{1}{4}'' \times 5\frac{3}{4}''$. Pp. 428-444. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1910.

Greek Papyri in the British Museum. Catalogue, with texts. Vol. IV., The Aphrodito Papyri, edited by H. I. Bell, with an Appendix of Coptic Papyri, edited by W. E. Crum. $12\frac{1}{2}'' \times 10''$. Pp. 648. British Museum, 1910. Cloth.

Homer (Selections) By W. Rennie. With Introduction, Notes, and Vocabulary. $7'' \times 5''$. Pp. 140. London: Edward Arnold, 1910. Cloth, 2s. 6d.

Kahrstedt (U.) Forschungen zur Geschichte des ausgehenden fünften und des vierten Jahrhunderts. $9\frac{1}{4}'' \times 6\frac{1}{4}''$. Pp. 282. Berlin: Weidmann, 1910. M. 7.

Ludwich (A.) Nonni Panopolitani Dionysiaca. Volumen alterum, Libros XXV.-XLVIII. continens. Teubner's Text. $7\frac{1}{4}'' \times 5''$. Pp. 555. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1911. M. 6.60.

Manitius (Max) Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters. Erster Teil. Von Justinian bis zur Mitte des zehnten Jahr-

hunderts. (Handbuch der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft.) 10″×6¾″. Pp. 766. München: Beck, 1911. M. 15.

Mihaileanu (P.) Fragmentele Latine ale lui Philumenus S. Philageus. Cu un studin introductiv referitor la autenticitatea Textuli Graec al Fragmentelor. 9″×6½″. Pp. vi+202. Bukharest: Carol Göbl, 1910.

Monist (The) XXI. 1., January, 1911. 9½″×6¼″. Pp. 160. Chicago: Open Court Publishing Co.

Ovid. Selections from *Heroides*, with Introduction, Notes, and Vocabulary. By L. W. P. Lewis and C. H. Broadbent. 7″×5″. Pp. 128. London: Edward Arnold, 1911. Cloth, 2s.

—— (Simplified) By W. F. Witton. 7″×5″. Pp. 119. London: Edward Arnold, 1911. Cloth, 1s. 6d.

—— (Selections from Metamorphoses) Edited by H. A. Jackson. 7″×4¾″. Pp. 77. London: Edward Arnold, 1911. Cloth, 1s. 6d.

Pelham (H. F.) Essays on Roman History. Collected and edited by F. Haverfield. 10″×6¾″. Pp. xxiii+328. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911. Cloth, 10s. 6d. net.

Petronius. The Bellum Civile of Petronius. Edited, with Introduction, Commentary, and Translation, by Florence T. Baldwin, Ph.D. 9¼″×6½″. Pp. viii+264. New York: Columbia University Press, 1911.

Phillipson (Coleman) The International Law and Custom of Ancient Greece and Rome. 2 vols. 9″×6″. Pp. xxiv+419 and xvi+421. London: Macmillan and Co., 1911. Cloth, 21s. net.

Pöhlmann (R. v.) Aus Altertum und Gegenwart. 8½″×6″. Pp. 438. München: Beck, 1911. M. 7.

Randolph (C. B.) The Sign of Interrogation in Greek Minuscule Manuscripts. From Classical Philology, vol. 3. 10″×7″. Pp. 309-319. Chicago: University Press, 1910.

Tacitus (Histories, I.-II.) Introduction, Text, and Notes. By F. G. Moore. 7″×5″. Pp. xxviii+249. New York: Macmillan and Co., 1910. Cloth, 3s.

Traube (L.) Vorlesungen und Abhandlungen. Zweiter Band. Einleitung in die lateinische Philologie des Mittelalters. 10″×7″ Pp. viii+176. München: Beck, 1911.

Wilkinson (Spenser) Hannibal's March. With 2 figures and 4 maps. 9″×6″. Pp. 48. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911. Paper boards, 7s. 6d. net.

Willems (P.) Le Droit Public Romain. Septième édition. 10″ × 6½″. Pp. lii + 682. Louvain: Peeters, 1910.

Woodhouse (S. C.) English-Greek Dictionary. A Vocabulary of the Attic Language. 8½″×5½″. Pp. 1029. London: Geo. Routledge, 1910. Cloth, 15s. net.

Wundt (M.) Griechische Weltanschauung. Aus Natur und Geisteswelt, Band 329. 7¼″×5″. Pp. 132. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1910. Cloth, M. 1.25.

CORRIGENDA.

INDEX.—*H. J. Roby:* dele first item. The reviewer of Dr. Postgate's *Flaws*, H. J. R., was not Mr. Roby.

Classical Review, February, p. 30, for *βαδιξ read βαδιξ*.

The Classical Review

MAY 1911

ORIGINAL CONTRIBUTIONS

SOME NOTES ON THE ΠΑΙΔΙΚΑ ΑΙΟΛΙΚΑ OF THEOCRITUS.

II. Theocritus XXX.

This poem, as is well known, occurs only in one of the worser MSS., Ambrosianus B 75, called by von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff C. It is certainly corrupt, but has, I think, been needlessly cut about by the editors. The distinguished editor of the excellent Oxford Text is no exception, and his text and apparatus are particularly exasperating in leaving his readers sometimes entirely in the dark as to the suggestions made for filling a gap. In my account of C's readings I have had recourse, where the Oxford Text failed me, to Ziegler's third edition and to Hoffmann's *Griechischen Dialekte* 2. p. 203.

3 ff. These four lines must be given in full. I give the Aeolic forms and accentuation, of which C bears indubitable traces.[1]

κάλω μὲν μετρίως, ἀλλ' ὄποσον τῶι
πόδι περρέχει
τᾶς γᾶς, τοῦτο χάρις, ταῖς δὲ παραύ-
Faις γλύκυ μειδίαι.
καὶ νῦν μὲν τὸ κάκον ταῖς μὲν ἔχει
ταῖσι δέ μ' οὐκ ἔχει·
τάχα δ' οὐδ' ὄσον ὔπνω 'πιτύχην ἔσσετ'
ἐρωΐα.

3 C *κάλω sic* *πόδι* Bücheler: C *παιδὶ* C *περιέχει* 4 Th. Fritzsche's transposition is unquestionable *ταῖς κ.τ.λ.* Bergk: C *ταῖς μὲν ἔχει ταῖς δ' οὐ* (haplography followed by emendation) 5 *παραύαις γ. μειδίαι* Bergk: C *παραύλαις γ. μειδίαμα.*

3 *κάλω μὲν μετρίως*: why does Cholmeley quarrel with this? The disparagement not only serves the literary purpose of throwing emphasis on what follows, but is surely sound psychologically. Cf. 'She is not fair to outward view | As other maidens be; | Her loveliness I never knew | Until she smiled on me' (Hartley Coleridge); and Shaks. *Sonnet* cxli., 'In faith, I do not love thee with mine eyes, | For they in thee a thousand errors note; | But 'tis my heart that loves what they despise, | Who in despite of view is pleased to dote.'

ὄποσον τῶι πόδι κ.τ.λ.: 'all the ground his foot covers is grace'; cf. our 'He worships the ground she treads on,' and D. G. Rossetti (from Dante)[2] 'This love which I do feel even for her shade.' Misled by the supposed use of *περί* for *ὑπέρ* in Aeolic (see my note on 29. 25), editors have not seen that *περιέχω* has here its primary meaning 'embrace, include, comprise.'

4 For the omission of *ἡμέραις*, which is made easy by *τετόρταιος* above, cf. 14. 44 and Kühn.-Bl. 2. 1. p. 266.

5 *παραύFαις*: C's *παραύλαις* may well conceal this. That *F* was correctly written in Lesbian literature even as late as the third century A.D. is proved by its existence in the MS. of Sappho's *Ode to the Nereids* (*New Fragts.* Sa. 1). Now the Homeric *παρήϊον* re-

[1] See below wherever I add *sic*.

[2] *Dante and his Circle*, 1892, p. 114.

presents *παρᾱϝιον* for *παρ-αυσ-ι̯ον* (Lat. *auris*). But Aeolic in nearly all circumstances 'compensates' by lengthening the consonant where other dialects lengthen, or diphthongise, the vowel. Hence in the Lesbian *-ια*-form *πάραυσ-ια* (through a stage *πάραυϝι̯α* or *πάραϝϝι̯α*) would become *πάραϝϝα*, which might of course be written *πάραυα* (so Hdn. 2. 563. 25 *παραῦαι* and *An. Ox.* 1. 343. 18 *πάραυα*) or *πάραϝα* (cf. *Et. Gud.* 212. 43 *ἄβως* for *αὔως* in Sa. 95), but was quite possibly also written *πάραυϝα*. Those who like English parallels may note that we have *ϝϝ* in the Southern pronunciation of *nowhere* nōuueə.

I add some passages[1] in Alcaeus and Sappho where the MS. reading points to *ϝϝ* or *υϝ* due either to verse-ictus—or verse-rhythm—(cf. *κοιλαι* –◡– Alc. 15., *i.e. κόϝϝιλαι*) or to compensation. Sa. 2. 15 *πιδεύσην* may conceal *'πιδεύϝην*, and fr. 79 *καπιπλεύσειν* represent *κἀπιπλεύϝην* present infinitive, the fragment being apparently the end and beginning of two Alcaic stanzas *κἀπιπλεύϝην | νάεσσιν*. In Alc. 36 all the MSS. but one read *καδδ' ἐχεύσατο*, *i.e.*, I think, *κἀδ δὲ χευϝάτω*, and in 5. 2. for *τὸν* [*Ἑρμῆν*] *κορυφᾶσιν αὐγαῖς* (U *κορυφαῖσιν ἄγναις*) *Μαῖα γέννατο* we should probably read *κορύφαισιν αὔϝαις* 'upon the windy peaks,' *αὔϝος* for *ἄϝι̯ος*, cf. Hesych. *ἄος· πνεῦμα* and *ἄημι*, *πεζός* for *πεδιός*, and Vergil *Aen.* 8. 139 'quem candida Maia | Cyllenae *gelido* conceptum *uertice* fudit.' See also *Hermes*, 1910, p. 165, where Jacobsohn shows that Homer's *δῖος* is really *δίϝϝος* for *δίϝι̯ος*. For the local dative cf. *Il.* 5. 754 *ἤμενον . . . ἀκροτάτηι κορυφῆι πολυδειράδος Οὐλύμποιο*.

An important trace of such forms as *χευϝάτω*, *αὔϝος*, seems to me to survive in Hoffmann's 'Compendium II.'—part of the works included under the name of Johannes Grammaticus. In § 5 (Hoffm. p. 213) I propose to follow the completest MS. (S) more closely than he has done and read *αἱ προσθέσεις τοῦ ϝ τῶι υ ἐπιφερομένου φωνήεντος Αἰολέων εἰσίν* ('the addition of *ϝ* to *υ* before a vowel is Aeolic')· *οἷον χεύϝαντες ἀντὶ τοῦ χεύαντες* (S *τοῦ ε ἐν τῶι υ*: S *χεύσαντες ἀντὶ τοῦ χύσαντες*). The corruption of the last word follows quite naturally on the substitution of *ε* for *ϝ* and *χεύσαντες* for *χεύϝαντες*. The grammarian's statement would of course apply to his example only when the verse-ictus required the first syllable to be long (cf. *κόϝϝιλαι* above).

7, 8 keep the form *ὀφρύγων*: cf. Herwerden, *Lex. Suppl.* 1910 s.v.; and read *προτίδην*, cf. l. 24 note.

10 H. Fritzsche's *καὶ τὸ <κέαρ δακὼν>* is perhaps the best suggestion where no certainty is possible; the scribe left off at *καὶ τό* by confusion with the last syllable of the line above.

11 Read *ἐμαυτῶι*, taking *θῦμον* with *εἰσκαλέσαις*; cf. *Il.* 11. 407 *τίη μοι ταῦτα φίλος διελέξατο θυμός*;

12 ff. Lines 12-23 must be given in full. I give the Aeolic forms as before:

'Τί δὴ ταῦτ' ἐπόης; ἀλοσύνας τί◡ἔσχατον ἔσσεται;
λεύκαις οὐκὶ Ϝίσαισθ' ὅττι φόρης ἐν κροτάφοις τρίας;
ὦρά τοί φρονέην, μὴ◡<ωὐκ>ὶ νέος τὰν ἰδέαν πέλη
πάντ' ἔρδη◡ὅσσαπερ οἱ τῶν ἐτέων ἄρτια γεύμενοι.
καὶ μὰν ἄλλα σε λάθει· τὸ δ' ἄρ' ἦν λώϊον, ἔμμεναι
ξέννον τῶν χαλέπων παῖδος <ἔρων ἢ τόον ἔντ'> ἔραν·
τῶ μὲν γὰρ βίος ἔρπει Ϝίσα γόννοις ἐλάφω θόας
τελάσσαι δ' ἀτέραι ποντοπόρην ἀι◡αὔριον ἀμέραν,
οὐδ' αὔτω γλυκέρας ἄνθεμον ἄβας πεδ' ὑμαλίκω
μένει· τῶ δ' ὀ πόθος καὶ τὸν ἔσω μύελον ἐσθίει
ὀμμιμναισκομένω, πόλλα δ' ὄρη νύκτος ἐνύπνια,
παύσασθαι δ' ἐνίαυτος χαλέπας οὐκ ἴ<κονος δύας>——.'

12 C *ἐπόης* C *ἔσεται* 13 C *λεύκας* (*sic*) C *οὐκ ἐπϊσθης θ'* C *ὅτι φόροις τρίας* Bergk: C *τρία* 14 C *ὦρα* (*sic*) *τοι φρονέσιν μὴ . . . ινέος πέλη* (*sic*) 15 C *πάντ' ἔρδ' ὅσσα περ γεύμενοι* Kreissler: C *γεγευμένοι* 16 C *ἄλλος ἐλάθειτο δ' ἄρης* 17 C *ξεῖνον* C *χαλεπῶν παιδὸς ἔραν* (*sic*) 18 C *ἔρπε ρωισαγόνοις* C *θοαῖς* 19 C *δλάσει δ' ἑτέρα ποντοπόρην* (*sic*) *αὔριον ἁμέραν* 20 C *οὐδ' αὐτῶ* (see below) C *ἀνθεμονάβας πεδιμαλικὼ* 21 C *τῶδ'* C *μιελὸν* 22 C *ὄμμι μνασκομένω* C *ὄρη* (*sic*) cf. for *ἴσαισθα* 13 23 C *ἐνιαυτὸς οὐ* (deleted) *χαλεπαὶ οὐχὶ* (corr. to *οὐκὶ*)

[1] Others I hope to deal with in a later paper.

12 *τί δὴ ταῦτ' ἐπόης*: needlessly altered. For *τί δή* see Kühn.-Bl. 2. 2. p. 129. *ταῦτα* is the incident of ll. 7-10. The imperfect is idiomatic, 'What were you doing [when you did] this?' Cf. Lysias, i. 4, *ἡγοῦμαι τοῦτό με δεῖν ἐπιδεῖξαι ὡς ἐμοίχευεν Ἐρατοσθένης τὴν γυναῖκα τὴν ἐμὴν καὶ ἐκείνην τε διέφθειρε καὶ τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς ἐμοὺς ἤισχυνε*, 'I have to show that [in doing] this Eratosthenes was,' etc., and Sappho, *New Fragts.* 1. 15 *ἐκλάθεσθαι ἄλειπε* (*i.e.* *ἃ ἔλειπε*), 'forget what he was leaving behind him [in going away].' Cf. also Andoc. *de Myst.* 59.

13 *οὐκὶ Fίσαισθα*: Schneider's *οὐκ ἔτ' ἴσησθα* disregards *F at an elision*, and *οὐκ ἔτι* should be *οὔπω*, though *οὐκέτ'* was doubtless a stage of the corruption. For *Fίσαισθα* rather than *Fίσησθα* cf. *ἴσαις* 14. 34, which must be meant for the alternative Aeolic form of the second person of *ἴσαιμι*, for the Doric would be *ἴσᾱς*. I now think we have corroborative evidence of this form in Sappho, *New Fragts.* 3. 9, where the MS. *μεμναισθ' οισθα* (first *θ* apparently corr. to *F*) probably conceals *μέμνα·_Fίσσαισθα*, the *F* being lost in the crasis much as in *ἀλίω* Sa. 69. 1 for *ἀFελίω*. Crasis was frequent in Lesbian, see on l. 14. For *Fίσσαισθα* cf. *Fίσσᾱσι* in Homer and, more rarely, *Fίσᾱσι*, Jacobsohn, *Hermes*, 1910, p. 106, the latter, as this, being a case of consonant-shortening. For the form *οὐκί* in Aeolic see on 29. 4. [Wilamowitz's *οἴδησθ'* was anticipated by Bergk.]

τρίας: According to inscriptions, which, of course, are much later than Theocritus' models, the Aeolic declension was nominative *τρεῖς*, *τρία*, accusative *τρῖς*, genitive *τρίων*, dative *τρίσσι*; but an accusative *τρίας* may well have existed by analogy (1) with *τρία* and *τρίων*, (2) with such accusatives as *τάξιας*, *κτήσιας*, cf. Meist. 1. p. 156. For the omission of *τρίχας* cf. *πυρρά* 15. 130 and *πολιαί* Ar. *Eq.* 908, Theophr. *Char.* 2. 3. The *three* gray hairs have been found fault with by editors. But it is merely a playful touch; cf. Juv. 6. 144 'tres rugae subeant,' and see on l. 19.

14 *ὦρα*: the Aeolic form of *ὥρα*, reflected here in C's *ὦρα*, cf. Hoffm. 2. p. 529.

μὴ_ωὐκὶ νέος κ.τ.λ.: *i.e.* *ὃ* (relative) *οὐκὶ* 'lest he that is not young in appearance'; the MS. has a gap after *μὴ* of two letters according to Wilamowitz, of three according to Ziegler, Th. Fritzsche, and Hoffmann. For *οὐκὶ* cf. *New Fragts.* Sa. 2. 8 note and Append. Sa. *β*. 9. *πέλη* is either a subjunctive by assimilation with *ἔρδη* or a copyist's error for *πέλει*, due to a misunderstanding of *μὴ ωὐκί*. A similar compound crasis, so to speak, occurs in Sa. 2. 2, where—though, of course, it is only a matter of spelling—we should read *ἔμμεναι_ὤνηρ* or *ἔμμεν' ὤνηρ* rather than *ἔμμεν ὤνηρ*. For crasis in Lesbian generally cf. Hoffm. 2. p. 525, and instances in *New Fragts.* For *γεύμενοι* = *γευόμενοι* cf. 16. 51.

16 *καὶ μὰν ἄλλα σε λάθει κ.τ.λ.*: the singular *ἄλλο* would be strange without *τι*, and the sense requires a phrase leading from the general *πάντα* (15) to the particular *τῶν χαλέπων παῖδος ἔρων* (17). 'Thou forgettest, puttest aside, other [youthful] things; O surely it were better then that thou shouldst be a stranger to such love as this.' For *δ' ἄρα* proceeding *a minore ad maius* cf. Kühn.-Bl. 2. 2. p. 322.

17 The gap requires (1) a meaning 'at your age' to fit on to what follows, and (2), if possible, something that will account for the omission. This reading supposes haplography between *ἔρων* (genitive plural of *ἔρος*, a strange word to the copyist) and *ἔραν* (= *ἐρᾶν*). For *τόον* = *τοῖον* cf. Meist. 1. p. 91, and for *ἔντος* = *ὄντος* Id. i. p. 171.

18 ff. The next three lines have suffered much at the hands of editors, who have thought the *ἄνθεμον ἄβας* (20) belonged quite definitely to the beloved youth, and have sought a contrast in age between him and his friend. The contrast appears to me to lie rather between two kinds of lovers, the one of the light changeable temperament (ll. 18-21), the other of the brooding sort that takes things seriously (ll. 21-23). There is just a hint, perhaps, at the beloved in the former; the latter is, of course, the speaker himself. See the translation below.

ἔρπει Fίσα: the reading of C is due to the unfamiliar *F*; see on l. 5, and cf. Hoffm. 2. p. 457. Ahrens *ἔρρωτ' ἴσα*,

but *F* would hardly be ignored on an elision of this type.

19 *τελάσσαι κ.τ.λ.*: aorist optative, 'potential,' without *κε* (so *βαίην*, 29. 38); cf. Hesych., who, if this was his passage, took it for infinitive, *τελάσσαι· τολμῆσαι, τλῆναι*, and *ταλάσεις· τολμήσεις*. See Herw. *Lex. Suppl.* s.v. Aeolic *ελ* for *αλ* is seen in *γέλᾱνα* for *γαλήνη*; cf. *ερ* for *αρ*, *θέρσος* for *θάρσος* (so C reads *θαρσοῖσ'* corr. to *θερσοῖσ'* 28. 3). The subject of *τελάσσαι* is syntactically *βίος*, but psychologically the person possessing the *βίος*. Cf. the construction of *lose* in Shaks. *Sonnet* xviii., 'But thy eternal summer shall not fade | Nor lose possession of that fair thou owest.' There is similar looseness of construction in ll. 22 and 23. For the metaphor cf. Herodas, 1. 41 *νηῦς μιῆς ἐπ' ἀγκύρης οὐκ ἀσφαλὴς ὁρμεῦσα*.

ἆι ◡ αὔριον ἀμέραν (genitive plural) (the rough breathing in C's *αὔριον* is a trace perhaps of the crasis): *i.e. ταύτηι τῶν ἡμερῶν ἡ αὔριόν ἐστι*, a playful elaboration of *αὔριον* or *τῆι αὔριον*; cf. 'Bishop, bishop Barnabee, | Tell me when your wedding be; | If it be to-morrow day, | Take your wings and fly away'; and 'Of all the days within the week | I dearly love but one day, | And that's the day that comes between | The Saturday and Monday.' Cf. the *three* hairs of l. 13, the playfully exaggerated moan of l. 1, the elaborate *μάκρον σχόντα τὸν ἄμφενα* of l. 28, and the quaint *ὀππόσσακιν ἔννεα* of l. 27. For the attraction of the relative cf. Pl. *Prot.* 353*b* *ἐμμένειν οἷς ἄρτι ἔδοξεν ἡμῖν*, and Kühn.-Bl. 2. 2. p. 409, *Anm.* 4. An alternative is *ἆι αὔριον ἀμέραι, i.e. ταύτηι τῆι ἡμέραι ἡ αὔριόν ἐστι*.

20 *αὔτω*: C has *αὐτ* with a compendium, interpreted by Ziegler as *αὐτοῦ* or *αὐτῶ*.

πεδ' ὐμαλίκω: take *πεδά* with *αὔτω* (cf. the position of *ἐξ* in 29. 24, and of *ἐς* Alc. *New Fragts.* 1. 9), and *ὐμαλίκω* (= *ὁμήλικος*) as predicate 'unaging, without growing old,' or more literally 'as one of equal age with itself'; cf. Shaks. *Sonnet* xxii., 'So long as youth and thou are of one date.' For the second declension termination cf. *φύλακον* 29. 38, and the converse *κίνδυν* Sa. 161.

21 ff. The aposiopesis can best be represented in English by beginning here with 'as for' or 'much less.' Greek with its eternal love of contrast would hardly feel it. There is a close parallel in *Il.* 23. 319 ff., where Nestor, in his advice to Antilochus before the chariot-race, compares the good driver with the bad: *ἀλλ' ὃς μέν θ' ἵπποισι καὶ ἅρμασιν οἷσι πεποιθὼς | ἀφραδέως ἐπὶ πολλὸν ἐλίσσεται ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα, | ἵπποι δὲ πλανόωνται ἀνὰ δρόμον, οὐδὲ κατίσχει*—[you know what happens to *him*]. *| ὃς δέ κε κέρδεα εἰδηῖ ἐλαύνων ἥσσονας ἵππους, | αἰεὶ τέρμ' ὁρόων στρέφει ἐγγύθεν κ.τ.λ.* The bracketed words have no actual equivalent in the Greek. The only difference between this and the present passage is that in Homer the aposiopesis occurs after the *μέν*-clause and in Theocritus after the *δέ*.

23 *ἴκονος δύας*: Bergk's *ἴκανος νόσω* has an awkward sound. For *δύας* cf. my restoration *New Fragts.* Sa. 1. 7. For *ἴκονος*, which would puzzle the scribe, and perhaps may account for the gap, cf. *ἄγονος* for *ἄγανος Ib.* Sa. 4. 16 and Meist. 2. p. 51.

24 *προτὶ ◡ ἔμον* (C *ποτ' ἐμὸν*): this *ρ*-form, required here by metre, is now attested by Alcaeus, *New Fragts.* 1. 17. *τι* was the single sound corresponding to the double sound heard on the verse-ictus and written *σσ*, e.g. *λίσσομαι*; cf. Sa. 1. 17 *κὤττι ◡ ἔμωι*, *Od.* 15. 317 *ὅττι ἐθέλοιεν*, and *τί ◡ ἔσχατον* l. 12 above. The establishment of *προτί* as a possible Lesbian form confirms Bergk's restoration of Sa. 109. 2. *οὔκετι, <νύμφα, προτί σ'> ἴξω, προτί σ' οὔκετ' ἴξω*, and in Sa. 78. 4 *προτέρην* may now be read as *προτιόρην*, cf. *ὄρημι* Sa. 2. 11.

27 Read *ὀππόσσάκιν*; Wilamowitz's *ὁπόσσάκιν* is apparently a misprint, which, however, has got into Herw. *Lex. Suppl.*

28, 29 Read *αἴτε θέλω* and *αἴτ' οὐκὶ θέλω*: see note on 29. 4.

32 Read *ὀνέλων ἆι κε <φόρη> φόρη* (C *ὁ μέλλων αἴκα φορεῖ*: *ὀνελὼν* Ahrens: *ἆι κε* Wilamowitz): 'carries whithersoever he may.' The first *φόρη* is subjunctive (perhaps we should write *φορεῃ*), the second indicative. This figure, coupled with the metaphor of the leaf and the wind, admirably expresses the helplessness of a mortal in face of an unknown future ruled by a higher power. In his note on *Agam.* 66 (67), where

he collects a great number of examples, Blomfield says 'huiusmodi formulis utuntur Graeci quando de rebus iniucundis breviter affari volunt.' This is doubtless true in many cases, but even among Blomfield's examples there are some where it hardly applies. For instance, in Aesch. *Cho.* 780, when the old nurse is despatched by Clytemnestra to fetch Aegisthus, the Chorus advise her to suppress part of the message, and to tell Aegisthus to come not with an armed force—to take Orestes—but alone—thus putting himself at his mercy. Their last words are, in effect, 'Ask not our reasons, but go and do as we bid: *μέλει θεοῖσιν ὥνπερ ἂν μέλῃ πέρι*,' a sort of 'God's will be done,' which to the audience is doubtless a veiled hope of success to Orestes' vengeance, but to the nurse an ordinary expression of resignation. In the first chorus of the *Agamemnon* (67), the passage on which Blomfield writes his note, the chorus sing—of the Trojan War supposed to be still in progress—*ἔστι δ' ὅπῃ νῦν ἔστι· τελεῖται δ' ἐς τὸ πεπρωμένον*. This sounds, I think, the same note of resignation. In Apollonius Rhodius 2. 345 Phineus has been telling the Argonauts how they may escape the Clashing Rocks by observing the flight of a dove. If the dove gets through, they may go on unafraid; if not, they must at all costs turn back—'*μὴ τλῆτ' οἰωνοῖο παρὲξ ἔτι νηὶ περῆσαι*.' And then '*καὶ τὰ μὲν ὥς κε πέλῃι, τὼς ἴσσεται. ἢν δὲ φύγητε | σύνδρομα πετράων ἀσκηθέες ἔνδοθι Πόντου κ.τ.λ.*,' 'With regard to that, Heaven's will be done. But if you *do* escape,' etc. These passages refer to the present or future. When it is used of the past this figure often suggests indifference, 'I don't know and I don't care.' So it is in Heliodorus, bk. 5 init. 'Η *μὲν δὴ πόλις ἡ Δελφῶν ἐν τούτοις ἦν καὶ ἔδρασεν ὅ τι δὴ καὶ ἔδρασεν* (*i.e.* fared as they *did* fare in pursuing the ravisher), *οὐ γὰρ ἔχω γινώσκειν· ἐμοὶ δὲ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς φυγῆς ἡ ἐκείνων ἐπιδίωξις ὑπέβαλεν*. So also in Aeschrion's comic epitaph of Philaenis, in which she repudiates the authorship of a *risqué* book, ap. Ath. 8. 335 'It was not I, but *Πολυκράτης. . . . ἔγραψεν ἄσσ' ἔγραψ'· ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐκ οἶδα*.' The tone of Pilate's *ὃ γέγραφα, γέγραφα* is similar. Kühner-Blass' discussion of this figure (2. 2. p. 436) is very incomplete. Resignation suits the Theocritean passage, but there may be a touch of the cynical indifference intended as well.

I add, as before, a translation of the whole poem:

Alas, ay me! beshrew th' ill-fort'ning woe!
I' have ail'd Love's quartan now a month and moe.
He 's not so fair, yet every print o 's feet
Is grace to me, and 's face with smiles is sweet.
Day on day off now th' ague comes me grieving;
Soon ev'n abed 't will yield me no relieving:
Last night we met; he durst not look forthright,
Peer'd sidelong, blusht; this heart Love still more tight
Gript me, till home I went my forlorn way,
Arraign'd my soule at bar, and thus did say:
'Why so, good self? whither thus proud-fondly now?
Know'st not there 's three gray hairs upon thy brow?
Put frolicks by, else one that old appears
Shall play the brave new-taster of the years.
Thou other toys forget'st; O sure 'twere best
'Gainst love like this, thus old, to bar thy breast.
For whom life bears easy' as her hooves the hind
And every day's morn might fresh anch'rage find,
Can he unfaln Youth's high-day blossom keep?
O how much less whose breast within gnaws deep
Yearnful rememberance, who dreams o' nights
And takes whole years to heal his love-sick sprites!'
Such rede and more to my sad soule read I,
And thus she answer'd: 'Whoso thinks to' outvie
Yon cozening Love, as soon might think to tell
How many-times-nine stars i' th' skies do dwell.
So willy nilly, neck to yoke I' have laid;
For well may he Jove's mickle mind betray'd
And Venus' self, with this poor mortal play,
This leaf the lightest air might blow away.'

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ON THE GRAMMARIAN, VIRGILIUS MARO.

THE late Dr. Zimmer left an important paper, published in the last number of the *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* on 'Der Gascogner, Virgilius Maro Grammaticus in Irland.' His conclusions are that this grammarian lived at least two centuries earlier than has commonly been assumed: that he exercised an enormous influence upon the Irish writers of his day, and that with all his strange, and in some cases childish, statements he was taken in earnest by the Irish grammarians of his day: the statements which he makes about the *duodecim latinitates* were applied to the Irish language: he influenced the Irish language, and especially the language of Irish poetry in the sixth and seventh centuries A.D. Modern Celtic scholars have never suspected that the wild fancies of Maro could have exercised so great an influence on Irish literature.

To prove his assertions, Dr. Zimmer takes an old Irish poem called *Amra Choluimb Chille*, an elegy upon St. Columba, who died in 597 A.D. This poem is characterised by an absence of rhythm and of rhyme, but resembles Hebrew poetry in its use of parallelism in its clauses. It is one of the oldest, as it is one of the most difficult, records of old Irish we possess; it may be described as the 'Hesperica famina' in an Irish dress, but with some additional foreign elements. The universal Irish tradition ascribes this poem to the authorship of Dallān Forgaill, Columba's contemporary and laureate (*ardfili*) of Ireland, and Zimmer agrees with this tradition, supporting his conclusions by linguistic considerations too long to be reproduced here. In this poem he discovers an artificial disguisement of certain words, which disguisement seems at first sight inexplicable, and is in fact most puzzling to the reader. This disguisement of the words takes different forms: the insertion of letters at the end of words, as when *culu* is written for the correct form *cul;* the excision of certain letters, and the inversion of letters or syllables. As an example of the first process, he cites *ben*n for *ben*, *ten*n for *ten* (fire): of the second, dochuisin, which ought to be dochuig*net*, but has lost its last syllable, or, as the Irish scholars would call that syllable, *its head*. The last process, called by the Irish *cennachros*, or head-change, is instanced by the form *senchras*, which is substituted for the genuine form *fenchras*. This artificial trick of composition in the Irish poets is exemplified by several passages which need not be cited here: the essential point to remember is that they seem to have been part of the technique of Irish poetry, as instanced in works of the sixth century. Zimmer finds in these artifices an application of the regulations which Virgilius Maro (*Epitoma* XIII. and XV.) alleges that he had learnt from his teacher, Virgilius Assianus—*fona scindere*, but he also concludes that these artifices depend upon certain phenomena in the history of Irish composition as regarded by Virgil himself. He assumes that these strange forms grew up in the language mainly for metrical reasons. For instance, the Latin *coquina* passed, under the influence of the Irish accent, into the form *cúcenn*, *molinn* into *múlenn;* but this presupposes the existence of an intermediate form, *cócen*, *mólen*, words which once rhymed with *ben* and *tēn*. When these forms had passed into *cúcenn* and *múlenn* they would not rhyme with such syllables as *ben* and *ten*; but with *cenn* (head) and *tenn* (firm) the consequence was that poets, under the influence of Virgil's precepts, invented new forms for *ben* (woman) and *tenn* (fire), whereby a new set of rhymes was placed at the disposal of the bard. The insertion of *u* is proved by the fact that there are old Irish forms like *Domnall* (Dumnovalus) which must have taken the form of *Domnuall*, as is proved by the Cymric form *Cynwal;* so *anim* (the soul) takes the form *an-u-im*.

Zimmer refers next to an old Irish work called *Auraicept nan ēces* (Handbook, *acceptum*, *i.e.*, the traditional legend of the poets), which is a redaction of the doctrines of the Irish schools of past generations, and seems to have been composed about the eleventh century.

This work contains the peculiarity of constructing new formations of substantives in a remarkable way. In two of the cases of *fer* = man, the dative and ablative, the prepositions *do* = to, and *ō* = from, are not used, excepting in conjunction with the word which they govern. This circumstance led to the singular result that all the Irish prepositions were connected with their cases, and were placed in paradigms as though the word had no existence apart from the preposition; thus, as *ofiur* meant 'of the man,' and was a regular word, *cofer* was formed on its analogy, signifying = to the man. Also different ways of writing *fer* cryptically are explained according to the three methods referred to. A third work is next cited called *Dūil Laithne*, or 'element of Latin,' which contains a list of 291 words, some of them belonging to the eighth century. These words are old Irish words written cryptically, and are explained by placing opposite to them Irish words which may be intelligible to the reader: for instance, *mincill* is explained as *mil*. Zimmer's theory is that the endeavour of Virgil the Grammarian was to adapt the cryptic method of dealing with Irish words to the Latin tongue, and to carry the Irish methods still further. His further theory is that Maro himself was actually the author of the *uraicept*, who, according to the book of Ballymote, was *Fercertne* file. *Fercertne* seems to have been the general name for a professional composer, composed of *fer certne* (*vir artis*)—*i.e.*, *grammaticus*. *Fili* means properly the *seer* (he who sees), and seems to have been specially applied to the Latin bard most familiar to the Irish poets—viz., Vergil of Mantua. The connexion of Maro with Ireland is confirmed by the fact that whenever his name is mentioned it is by Irish scribes such as Clemens and Scottus, or by pupils of Irishmen such as Aldhelm and Petrus.

As to the personality of Virgilius Maro, we have his own testimony that he speaks in the dialect of Bigorre (*Bigerro sermone clefabo Hümer*, 8. 13). In the tenth century Abbo von Fleury calls him Tolosanus, and an excerpt from his *Epitomes* in a manuscript of Milan speaks of him as Virgilius presbyter Hispanus. Now from 415 till the middle of the sixth century the West Goths held sway to the north and south of the Pyrenees, and as the portion of land which they ruled may be regarded as an appanage to their territory lying to the south of these mountains, we can understand the force of this epithet. It will thus seem probable that Virgil was a Gascon, whose home was in Toulouse, and that he lived amongst an Iberian or Baskish population, and, indeed, was probably of Baskish origin himself. The singular Latin, then, of Virgil will, according to this view, be due to the fact that it represents Latin as spoken by Basques, the author, however, being exposed to certain Celtic influences as well. Thus, many of Virgil's singular words and theories of grammar may be explained, as, for instance, those cited under the heading of Metrofia. It may here be remarked that it would be an interesting task for a Bask scholar to examine these words in the light of modern Baskish. The words express the very simplest conceptions, such as *regnum*, *religio*, *pluvia*; and these are words which would probably not change to any great extent even in the course of centuries.

Zimmer assumes that Virgil visited Ireland in the course of the fifth century, when a great exodus of the Orthodox Christians to Ireland took place before the persecution of the Arian West Goths. These facts give concisely Zimmer's theory as to the date and nationality of Virgil. I hope, in another article, to add a few remarks on some singularities of his latinity.

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APULEIUS, *APOLOGIA*, c. 89.

Apuleius, *Apologia*, c. 89: 'Si triginta annos pro decem dixisses, posses videri computationis gestu errasse, quos circulare debueris digitos adperisse (so F: ϕ has *aperisse*), cum vero quadraginta, quae facilius ceteris porrecta palma significantur, ea quadraginta tu dimidio auges, non potes digitorum gestu errasse, nisi forte triginta annorum Pudentillam ratus binos cuiusque anni consules numerasti.'

THE accusers of Apuleius charge him with having persuaded an elderly woman of sixty to marry him, asserting that he has used magic to that end. After refuting the charges of magic, he indignantly denies that she is sixty. She is only forty. His accuser is twenty years out (cp. a few lines higher, 'viginti annos semel detraham,' etc.). In the present passage Apuleius points out that his accuser must have lied deliberately. The mistake could not have been due to a mistake in the gesture. The ancients used specific gestures to express numbers. Tens were counted on the left hand, and an account of the gestures has been preserved by Bede, 'de loquela per gestum digitorum et temporum ratione' (p. 132, ed. Colon. 1612): 'quum dicis decem, unguem indicis in medio figes artu pollicis. quum dicis viginti, summitatem pollicis inter medios indicis et impudici artus immittes. quum dicis triginta, ungues indicis et pollicis blando coniunges amplexu. . . . quum dicis quadraginta, interiora pollicis lateri vel dorso indicis superduces, ambobus dumtaxat erectis. . . . quum dicis sexaginta, pollicem (*ut supra*) curvatum indice circumflexo diligenter a fronte praecinges.' (Cp. Purser, *Hermath.* XIV. No. 33, pp. 391 *sqq.*, Wüstemann, *Jahn's Jahrb.* Suppl. XV. [1849], pp. 511-514, for explanation and diagrams.) These being the facts as to the gestures employed in counting, what does the passage in Apuleius mean? For the corrupt *adperisse* Helm conjectures *adgessisse*, Purser *adpressisse*, which is a little nearer to the MSS. In either case the reference in *adgessisse* or *adpressisse* will be to the gesture for ten, and the meaning will be, 'If you meant thirty years instead of ten (which was what you actually did say), it might be supposed that you had made a mistake in the gesture of calculation, and that you had pressed your fingers together (=10) instead of making them form a circle (=30).' But under what circumstances had he actually said 'ten' and with what purpose? And surely the natural meaning of the opening words is: 'If you had said thirty when you meant ten'? I would interpret the passage as follows: 'You have made a mistake of twenty years, and your mistake is inexcusable. The only mistake of twenty that would have been excusable would have been a confusion of ten and thirty, inasmuch as the gestures are very similar. But you did actually say sixty when you should have said forty, and the gestures for these two numbers are absolutely distinct' (see Bede).

If this interpretation is correct, the emendations of Purser and Helm cannot stand. To get the required sense we should have to transpose *circulasse* and *adgessisse*. The solution seems to me to lie in the adoption of the vulgate *aperuisse*. The sense will then be, 'If you had said thirty when you meant ten, you might have done so merely through a mistake in the gesture; *i.e.* you ought to have made a circle with your fingers to signify ten, but instead you opened them wider.' The gesture for ten could obviously be described by *circulare digitos*, while the gesture for thirty might in relation to the gesture for ten be described by *aperire digitos*. It must also be remembered that in practice the gesture for thirty might often have been made without actually closing the points of finger and thumb, while it is even possible that the gestures were not precisely the same in Africa and in the time of Apuleius as they were in Britain and in the time of the Venerable Bede.

The last clause of the sentence has no

very logical connexion with what has preceded. It is a piece of chaff thrown in as a sort of afterthought. It is well paraphrased by Purser. 'Take care that it isn't thirty she is. Perhaps to make up your sixty you have counted *both* consuls in each year.'

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NOTES

LUCRETIUS V. 311 sqq.

denique non monumenta virum dilapsa videmus
quaerere proporro sibi cumque senescere credas
non ruere avolsos silices a montibus altis
nec validas aevi vires perferre patique
finiti?

The reading in 312 is that of the best MSS. O and Q, and is obviously corrupt. Lachmann read 'quae fore proporro vetitumque senescere credas'; Munro 'quaerere proporro sibi sene senescere credas'; Munro (in ed. min.) 'aeraque proporro solidumque senescere ferrum'; Ellis 'aeraque proporro silicumque senescere petras.'

Munro's earlier view that 'aeraque' is to be restored for 'quaerere' seems sound, but to read 'silicumque' for 'sibi cumque' with Ellis is forbidden by the occurrence of 'silices' in the following line.

I would suggest 'aeraque proporro subicumque senescere quadras.'

'Subices' means underlayers or supports. It is used by Ennius in describing the clouds, 'per ego deum sublimas subices | humidas unde oritur imber sonitu saevo et spiritu.' In our passage it would mean the stone bases on which the statues stand, 'aera' being the bronze statues themselves. 'Iacere' was the verb used of laying foundations. 'Quadra,' as Vitruvius tells us, was the word used for the parts of the base of a pedestal, the foundation stones. 'Proporro' is thus given its proper force, as it is not merely the whole monuments which are overthrown, but each of the parts in turn wears away and decays. The difficulty in the proposed reading is that the first syllable of 'subices' would seem to have been long in Ennius (v. Gellius IV. 17), and Hertz, Vahlen, and others regard the fragment as trochaic. C. Mueller, on the other hand, in his edition of Festus, where the fragment is also quoted, treats it as two iambic senarii, thus making the *u* in 'subices' short, as it is marked in L. and S. Lucretius has many licences in the matter of quantity, *e.g.*, oriundus (trisyllabic), cŏruptus, cōturnix, līquidus, rēlĭcŭus, glōmus, so that the shortening of the first syllable in 'subices,' if originally long, is quite possible.

Amicio (ambi-iacio) has the *a* short all through Latin poetry, and Ovid once has ăbicio (*Pont.* II. 3, 37, v. L. Mueller, *De re metr. Lat.* p. 291), a quantity which occurs in the dramatic writers (v. Lindsay, *Lat. Lang.* p. 45).

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AESCH. *AGAM.* 67-71.

ἔστι δ' ὅπῃ νῦν
ἔστι· τελεῖται δ' ἐς τὸ πεπρωμένον·
οὔθ' ὑποκαίων οὔθ' ὑπολείβων,
οὔτε δακρύων, ἀπύρων ἱερῶν
ὀργὰς ἀτενεῖς παραθέλξει.

If ἀπύρων ἱερῶν is taken with ὀργὰς ἀτενεῖς (as it must be, if the present text is to stand), I cannot make much of it. What is 'the sacrifice that will not burn'? and why should it burn? The general idea is, I suppose, that the anger of heaven cannot be averted; but the expressive ἄπυρα ἱερά seems to be very inappropriate in this connexion. I suggest that it might be possible to find a better sense by transposing the words of the passage, and thereby altering the construction (on the assumption that a careless copyist changed the order of the three participles in a way

easy to be understood), so that the text should now stand thus:

οὔτε δακρύων οὔθ' ὑποκαίων
οὔθ' ὑπολείβων ἀπύρων ἱερῶν
ὀργὰς ἀτενεῖς παραθέλξει,

i.e. neither by weeping, nor by burnt sacrifice, nor by libations poured into (or under) fireless sacrifice, shall you avert stubborn wrath. Nothing, in short, can do it—neither tears nor any kind of propitiation. This arrangement gives a clear antithesis between the two different kinds of *ἱερά*—always supposing that we substitute *ὑποκαίων*, with Casaubon and Professor Verrall, for *ὑποκλαίων*.

A. D. Godley.

A NOTE ON HORACE'S *ODE*, III. XXVI. 7.

Hic, hic ponite lucida
Funalia et vectes et arcus
Oppositis foribus minaces.

All MSS. have *arcus*. None of the commentators seem to understand the peculiar appropriateness of the word *arcus* in this connexion.

All the critics on the passage in Horace find the same difficulty with *arcus*, viz., that bows would be useless weapons against closed doors.

It seems to me that Horace used *arcus* here because it was Cupid's favourite weapon. Even in the next ode (xxvii. 66) we find:

Aderat querenti
Perfidum ridens Venus et remisso
Filius arcu.

Dr. Wickham remarks in his note on the passage that *arcus* is an odd weapon for such a purpose. Mr. Page has a similar remark. But is not 'Cupid's potent shaft' at least as natural a missile in the hands of one who says of himself at the opening of this very ode

Vixi puellis nuper idoneus
Et militavi non sine gloria

as *aurum* in Philip's hands (*cf. Ode III.* xvi. 9):

Aurum per medios ire satellites
Et perrumpere amat saxa potentius
Ictu fulmineo . . . diffidit urbium
Portas vir Macedo et subruit aemulos
Reges muneribus.

Both weapons, artfully wielded, may break down all opposition.

I would suggest, therefore, some such rendering as 'Cupid's shafts' for *arcus* in this passage.

The contributor of the gloss on *arcus* in the MS. of the Queen's College (Oxford) Library

Quibus janitores terrerent

rather prosaically limits the range of Cupid's arrows.

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LUCRETIUS III. 687-690.

Namque ita conexa est per venas viscera nervos
Ossaque, uti dentes quoque sensu participentur;
Morbus ut indicat et gelidai stringor aquai
Et lapis oppressus †subitis e frugibus asper.

For the corrupt word *subitis* Bernays, who is followed by Munro, conjectured *subiit si*. Munro renders 'the crunching of a rough stone when it has *got into them* out of bread.' I venture to think that the phrase *lapis e frugibus subit* (*dentibus* or *in dentes*) is very strange.

Lambinus mentions two conjectures, viz. *subito de* and *sub dente e*. Brieger, who refers with favour to the first of these, himself reads *subito his* (i.e. *dentibus*), but this construction is very harsh.

We all know the unpleasant sensation of biting a stone *concealed* in food, and this sense is given by a very simple emendation, viz.:

Et lapis oppressus, *subsit si* frugibus, asper.

Cf. Tibullus, 1. 9. 18.

Saepe solent auro multa subesse mala.

Albert C. Clark.

INDEFINITE *QUAM* IN CAESAR.

Caesar, *B.G.* iv. 3. 'ad alteram partem succedunt Ubii, quorum fuit civitas ampla atque florens, ut est captus Germanorum, † et paulo quam sunt eiusdem generis et ceteris humaniores.'†

In the Oxford text this passage is left obelised; Nipperdy omits *quam* and *et;* Kübler alters freely.

I propose to omit the second *et*, which may have crept in because of its frequent use with *ceteri;* and to take *quam* as indefinite. It would be a colloquialism, 'rather.' Compare Cic. *Att.* i. 11[3] mire quam, *QF.* ii. 45 sane quam, *Fam.* xi. 13[8] valde quam. No example seems to occur elsewhere in Caesar.

W. H. D. Rouse.

REVIEWS

THE WORLD OF HOMER.

The World of Homer. By Andrew Lang. 8vo. One vol. Pp. xiv, 306. Fourteen illustrations, from vases and ancient monuments. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1910. 6s. 6d. net.

This work is full of delightful and instructive matter, as we expect from any work of Mr. Lang's. Archaeology, warcraft, history, religion, poetry, all find their place. In general, the argument of the first part is not only that Homer is consistent with himself throughout and presents a picture in itself conceivable, but that many of the features in this picture cannot be called characteristic, either of the Minoan (Mycenaean) period or of the archaic 'protohistoric' age, which may be fixed roughly as extending from the ninth to the early sixth century B.C. Mr. Lang's own conclusion is that the poems were written at one 'moment of culture' somewhere between these two periods, a 'moment' that was brief and has left practically no trace of itself in any art but poetry. But many of its notable features emerge again much later after their apparent subsidence. For instance, the loose chiton for men and the corslet opening in the front appear to be represented much more frequently in the art of the fifth century and the last half of the sixth than in any of the three centuries preceding. Now one can hardly assume, practically it never is assumed, that such features of dress and armature were put in so late as the end of the sixth century. But to assume that they were put in anywhere between the ninth and the sixth in order to suit a dominant fashion, is to ignore the fact that so far as our evidence goes these fashions were just then not dominant at all. Mr. Lang has much to say, and much that is weighty, in support of this; but sometimes he seems to weaken his case by over-statement. It is by no means necessary for his argument to hold that all Homeric fashions completely died down during the interim. Indeed, if they had, it is hard to see how the poems could have been transmitted intelligently. Therefore one need not be afraid to recognise many Homeric traits in the art of the time—*e.g.*, most critics will be inclined to agree with Mr. Dawkins that the women's costume illustrated opposite pp. 82, 84 may be meant to consist of the flowing chiton, in spite of the skimpy appearance that the artist has given.

Those who believe in the clearness and truth of the Homeric battle-scenes will be delighted with the spirited justification to be found here. Mr. Lang is a born fighter, and his account of sword-play and spear-play, of regular attack and the turmoil of the mêlée, seems to the present reviewer entirely convincing (see *e.g.* p. 57).

Much space is devoted to a discussion of the famous line, *αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐφέλκεται ἄνδρα σίδηρος* (*Od.* xvi. 294; xix. 13), and the conclusion is still upheld, though regretfully, that this must belong to an interpolation. Apparently the chief reason for this view is that such a line must be admitted as impossible in an age of overlap between bronze and iron, an age which, there is good reason to think, may be Homer's own. But is it after all impossible or even surprising? Iron might surely come so quickly into use that it would be the universal metal

for swords in one generation, and yet all the warriors know that their fathers and grandfathers carried bronze. Why should it involve pedantic archaeologising for the poet to give his heroes the swords of his own immediate forbears? These heroes are all supposed to belong to a much earlier generation. At the same time he might readily pick up a popular phrase of his own day, without noticing the implicit but obscure contradiction. There are plenty of modern orators who talk about 'ironclads' and 'wooden walls' in the same speech. The other reasons against these two σίδηρος passages do not seem conclusive. The removal of the arms of Telemachus and Odysseus in Bk. XIX. is surely designed to lead up, not to any question of the suitors, but to that thrilling moment when they look round the wall for the accustomed weapons, and there was not a shield or a spear for one of them. Surely that is sufficient justification for it, and quite in accordance with the true Epic manner.

There is a highly interesting argument based on the different character given to Odysseus by Homer and by the later poets. Among these Mr. Lang would include, tentatively, the writer or writers of the *Cypria* (p. 190). In the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, Odysseus, if astute and sometimes fierce, is still essentially generous and upright. In the later poets he is a treacherous scoundrel. And opposed to him stands Palamedes, heroic, innocent, and foully done to death through the machinations of his rival. It certainly looks as though we had dipped here into quite a fresh cycle of legend and tradition.

The modern problem of *Il.* IX. is treated in the last chapter but one, and perhaps Mr. Lang is at his most brilliant when pleading for the retention of this book as 'the very *clou* of the *Iliad*.' Certainly it may be admitted that he has given with great force and insight what must have been the point of view of the man who wrote it and put it in. That man was a great poet, and certainly did not think that he was introducing any inconsistency to matter. On the contrary, he felt it necessary for the balance of the whole tale to give 'the ἁμάρτημα, the sin or blot on a noble character, which is the keynote, or pivot, of Greek tragedy' (p. 239). Granted: but, not to speak of other difficulties, how could a noble character let his friend go out to war and deadly peril without him—the armour is a poor substitute for Achilles' own right hand, as he knows himself—unless he has some reason to keep him back far stronger than the mere letter of a hasty vow, already broken in the spirit? There is little difficulty in Bk. IX. taken without what follows: the trouble is that we cannot fully understand or sympathise with Achilles' action in Bk. XVI. *unless* we assume that no apology has been offered, and then every word between him and Patroclus becomes clear; the alternations of ferocity and relenting, the tenderness and the passion, are exactly what we could wish and would expect. On the other hand, it does not seem violent to assume that the writer of IX., carried away by the excitement of his own almost equally splendid conception, overlooked the fact that he was altering, in a slight but significant degree, the original lines of the work. A great actor often does much the same when 'interpreting' Shakespeare. Probably from now on there will always be two opinions among lovers of Homer (as there will always be innumerable opinions about Hamlet's madness): those who cannot bear that unmerited suffering should crush a man will demand Bk. IX., while those who want their hero to be as noble as possible will insist on its later origin, and these will appeal to Homer's own conception of Priam. Where, they will ask, was Priam's ἁμάρτημα? Where indeed is the ἁμάρτημα of Patroclus?

The discussion on Homeric religion, though brief, is of so much value that it cannot be dismissed without at least one word. Nothing is more characteristic of the poems than the strange union of really deep moral and religious ideas, ideas 'that can never fail to awaken a responsive thrill in all who feel, or have ever felt, the ethico-religious emotion' (p. 120)—with absurd legends concerning the gods—'broadly humorous glances at them as members of a great whimsical family.' Mr. Lang makes a suggestive comparison with the

'broad waggeries of our late English mystery plays.' Perhaps one might also compare the treatment of the gods in the Younger Edda: the comparison would be interesting. In any case it is this union which is the most distinctive thing about the Homeric Olympus, and it is of great importance to have it so finely brought out.

F. M. S.

PLATON, SEIN LEBEN, SEINE SCHRIFTEN, SEINE LEHRE.

Platon, sein Leben, seine Schriften, seine Lehre. Von CONSTANTIN RITTER. In zwei Bänden. 8vo. Vol. 1, pp. 586. München: C. H. Beck, 1910. Gebunden, M. 8.

THE full value of Herr Ritter's work cannot be estimated until the appearance of his second volume has given us the final fruit of the careful analysis of the Platonic dialogues to which he has devoted a great deal of the first. Some of his preliminary conclusions, however, are worthy of consideration.

About one-third of the book is devoted to a detailed study of Plato's life, as gathered from authorities such as Plutarch, Athenaeus, Diogenes Laertius, Olympiodorus, Apuleius, and the third, seventh, and eighth letters of Plato, which Herr Ritter regards as authentic. In this portion of the work the author has certainly succeeded in making us breathe for a time the atmosphere of the Athens of the philosopher's day. He has, moreover, brought us into close contact with the personality both of Plato and his friends, as tradition at least depicts them. The chronology of Plato's life is investigated in considerable detail, but in general the order of events, as given by Herr Ritter, approximates to that ordinarily approved. Thus the dates of the three journeys to Sicily are fixed from various considerations at 390, 367 and 362 B.C. respectively.

As an introduction to Part II., Herr Ritter has undertaken a very thorough recapitulation and investigation of the evidence advanced by different theorists for determining the order of the Platonic dialogues. Chronological allusions, references to contemporary writers, references to earlier dialogues, are all suggested as criteria for the period of publication, and all alike, when weighed in the balances, are found wanting. Insuperable difficulties have beset the path of every scholar who has tried to solve the problem along any of these lines, and particularly unsatisfactory have been the attempts to assign a date to a dialogue in accordance with the stage of development attained therein by the ideal theory, or the doctrine of soul, or even the method of logic. This latter procedure almost invariably involves the error of forcing the dialogues into an order that will fit a ready-made theory. Finally, after a thorough overhauling of the arguments brought forward under these various heads, Herr Ritter turns to what he considers the more satisfactory method of 'Stylometry,' introduced by Campbell in England and by Dittenberger in Germany. He considers that the remarkable unanimity (when compared with the results of scholars who have used other methods) of the conclusions reached by these and others regarding the order of the dialogues is in itself a recommendation for the method. Another argument in its favour is the success that has attended the similar experiments that have been made with the writings of Goethe and other modern authors at different stages in their career. Herr Ritter, after applying the stylometric test to the dialogues, arrives at the following arrangement: *Laches, Charmides, Protagoras, Euthyphro, Apology, Crito, Gorgias, Meno, Euthydemus, Cratylus, Symposium, Phaedo, Republic* (in five stages), *Phaedrus, Theaetetus, Parmenides, Sophist, Politicus, Philebus, Timaeus, Laws.* This order is approximately so similar to the order generally assumed that few will take serious exception to it. The only point that calls for special comment is the position of the *Phaedrus*, which many critics put before both the *Phaedo*

and the *Republic*. Natorp, as Herr Ritter notes, felt this difficulty so keenly that he put forward the hypothesis of a second edition of the *Phaedrus*, published after the *Phaedo*—a hypothesis which, as Herr Ritter rightly shows, finds no support in the text. When all is said and done, the most one can do at present is to sum up for oneself the balance of evidence, gained from stylometric and other considerations, and assign to the dialogues an approximate order.

Herr Ritter next proceeds to a most thorough *résumé* of the dialogues of the early period (among which he includes the *Gorgias*, *Cratylus*, *Meno*, *Symposium*, *Phaedo*), and then presents his verdict regarding the doctrine of ideas as expressed therein. Zeller's proposition: '*nur das Allgemeine als solches ein Wirkliches sein könne, und dass es mithin ausser der Erscheinung als etwas Substantielles für sich sein müsse*,' he regards as fundamentally false, preferring the view of Lotze that the theory of ideas, as represented by the *Phaedo*, has merely a methodological significance. Therefore, when Plato asserts that there exist certain *αὐτὰ καθ' αὑτὰ εἴδη*, and that a thing gains a certain character by participation in these Ideas, he simply means that the connotation of general terms does not vary according to individual prejudice, but that they are fixed and unchangeable, and thereby endow general propositions with a certain validity. The so-called process of *διάνοια*, in the same dialogue, whereby any hypothesis may be certified by being made subservient to one hypothesis after another of a more general scope until a *ἱκανόν τι* is reached, is nothing else than the fixing of the inevitable dependence of any conclusions upon the axiom of the irreconcilable opposition of Yes and No—an axiom which Eristics, like Euthydemus and Dionysodorus, entirely ignored. This *ἱκανόν τι*, says Herr Ritter, cannot be the Idea of Good, because the *Phaedo* does not present us with any teleological demonstration. One must say that this seems to be a very arbitrary reason to assign against a view that has found favour in so many quarters, and no one can deny that there is a very close connexion between the *διάνοια* of the *Phaedo* and the dialectic of the *Republic*.

So far Herr Ritter's exegesis has not called up much that will be seriously disputed by scholars. However, one cannot but feel that to make the *εἴδη* merely methodological, and to assign to terms like *παρουσία*, *μέθεξις* a purely metaphorical significance is to ignore that mystical side of the Platonic doctrine so clearly set forth in Prof. Stewart's recent book, *Plato's Doctrine of Ideas*. As yet, however, Herr Ritter has given us too little reason for his faith to make satisfactory criticism possible, and we shall look forward to the publication of his second volume, which will give us his pronouncement on the Ideal Theory of the later dialogues.

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ARISTOTE ET L'IDÉALISME PLATONICIEN.

Aristote et l'Idéalisme Platonicien. Par CHARLES WERNER, Docteur ès lettres. 8vo. One vol. Pp. 370. Paris: Félix Alcan, 1910.

THIS work of Dr. Werner consists of a singularly clear and felicitous exposition of the Aristotelian doctrines of Reality, the Soul, the Good, and God, undertaken with a view to showing, on the one part, that Aristotle, though vehemently protesting against the folly of idealism, presents us throughout his philosophy with a virtually idealistic scheme, and, on the other part, that in certain exceptional cases he has diverged remarkably from the point of view of Plato and followed principles very different from idealism. '*S'il est toute la philosophie de Platon, l'idéalisme n'est pas toute la philosophie d'Aristote*.'

The author has been particularly happy in exposing the inconsistencies

into which Aristotle fell through declaring war against idealism. In Chapter II. he points out that Aristotle, though he was unable, consistently, to predicate *οὐσία* of anything divorced from the sensible world, by a *tour de force* of which philosophers are not infrequently guilty, admits, without realising it, the very opposite thesis. Reality, considered as the object of knowledge, is one and permanent, and cannot be found in the changing and multiple world; it must, therefore, be identified with form—form, however, not transcendent, but immanent in the thing. Hence '*l'essence d'Aristote, c'est l'idée de Platon, mais l'idée ramenée du ciel sur la terre, l'idée existant dans les choses sensibles elles-mêmes.*'

Another insuperable contradiction in Aristotle's scheme is to be found in his assertion that, although form is the only principle of determination, a great deal of determinate reality must find its explanation in the indeterminate substrate, matter, alone. The characteristics of things that do not enter into the form, or *specific* determination, are classed as accidents inherent in the matter, but these accidents often—*e.g.*, in the case of 'man'—take the form of extremely important determinations, and as such deserve some serious explanation.

Aristotle, in fact, has adhered so closely to the 'idealist' or 'intellectualist' rule laid down by Plato that it dominates, or, according to Dr. Werner, biases his treatment of almost every subject that comes under discussion. Dr. Werner has been at special pains to bring out this uniformity of procedure in the Aristotelian investigations, and has demonstrated very clearly that the classification into form and matter represents an opposition that penetrates to the very foundations of Aristotelian doctrine. Thus *φύσις*, the principle of movement, the principle working in view of an end, is in the last analysis nothing but form, since it is form only that calls motion into being, and causes things to exist in actuality (*ἐνεργείᾳ*). This makes form in the end both movent and final cause. Similarly, the opposite principle, *τύχη*, a blind force that may or may not collaborate with *φύσις*, is simply the negation of positive determination, the indeterminate *ὕλη* of things.

In the domain of psychology the same method is pursued. Soul is form and body is matter, the two component elements of a living thing. (We remark here that Dr. Werner has failed to point out one other inconsistency on the part of Aristotle in saying that soul is the *οὐσία*, not of the animal, but of the *body*.) Sensation, similarly, is the apprehension of the form of things without their matter, that is, it is constituted by the realisation of the sensible form in the matter, or potentiality, furnished by the animal organs. Intellectual activity consists in the realisation of the intelligible form in the intellect, when the subject, by assimilating the object, becomes one and the same with it, and is concentrated on its own activity. The subject is *δυνάμει* the form of the object, and so intellectual activity is resolved finally into form.

In the region of ethics, too, actions and passions represent, as it were, the matter of virtue, whereas the mean, the proportion or determination that limits them, is the form. Just as the determination which puts an end to the movement of production or generation is no other than form, the object of knowledge, so virtue, the mean that limits, that introduces order into the disordered, is simply form.

In his treatment of desire and pleasure, however, Dr. Werner believes that Aristotle has broken the bonds of idealism for once, and caught a gleam of the true light. His reproduction of Aristotle here is interesting, and has been worked out with considerable originality. Soul in Aristotle is the cause, not merely of sensation and thought, but of all movement whatsoever, which makes it responsible for the psychical state of desire. Now the soul in the phenomenon of desire has two aspects; it is both moved and movent, both subject and object. As subject it possesses an intellectual element and works out the so-called practical syllogism that is too often set up contrary to that of the Reason. As object it is affective, it is soul in the phase of pure activity, it is, in short, pleasure, which

Aristotle regards as the 'completion' of every activity.

According to this view, pleasure is, first, a criterion set up freely by man, a criterion that is not subject to the control of Reason, and hence belongs rather to the category of the Spontaneous described by Bergson in *L'Évolution Créatrice*; secondly, it is the *supreme* criterion of action, and the Human Good, or Well-Being of Man, is in the last resort found not in ἀρετή, nor even in θεωρία, but in the pleasure that accompanies the activity of ἀρετή. '*C'est la valeur de l'activité qui dépend de la valeur du plaisir.*' One is bound to say at once that the first half of this thesis is really incompatible with the second. There is, doubtless, much in Aristotle's language concerning ἡδονή that reminds one of the descriptions of the spontaneous character of Reality to which Dr. Werner refers. Pleasure is the ἐπιγιγνόμενόν τι τέλος, an utterly additional joy, like the bloom on the cheeks of youth, it is the drop that overflows from the cup of happiness, the blessing that comes unasked and unsought. However, this very characteristic of ἡδονή, its casual, incalculable quality, precludes the notion that it should in any sense represent an end or aim of action, even if Aristotle had not expressly told us that he found ἡδονή particularly unsatisfactory as an end of conduct.

When it comes to Aristotle's theology, Dr. Werner thinks he finds the categories of Reality, Spirit, and Value (categories rendered distinct by modern thought) fused, or rather confused, into one entity, God, who is the prime unmoved movent of all things, and who, being both object and subject of Thought and Desire, is both Thought perpetually thinking itself and Desire perpetually enjoying and taking pleasure in itself. In God, too, the fundamental division into matter and form is to be found, for God is the soul, of which the first heaven is the body, and by which that heaven is supplied with an internal principle of movement. This view of God as being a composite of matter and form is, as Dr. Werner himself acknowledges, contrary to the traditional view, and to Aristotle's asseveration that the prime movent must be devoid of ὕλη (*Met.* Λ 1071*b* 20); moreover, Dr. Werner has not succeeded here in persuading us to renounce our ancient faith. The following description of the ὕλη of God: '*Elle n'implique aucun devenir, aucune virtualité, aucune indétermination, ni relative, ni absolue, aucune contingence, aucune multiplicité, aucun changement, aucun accident,*' shows that the term 'matter' is quite out of place in this connexion. Further, the endeavour to override Aristotle's statement that God is pure form by the explanation: '*Cela signifie seulement que la forme divine, étant la forme complètement achevée, impose à la matière dans laquelle elle est réalisée une détermination telle que l'intelligible ne comporte plus aucune espèce de restriction,*' fails to give satisfaction.

Though Dr. Werner has not been convincing in his attempt to read some modern philosophical views into Aristotle, we cannot but admit that he has provided us with a very stimulating study of Aristotelian doctrines.

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DIE ILIAS ALS DICHTUNG.

Die Ilias als Dichtung. By CARL ROTHE. Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh. 1910.

THE author of this book is foremost (Hennings, who holds the opposite creed, says 'easily so') among the increasing band of Homeric Unitarians in Germany, and his qualifications for writing it are such as few living men possess. For more than thirty years he has prepared reports on the literature of the Homeric Question, first in Bursian's *Jahresbericht* and latterly in the *Zeitschr. f. d. Gymnasialwesen*, which are models of lucid and impartial exposition of the points in the great controversy. Anyone who is fortunate

enough to possess the series knows what a complete and invaluable vademecum they are. But it is matter for great regret that the *Zeitschrift* is hardly known in this country, and that Dr. Rothe's papers, as well as his two standard treatises on the Repetitions and Inconsistencies in Homer, are very rarely referred to outside Germany. This work on the *Iliad* will, it may be hoped, serve to introduce his writings to a much wider circle of readers.

Its publication is in a way a notable event. Works advocating the unity of the Homeric poems are rare in Germany. The Wolfian virus is still active there, and Lachmann's methods, though often proscribed, are far from having completely gone out of fashion. But a change is taking place. Few could have believed a few years ago that volumes such as Blass' work on the Interpolations in the *Odyssey*, with its strong contempt for the notion of a 'many-headed Homer,' or O. Jäger's essays in his *Pro Domo* and *Homer und Horaz*, or Mülder's *Quellen*, with its stoutly expressed belief in one Homer, and its fine scorn for the canons and procedure which have been almost universally popular, would ever appear in the land of Wolf. They indicate that a new day is dawning for the Homeric poems, after the long night in which Wolf and Lachmann plunged the question of their origin. As Plüss has said in a recent paper, *von Homer als einem wirklichen Menschen, einer Person spricht heute die historische Kritik wieder deutlicher*. There is increasing dissatisfaction with the methods and results of Dissecting criticism. Dr. Rothe now deals with both in a most satisfactory manner. There is hardly a book or essay of any importance on the *Iliad* that has been published during the last half century that he does not refer to. Two noteworthy exceptions are Professor Murray's *Rise of the Greek Epic* and Professor Jevons' admirable statement of the issues in his *History of Greek Literature*. Professor Jevons' chapters are no doubt accepted by Dr. Rothe almost in their entirety; but Professor Murray's discussions, in so far as they are dependent on the results achieved by some members of the extreme school, might well have been brought under review. But few of the other *magna nomina* of Homeric criticism are left unnoticed. The methods and beliefs of Fick and Bechtel, Robert and Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Cauer and Erhardt, Hinrichs and Hennings, Ludwich and Kammer, Kirchhoff and Sittl, are all examined. It is to be hoped most earnestly, in the interests of the great problem which the *Iliad* presents, that these writers, or such of them as are still on the active list, will join issue without delay, and that the outcome of the discussion will be a distinct advance towards the solution of the question. Here is the strongest challenge that has ever been made to Homeric Dissection. The reaction against destructive methods can no longer be ignored.

The title of the work is significant. It is *as poetry* that Dr. Rothe treats the *Iliad*. Dissectors of the poem are in the habit of requiring strict logical consistency. Dr. Rothe remembers that he is estimating poetry, not criticising a historical treatise, and that it is poetry which was written *in iuventute mundi*, and not the product of a literary age to be appraised by modern standards. He never forgets when and for whom the poetry was written. He is not guilty of the common mistake which Mr. Andrew Lang describes as the 'fallacy of disregarding the poet's audience.' So long as the researches of the Dissectors are tainted by this infirmity, so long will the results of their discussions be little worth.

We cannot attempt a review in detail of a work which deals with controversial matter on every page. That may be left to those who feel aggrieved. Our hope is that they will speak out. We content ourselves with indicating the plan of the book. In the first part the objections to unity are met. The myth, as Dr. Monro describes it, of the Pisistratean Commission is once more discussed, and dismissed. Even the tale of the παλαιοί about the Doloneia is held to prove a *Gesammtplan*. Next the objections based on Language and Versification are considered, and shown to be failures. Fick's theory is rejected, and the abuse of what are called

Ionisms for purposes of Dissection most deservedly condemned. Drerup's theory of an Aeolic-Ionic dialect in Mycenaean days, with the Aeolic element preponderating, is accepted as the best explanation of the much-debated linguistic phenomena. Then follow two valuable sections, the contents of which are familiar to those who know Dr. Rothe's treatises mentioned above, on the Repetitions and the Inconsistencies in the poems. If Dr. Rothe had never done more for Homer than expose the gross misuse of these by the critics, his service to the Homeric cause would still have been immense. A fifth section discusses the determined efforts which have been made to prove different stages of culture in regard to Armour and Tactics, Religious Ideas, and Political and Social Relations. 'Analysis as the basis of the Higher Criticism' is next considered, with special reference to recent well-known papers by Gercke and Finsler, and Dr. Rothe concludes this part of his work by stating his own conclusions as follows: There was one author of the *Iliad*; his name is not a mere *Kollektivbegriff*. He was an Ionian, probably a Chian, and his *floruit* as given by Herodotus may be approximately accepted. The historian's statement is held absolutely to exclude a conclusion such as Mülder's, that Homer flourished in the end of the seventh century. And lastly, the *Iliad* is far above mere *Volksdichtung*. 'Conscious poetical effort' is perceptible throughout the poem, and is the key to the solution of many of the critics' difficulties.

The second and larger portion of the treatise contains an analysis of the *Iliad*, book by book, and a careful examination of the considerations which have been urged against whole cantos and against individual passages. The Dissecting community proceed, as Dr. Rothe observes, on the ground that certain books and passages of the poems have been proved, beyond the possibility of dispute, to be 'late,' and Unitarians have been guilty of great remissness in failing to meet their opponents on their own ground by examining in detail these proofs believed to be conclusive. How profitable the exercise may be has recently been shown by Miss Stawell in *Homer and the Iliad*. The case against two of the 'Odyssean' books of the *Iliad*, accepted as irrefragable by many of the opponents of unity, was there refuted by detailed examination of the many points in it. Dr. Rothe has, we venture to think, been equally successful in giving other similar beliefs, if not their quietus, at any rate a shock which will cause disintegrating criticism some concern. But it will, we feel sure, be recognised that he is a thoroughly impartial inquirer. He neither fails to allow his opponents all the credit that is their due, nor presses his own case unfairly. He can admit an intrusion when the ejector fully sustains the *onus probandi* which lies on him. But we note with satisfaction that he concurs in the view of Colonel Mure, Mr. Gladstone, and Mr. Andrew Lang, that the much-abused Doloneia is a genuine part of the *Iliad*.

The book is written in a clear and simple style that distinguishes it from many German treatises on Homeric matters. We would note as particularly valuable elements in its procedure the frequent appeals for analogy to other works in ancient and modern literatures, the rejection of mere subjective appreciation as an adjunct to or substitute for evidence, and a strong vein of common sense in argument which is striking by contrast with the excesses on which it is brought to bear. It is probable—we might say certain—that all Dr. Rothe's brother Unitarians will not accept all the concessions in regard to the excision of passages which he makes to the opposition, and the present writer cannot but think that a little too much is ascribed to the agency of the Rhapsodes. But all who share the old traditional view of the origin of the poems, will be grateful to him for a work which will do much to stimulate the scepticism and disfavour which the methods of the Higher Criticism have provoked, and to compel their patrons to justify them, if they can.

THE ANCIENT MOSAICS OF THE VATICAN AND THE LATERAN MUSEUMS.

Collezioni archeologiche artistiche e numismatiche dei Palazzi Apostolici, pubblicate per Ordine di Sua Santità Pio X a cura dei Musei e delle Gallerie Pontificie e della Biblioteca Vaticana. Vol. IV. I Mosaici antichi conservati nei Palazzi Pontifici del Vaticano e del Laterano con introduzione del DOTTOR BARTOLOMMEO NOGARA. Atlas folio. Pp. x+40. 76 plates. Milan: U. Hoepli, 1910. 200 lire.

THIS magnificent volume forms, as the title tells us, the fourth of this series of publications dealing with the Papal collections, which has set a high standard of excellence, fully maintained by the work before us. The second of the series, dealing with the ancient paintings in the Pontifical Museums, was also provided with a text by Dr. Nogara.[1] When it is borne in mind that a parallel series of facsimile reproductions of MSS. in its possession issued by the Vatican Library has now reached its eleventh volume, it will be seen that the Papal authorities are doing a great service to archaeology and to scholarship by rendering the treasures in their keeping accessible to the learned world.

The mosaics described in the present volume are in the main in actual use as pavements in the Papal museums—a circumstance which has, as Dr. Nogara points out, generally led to their restoration and alteration, in order to fit them for the rooms in which they were placed; and, as the modern Italians have not lost the skill of their forefathers in this art, it is often impossible to distinguish the restorations from the original work—especially as several of these mosaics are not of the finest quality. It was therefore necessary to go back to the descriptions of the excavations in which the mosaics were found; but, inasmuch as they were regarded as objects of secondary importance (most of those with which the present volume deals were found at the end of the eighteenth or in the nineteenth century: only some smaller scenes have come down to us from the early eighteenth century, and none from any earlier period), these are not always complete; and there are some cases in which, despite Dr. Nogara's patient research, it has been impossible even to establish their provenance. Dr. Nogara's text is thus devoted in the first place to a discussion of the site and of the circumstances of their discovery, and in the second to an accurate description of the mosaics themselves, especial attention being given to the distinction between what is original and what is due to restoration. Their artistic value is only dealt with briefly, and there is no discussion of their place in the history of work in mosaic, nor any attempt to compare them with parallel examples elsewhere. Dr. Nogara modestly describes his work as a first step, so that others may have within their reach the elements indispensable for work, and may thus more quickly be able to pursue their studies further in those cases in which they seem most necessary and most profitable. Further, in order not to increase the cost of the work excessively, there has been no attempt to reproduce the coloured mosaics in colours: all are reproduced in excellent photographs executed by the firm of Danesi of Rome.

The mosaics are arranged in topographical order—first those found in Rome itself and its suburbs, then those of the neighbourhood, and finally those of which the provenance is unknown. We begin with the well-known mosaic of the athletes from the Thermae of Caracalla, now in the Lateran Museum, made up, in reality, from two similar mosaics (neither of them at all completely preserved) in the two *exedrae* at each end of the great central hall, looking on to the two *palaestrae*. Next comes, perhaps, the finest mosaic of all, representing an *asaroton*, or unswept floor, a favourite subject in antiquity

[1] *Le Nozze Aldobrandine, i paesaggi con scene dell' Odissea*, etc., 1907.

(*cf.* Pliny, *H.N.* xxxvi. 184), with a row of masks on one side. The delicacy of the execution is remarkable, and the tesserae are considerably smaller than those of the famous mosaic of the doves in the Capitoline Museum (7,500 in 500 square centimetres as against 6,420). It was found near the site of the Porta Ardeatina. From the Aventine come some small mosaics depicting animals—one a simple landscape, the next representing beasts fighting in the amphitheatre, and a comic scene from a *mimus*. This last group was discovered early in the eighteenth century, and placed by Clement XI. in the Vatican. They were drawn by Piccini[1] at the time for Ficoroni, with a view to publication (*Cod. Corsinianus* Inv. 130,102 ff. 137 *sqq.*): see Lanciani, *Bull. Com.* 1895, 165 *sqq.*, who cites (p. 189) other and better drawings of these mosaics by Francesco Bartoli in the Topham collection at Eton [iii. 51 = Holkham i. 46);[2] iv. 34-38]. I have examined them myself, and find that iii. 50 corresponds with No. 1; iv. 34, 35, 36, 38 with Nos. 2-5 respectively (No. 35, like the Corsini drawing cited by Nogara, shows the hindquarters of another bull on the extreme left); while No. 37 shows a scene which seems to have been lost in which two men (one mounted) are spearing a boar; on the right a horse is brought to the ground by a boar. Three other pieces of mosaic found on the same occasion, with vine-leaves and birds, have also been lost, as Dr. Nogara points out. All the drawings are fantastically coloured, whereas the originals are in black and white. Next comes a large carpet-like pavement found at the Lateran in 1853, then some smaller and finer coloured mosaics from various places in the city and the suburbs.

We next reach the group of mosaics from the farm of Tor Marancia, found in two villas belonging to Munatia Procula and Numisia Procula, two Roman ladies who lived in the middle of the second century A.D. All are pavements in black and white, with the exception of an interesting little still-life scene (fish and vegetables hanging up in a cupboard).

Dr. Nogara enters carefully into various questions connected with the identification of the mosaics as described at the time of their discovery with those that are preserved. I may notice that the indication of Riccy (*Antico Pago Lemonio*, p. 126) in regard to the mosaic last mentioned is not, as he states (p. 13, n. 6), vague, for Riccy expressly refers in his footnote to Massi, *Indicazione*, p. 39, which shows that he is speaking of the mosaic described by Dr. Nogara on p. 15. After a few unimportant specimens, we reach a considerable group of coloured mosaics from Hadrian's Villa (pl. 28-38), representing landscapes, well drawn and finely executed.

Pl. 39-47 are devoted to the great octagonal mosaic from the Thermae of Otricoli, which forms the pavement of the Sala Rotonda of the Vatican, and was found about 1780. The composition is, as Dr. Nogara remarks, the

[1] I may add that at South Kensington (Art Library, vol. 93, B. 44) there is a volume of coloured drawings of marble pavements by Gaetano Piccini, also intended for publication. It bears the title: *Pavimenta antiqua et moderna in Italia existentia. Tabulis CII coloribus delineata a Gaetano Piccinio Impensis autem V(iri) C(larissimi) Adriani Paetsii. Roma MDCCXVI.* Some of the drawings represent marble pavements in churches. The antique pavements are as follows: Villa Cesarini (24 drawings), Vigna Moroni (18), Nettuno (16), Monte Circello (10). The Villa Cesarini must refer to the Vigna Cesarini at the Marmorata, where excavations were made in Ficoroni's time; though in the accounts known to me there is no reference to marble pavements, but only to loose blocks and pieces of marble. See his *Memorie*, 2. 3, 24 in Fea, *Miscellanea*, i. 126; and cf. *Roma Antica* (1741), p. 290. Venuti's *Roma Antica*, ed. Piale (1824), ii. 48, refers to a tesselated pavement found in a neighbouring vineyard. The Vigna Moroni is on the Via Appia, on the right just before the Porta S. Sebastiano. Ficoroni, in his *Bolla d'Oro* (p. 35), tells us that he found there no less than ninety-two sepulchral chambers, paved with various marbles. I know of no excavations carried on by Ficoroni either at Nettuno or at Monte Circello or Circeo, though some discoveries were made at the latter in 1725 (*Mélanges Éc. Franç.*, 1905, 170).

[2] By the kindness of the Earl of Leicester and of the Provost and Fellows of Eton College, I was able to compare these two important series of drawings at the British Museum; I hope shortly to give some account of the results of my investigations.

finest that is to be seen in any of the large mosaics of the Vatican, and this is well brought out by the shape of the room in which it is placed. It was completed by the addition externally of other mosaics in black and white (pl. 48-52), probably found at Scrofano, near the Via Flaminia, which have been much damaged by the continual traffic, inasmuch as they serve for the passage of visitors to this much-frequented room.

We next come to the fine coloured mosaic with the head of Minerva, found in 1741-6 above the Villa Rufinella at Tusculum, which occupies the centre of the Sala a Croce Greca, which precedes the Sala Rotonda.

We may next notice a large pavement (pl. 56-61), with thirty-two scenes representing figures of actors and masks, which once decorated the floor of the Sala delle Muse, but were so damaged by the feet of visitors that they were taken up in 1884; some of them were restored and are exhibited in the Sala degli Animali, while the rest remain in the storerooms. The mosaic was found at or near the ancient Lorium on the Via Aurelia, the birthplace of Antoninus Pius. The drawing is rough, but the general effect was probably good.

The group of mosaics from Ostia (pl. 67-70) includes a large coloured carpet-like pavement from the baths, in the Sala dell' Immacolata Concezione, now much damaged, but remarkable when found for the beauty of its design and colouring.

The series closes with a few unimportant mosaics, many of them of uncertain provenance.

It cannot be said that the mosaics of the Papal palaces, with a few exceptions, which we have already noted, are of the highest artistic or archaeological interest: but up till the present they have certainly failed to receive even that measure of attention which is their due; and for this reason it is well that they have found so scholarly a commentator as Dr. Nogara, to whom all students of classical art will be grateful for the rich material which he has placed at their disposal, while topographers will be glad of accurate information as to their provenance and the circumstances of their discovery.

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THE WORKS OF ARISTOTLE.

The Works of Aristotle. Translated into English under the Editorship of J. A. Smith and W. D. Ross. *De Generatione Animalium*, by Arthur Platt. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1910. 7s. 6d. net.

Second Review.

It has been justly claimed for Aristotle that he was the first to place zoology in its proper position in the series of the inductive sciences. That he was an observer of quite exceptional powers and far ahead of his time is obvious to all who read his scientific works. Though at times he indulged freely in speculation, yet he nearly always made theorising strictly subservient to observation. The *De Generatione Animalium* affords no exception to this rule, in the adoption of which Aristotle noticeably differs from the philosophers who succeeded him.

In reading the *De Generatione*, or indeed any of Aristotle's works on natural history, the biologist cannot fail to be impressed by two things: firstly, by the extraordinary accuracy of many of his observations at a time when scientific inquiry was hampered by practical limitations which to-day are hard to realise; and secondly, by the fact that Aristotle discussed with a rare insight and sometimes in an almost modern manner facts and questions which are still dealt with in current scientific journals. Thus, we find Aristotle describing the enormous increase in the size of the gonads in birds at the approach of the breeding season, an observation which formed the subject of a paper read before the British Association at its last meeting. Again, there are references in the *De Generatione* to the fact that very fat animals are

uncertain breeders and often sterile. A failure to recognise this truth has even in recent years occasioned serious loss to an important industry, yet it cannot be too strongly insisted upon, and it is interesting to note that '"Fatness" as a Cause of Sterility' is the title of a paper published in the current number of the *Journal of Agricultural Science*. Furthermore, Aristotle's analysis of the phenomena of heredity and his inquiry into the nature of the factors which control these phenomena once more serve to remind us of the relatively small extent to which some at least of the more central problems in biology have changed in over 2,000 years. On the other hand, the advances in many other directions have been enormous, but these advances have nearly all been made in comparatively recent times.

Aristotle's general theory of reproduction was formulated on an insufficient basis. He knew nothing of the spermatozoön or of the mammalian ovum, and consequently he was ignorant of the essential act in the generative process—namely, the union of the gametes which are specialised for this purpose. It is not surprising, therefore, that his views regarding the nature of generation are almost wholly wrong. Yet he displays a shrewd perception in discussing the nature of the sexual individual. Thus, after referring to the effects of castration, he remarks that 'an animal is not male or female in virtue of an isolated part or an isolated faculty, for when that which distinguishes male or female suffers change many other changes accompany it.' Here we have a clear recognition of the existence of a functional correlation between the different characters of the organism, which are not so many independent units.

It is of interest to note that in dealing with the catamenia Aristotle remarks on the normal occurrence of fertile coition 'after the purgation' and not while 'the efflux still continues.' This is in agreement with the view which most authorities on the subject now adopt (after a considerable amount of controversy), that the period which immediately succeeds the catamenia is physiologically comparable to the period of oestrus in animals, and that ovulation normally occurs at this time.

It is not generally known that Aristotle anticipated von Baer in the enunciation of the well-known law of development associated with the name of the latter. This is what Aristotle says: 'For an animal does not become at the same time an animal and a man or a horse or any other particular animal. For the end is developed last, and the peculiar character of the species is the end of the generation in each individual.' Moreover, it has escaped the attention of modern writers on evolution (as the translator points out in a footnote) that Aristotle appreciated the possibility of man having had a phylogenetic origin from some much lower type of organism.

Professor Platt in preparing the present edition has had the assistance of Professor Hill, Dr. Blacker, Dr. Ogle, and others, who have given him the benefit of their special knowledge on many of the points referred to. The result is a matter for congratulation to those concerned, for the footnotes are full and generally to the point, and there are few to which exception can be taken. It is scarcely true, however, to say that the 'catamenia are a discharge connected with the maturation and liberation of the ovum from the Graafian vesicle,' since Heape and others have shown that the catamenia may occur in the absence of any ripe follicles in the ovary. The suggestion revived in another footnote, that the occurrence of the catamenia is related to the phases of the moon may be finally dismissed, in view of the fact that the corresponding phenomena in other animals have different periodicities (*e.g.*, three weeks). It cannot be maintained therefore that 'probably there really is a connexion between the catamenia and the moon.' In another footnote (721b) the translator obviously confuses 'acquired characters' with 'maternal impressions.' Objection may also be taken to the statement made on the authority of Lock and Poulton that sex is definitely established in the fertilised ovum. Since Smith and others have shown that under the influence of appropriate stimuli (*e.g.*, the

so-called 'parasitic castration') the sex of certain crustacea can be reversed in the adult, it is unjustifiable to state dogmatically that sex is predetermined at the time of gametic union. But these are slight blemishes amid a wealth of information which is usually quite correct.

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COINS OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum. By H. A. GRUEBER, F.S.A., Keeper of the Department of Coins and Medals. 3 vols. With 123 collotype plates and numerous cuts in the text. London: Printed by Order of the Trustees, 1910. £7 10s.

MR. GRUEBER is to be warmly congratulated on the completion of a most laborious task. The first foundations of this great work were laid as long ago as 1859 by the late Count de Salis, undoubtedly one of the most gifted numismatists whom the nineteenth century produced. To those whose fortune it has been to follow in his footsteps, his *flair* for mints and dates has sometimes seemed almost 'uncanny.' Death overtook him after ten years of unremitting toil in the Medal Room of the British Museum, the whole of the Roman coins in which he had volunteered to arrange, himself supplying gaps with the liberal hand of a veritable Maecenas. When he died, his considered opinions were found to be fully expressed by the order in which the coins were placed, with mint-names and dates attached. This was the heritage on which Mr. Grueber entered. Unfortunately, however, de Salis had left no clue to the processes by which he reached his conclusions. As far as possible, the problems had all to be solved over again. That his classification has been practically maintained as he left it, is, in Mr. Grueber's words, 'not only a lasting monument of his extensive and intimate knowledge of history and numismatics, but also an enduring witness of his surprising acumen in matters of style and fabric, which, in classifying a series of coins like that of Rome, are of so great importance when historical evidence fails.'

In type and *format* this Catalogue follows the model, not of the well-known Greek series, but of Wroth's Byzantine volumes. The page is of satisfactory size, and the main type is clear and legible. The small pica employed for the footnotes is, however, a little trying, particularly when it comes in large masses; it would have been well to break the line by employing double columns. The collotype plates may be pronounced adequate, although they lack the brilliancy that characterises the best work of the kind. Thus much for the manner of production. The method of arrangement is as follows: A general introduction of 125 pages gives a connected sketch of the history of the subject from the earliest times down to the very threshold of the imperial age. Special sections deal with such themes as 'Moneyers and their Functions,' 'Names of Moneyers,' 'The Types,' 'Finds of Coins,' and so on, the whole written with lucidity and a due respect for detail. The point of view may fairly be described as, in substance, identical with that of Mommsen, although Mr. Grueber never hesitates to take an independent line where fresh evidence has seemed to him to justify it.

The remainder of Vol. I. and the whole of Vol. II. are occupied by careful and accurate descriptions of the individual specimens. The coinage of Rome itself is divided into no fewer than sixteen periods, to each of which there is prefixed a special introduction covering a few pages. Then comes the Romano-Campanian coinage, then the coinage of Italy, then that of the Social War, and finally that of Spain, Gaul, the East and Sicily. Each of these latter is provided with a special introduction just as were the various periods

of the Roman coinage proper, while the descriptive portion of the book is enriched throughout with an abundance of footnotes, packed closely with all the information which any reader would be in the least likely to require. Some idea of the exhaustiveness of Mr. Grueber's methods may be gathered from the fact that the Tables of Finds and the Indexes run to more than 230 pages. They and the plates take up Vol. III.

In one respect Mr. Grueber has been peculiarly unfortunate. The first part of his Catalogue had been printed off before the appearance of the earliest of Haeberlin's famous *brochures*. He had thus no opportunity of even considering the new theories until he was irrevocably committed to the conservative position. They are, of course, alluded to in his General Introduction, with a proper recognition of their importance, and a quite natural hesitation to accept revolutionary doctrines. But the materials on which they rest, and by which they must ultimately be judged, have only been made accessible simultaneously with the publication of Mr. Grueber's own book. It is mainly the beginnings of the Roman coinage and the theories of the successive reductions that are affected by Haeberlin's researches. But something of the same sort has happened at the other end of the scale, where Willers' recent results regarding the money of Augustus would certainly have called for notice, if they had been given to the public in time. We cannot say what Mr. Grueber's reasoned verdicts on any of the questions at issue would have been. But it is matter for real regret that he has not been able to embody them in these truly monumental volumes. It would, however, be altogether unfair to close in a minor key. We must end, as we began, with warm congratulation. Theories may come and go. But this Catalogue, with its wealth of material and of illustration, is destined to remain for long a storehouse of information for all students of the subject. Mr. Grueber may well feel a legitimate pride, not only in the fact that it is his own handiwork, but also in the circumstance that it is so closely associated with his personal tenure of the honourable office of Keeper.

GEORGE MACDONALD.

LIFE IN THE ROMAN WORLD OF NERO AND ST. PAUL.

Life in the Roman World of Nero and St. Paul. By T. G. TUCKER, Litt. D., Camb., Hon. Litt. D., Dublin, Professor of Classical Philology in the University of Melbourne. 1 vol. Large 8vo. Pp. ix+447. 124 plates and 3 maps. Macmillan and Co. 1910. 12s. 6d. net.

THE title of this book is a promising one; much has been written on the subject of the social conditions prevailing under the empire, but the standpoint of previous writers has usually been that of the classical scholar, concerned only with that fraction of the Roman world revealed in the pages of Juvenal, Martial, Seneca, and the younger Pliny. Recently, however, scholarship has been diffused over a wider field, and we hoped that Professor Tucker, by combining the broad outlook of Sir Samuel Dill or Sir William Ramsay with a more popular style, might have rendered a real service to those who desire to know something of one of the most important periods in the history of civilisation.

The mention of St. Paul was particularly suggestive; if we were to become acquainted with the social circles in which the apostle and the majority of the early Christians moved, in the municipia of the West or the Hellenic πόλεις of Asia, we should be far from the Roman patronus and his clients, and the old milieu made so familiar by our school handbooks. Unfortunately, as a glance at the table of contents shows, we are expected to care more for the friends of Nero than of St. Paul. How else can we account for two chapters being devoted to the 'Social Day of a Roman Aristocrat' and

only one to 'Life in the Middle and Lower Classes'? The provinces, in fact, receive attention in only six of the thirty-three chapters: in the remaining twenty-seven the Roman world has shrunk to Italy alone, an Italy, too, which contains little but Rome and Pompeii.

This may seem merely a question of the wording of a title, and the title of a professedly popular work should not of course be taken too seriously. It must be admitted that the chapters on social life at Rome are pleasant to read and well illustrated, and that Professor Tucker's extensive knowledge of the classical authors is shown on almost every page. If he had bestowed the same care on the short chapters which he has devoted to public life and provincial administration the book would have been a valuable one, although not so interesting as its title promises. This, however, is not the case: let us consider, for instance, what is stated about so important a matter as the position of the senatorial and equestrian classes in the administration. According to Professor Tucker, the son of a senator of high rank would commence his career by serving as 'one of the 120 Roman horsemen attached to the legion' (p. 356). 'After a sufficient initiation into military business, he will be appointed what may be called colonel of an infantry regiment of auxiliaries, then colonel of a regiment of the legion, and subsequently, if he is following the profession, colonel of a regiment of the auxiliary cavalry' (p. 357). Of all these posts the legionary tribunate is the only one which normally formed part of a senatorial career. The auxiliary commands might be held by a senator's son, but only very exceptionally, and the three posts in the order given above will be recognised immediately as the commencement, not of the senatorial, but of the equestrian cursus. As for the post of 'eques legionis,' the son of a senator of high rank would be as likely to serve in this capacity as the son of an English Cabinet Minister to enlist as a trooper in the dragoons. Incidentally it may be mentioned that Professor Tucker's spirited description of a legionary eques is illustrated by a well-known relief of such a soldier which he has disguised by the label, 'auxiliary cavalryman' (Fig. 108).

Concerning the equites we have the following statement on p. 65: 'There were as yet no highly placed Romans serving as Lord High Chamberlain, much less as Private Secretary. The "knights" stood in a different position. They were prepared to be the emperor's personal agents, just as they were prepared to be the agents of anyone else, if sufficiently remunerated. They would take his personal orders, whether in managing his estates, collecting his provincial revenues, or relieving him of some routine portion of his own official labour.'

This statement is, of course, partly true, but it contains one grave error. It implies that at this date the important posts in the Emperor's household were already in the hands of equites, thus antedating the most important change in the position of that order by some fifty years. Mistakes of such importance imply, of course, numerous smaller ones. As examples we may cite the statement that the five per cent. legacy duty was only raised in Italy (p. 88), and the appearance on the 'Map of the Roman Empire, A.D. 64,' of a legionary fortress called after a regiment which had not yet come into existence (Legio VII. Gemina). But enough has been said to show that the equipment even of a first-class classical scholar must be considerably supplemented before he publishes a book with 'The Roman World' as its title.

G. L. C.

ENNIUS SYNTAX.

Die Syntax des Ennius. By RUDOLF FROBENIUS. $9\frac{1}{4}'' \times 6\frac{1}{4}''$. Pp. x+152. Nördlingen: C. H. Beck, 1910.

WE have in this book an able and thorough piece of work of some importance to those who are interested in the study of historical syntax. For 'the everyday talk of the educated Romans of his time' (Lindsay, *Syntax of Pl.* p. 1) we look to Plautus. This study of Ennius helps us to get a clearer idea of the higher literary language of the same period. Frobenius published in 1907 *Die Formenlehre d. Qu. Ennius.* In the book before us we have not only a Syntax but also a 'Stilistik,' including very elaborate studies of Alliteration and Rhyme. The older books, such as Holtze's *Syntaxis priscorum scriptorum Lat.* (1861) and Draeger's *Historische Syntax* (1878-81) are based on Vahlen's first edition of Ennius (1854), and a great deal has been done since then in the criticism and interpretation of the text. The results may be found in L. Mueller's text (1884) and Vahlen's second edition (1903). Hence a new and more complete study of the syntax brings a real addition to our knowledge, and this F. is able to prove by showing that for want of such a work J. H. Schmalz has not been able to do full justice to Ennius.

In the plan of his work F. follows in the main the arrangement of Schmalz's *Syntax und Stilistik.* It would be an advantage if references to Schmalz were added throughout. One learns much from these studies of the language of a particular author, but in order to get the facts into perspective one has to refer constantly to an historical syntax.

The great merit of this book is its thoroughness. Every detail, it seems, is carefully examined, and the classification is carried out with much subtlety. The author keeps constantly in mind the context from which each expression is taken, and does not let the reader forget the poet's different styles. He is always on the look out for traces of Greek or Oscan influence. His general remarks on the language of Ennius are worth quoting; it is, he says, 'eine glückliche Mischung urwüchsiger volkstümlicher Ausdrucksweise . . . mit der Sprache der feinsten Kreise Roms. In ihrem ganzen Gepräge mutet uns die Sprache des Ennius echt römisch an. Sind auch bewusste und unbewusste Anklänge . . . an das Griechische—zurückzuführen vor allem auf die Nachahmung des Homer und Euripides— . . . nicht zu leugnen, so zeigt sich doch in den meisten Fällen dass die Heranziehung griechischer . . . Ausdrucksweise nicht einen Gegensatz zum lateinischen Sprachgebrauch bedeutet, sondern da erfolgte, wo sich im Lateinischen ein schon vorhandener natürlicher Anknüpfungspunkt bot.'

F. shows throughout wide knowledge of Latin syntax and sound judgment. There are, however, points on which his conclusions are open to question.

He contends that Ennius does not use *nos* in the sense of *ego;* 'der Dichter bezeichnet durch den Plur. gewissermassen generell sich zusammen mit andern.' Thus in A. 213-17, Vahlen (226 ff. Mueller),

213 scripsere alii rem
Versibus quos olim Faun*ei* vatesque canebant,
Cum neque Musarum scopulos
nec dicti studiosus quisquam erat ante hunc.

217 Nos ausi reserare

he says that *nos* means 'ich und meine Nachahmer.' This seems an unnatural interpretation; E. was, as Vahlen says, 'a *φιλαυτία* non ita alienus poeta.' Cicero quotes lines 214-216 with the comment 'ait ipse de se nec mentitur in gloriando' (*Brut.* 18, 71). Still more strained is F.'s interpretation of A 377 (431 Mueller): Nos sumus Romani, qui fuimus ante Rudini. It means, he says, 'I am now a Roman as well as my great patrons.' But the relative clause surely makes this impossible. Here again Cicero is against F., for he quotes the line to show how the plural may be used for the singular (*de Orat.* III. 42,

168). The point is worth mentioning, for Gildersleeve says (*Lat. Gram.* 204 N. 7) that this use of *nos* for *ego* 'is never very common, and is not found before Cicero.' Yet in his most intimate letters Cicero varies the number with the greatest freedom, *e.g. ad Q. fr.* II. xii. 1, *Scribebam* illa . . . ; sed si . . . , sin minus, in illud ipsum mare deiciemus quod spectantes *scribimus*. *ad Att.* v. 20, 3, Imperatores appellati sumus.

F. is often unconvincing when he argues that the choice of a particular word or form is due to metrical considerations. He would explain in this way the extraordinary variation of tense in A 561: Non si lingua loqui *saperet* atque ora decem *sint*. But *sapiat* does not differ metrically from *saperet*. Mueller changes to *superet* (585). Again, he says that *sol* was generally banished to the last foot of the Hexameter, so that it became necessary to use a longer form in other feet; hence the use of the plural in A 452 (493 Mueller). It is true that Ennius is fond of ending the line with a monosyllabic noun, and *once* ends with *sol*, but of course he also has such nouns (including *sol*) in other feet. There are, as F. shows, many other reasons for the use of the plural instead of the singular.

F. seems to be mistaken in his treatment of *Sat.* 37: si dominus messim ad amicos reicit, crastino seges non metetur. The condition is, as he says, present, *i.e.* the meaning is 'if he is (now) trying to put the work on to his friends, there won't be any reaping to-morrow.' If so, the present tense is demanded by the sense, and there is nothing unusual or colloquial about it. Compare Gildersleeve's example from Liv. xxii. 60, 14, si tot exempla virtutis non movent, nihil umquam movebit. But F. puts it under the heading 'Present instead of Future,' and says that this type of sentence belongs to *Alltagssprache*, and that it is specially common in Plautus. He refers to Lindsay, *Syntax of Pl.*, pp. 58, 123; here Lindsay is talking of a different type of sentence, viz. that in which the present is used in reference to the future, *e.g.* malum ego vobis dabo, ni abitis. This latter may be called a colloquial use of the present provided that the word is not taken to connote the careless speech of uneducated people, for as Lebreton shows (*La Langue et la Grammaire de Cic.*, p. 190) Cicero has a good number of instances. But the use of the present with present meaning cannot be so described.

W. E. P. Pantin.

SHORT NOTICES

MOMMSEN'S *GESAMMELTE SCHRIFTEN*.

Gesammelte Schriften von Theodor Mommsen. Siebenter Band, Philologische Schriften. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung. Lex. 8vo. Pp. xi+825. M. 20.

This great work goes on apace. The gist of the chief articles in the present weighty volume has already found its way into texts and works of reference, but it was well worth while to reprint so masterly a paper as that which in 1844 corrected the dislocations of the second book of Cicero's letters to his brother, or such a 'Muster paläographischer Akribie' as the description of the Verona palimpsest of Livy. The literary authors with whom this volume is most largely concerned are Plautus, Cicero, Caesar, Sallust, Livy, Horace, Petronius, Tacitus, Ammianus. Special attention may be called to the following as published now for the first time: notes on a few passages of Ammianus (pp. 426-429), and a statement of the grounds on which the scholia on Juvenal are assigned to the end of the fourth century (pp. 509-511). More important is a paper (pp. 253-263) on the relations between Tacitus and the *acta senatus*, written as early as 1884, and published after Mommsen's death in

the Proceedings of the Berlin Academy for 1904, but perhaps not yet widely known. It concludes that 'for the period of the Julio-Claudian dynasty Tacitus certainly inspected the *acta* only casually, if at all.' The heavy work of editing these papers has been done by E. Norden.

E. HARRISON.

Selections from the Greek Papyri. Edited with translations and notes, by G. MILLIGAN. Cambridge University Press, 1910.

THIS little book is compiled for the use of students; in the first place theological students, we should imagine. It contains a choice of all the various sorts of the papyri that belong to daily life: it illustrates custom and language. The editor contributes introduction, translations, and notes. With the excellent editions of the published collections to guide him, he cannot go far wrong; but his translations are wrong sometimes. Thus, p. 23^{23} 'it is not possible that I should ever look up again in Triconia . . . even if we have collapsed' (for I cannot show my face now that we have . . .), 25^{2} *ἴδιον* 'personally attached' (for simply 'ours'), 39^{16} 'with the exception of a talent I have made you to pay my burdens' (? I have sold my wares for a talent). The style of the translations is often forced; so is that of the author's own words (*e.g.* xxvi. 'The attribution of the latter is cogently argued . . .'). The notes are the editor's chief contribution; they contain illustrations from other papyri and from the New Testament.

W. H. D. R.

THE OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI.

The Oxyrhynchus Papyri. Part VII. Edited, with translations and notes, by ARTHUR S. HUNT, D.Litt. With 6 plates. Egypt Exploration Fund, 37, Great Russell Street.

THE *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* is a hardy annual, or paene-annual: long may it remain so. How well the editors do their work is common knowledge; they have won fame all over the world where scholars are to be found. The reviewer's task is chiefly to mention what is new or noticeable.

In this volume, the chief attraction is Callimachus. Was this prophet without honour in his own country, or why is it that so little of him has been found in Egypt? Our volume, however, contains two important fragments: about 90 lines, nearly complete, of the Aitia, and thrice as many, but mutilated, from the Iambi. The first gives part of the story of Acontius and Cydippe, showing how far Aristaenetus in his prose version depends on Callimachus: and it appears for the first time that Callimachus took the story from Xenomedes. This man, who has hitherto passed for a Chian, now is seen to be of Ceos, an historian or, as Callimachus implies, a *μυθολόγος*.

There are some odd touches of folklore: not only the local *προνύμφιος ὕπνος*, but the allusion to scapegoats for disease; and a good deal of learning in the scholastic style, but more allusive than could be wished. As regards criticism, perhaps Dr. Hunt has sometimes been free in accepting corrections. In l. 39 the sense seems to require 'she confessed,' not 'she hid': if so, *ἀνετῶς* is right, and perhaps the other words should be *κἀνεκάλυψεν*. It is a pity there is no plate of this part. In l. 3, it is bold to place *αὐτίκα* instead of the clear *ἄρσενι* of the MS. on the strength of a scholiast: the word need not be part of the quotation at all.

The fragments of the Iambi are most tantalising. The quarrel of the olive and laurel is more complete than the rest; it is not only a lively fable, but alludes to burial customs and the use of the laurel at Delphi.

Besides a few bits of literary criticism, we have fragments of Menander's *Misoumenos*, unfortunately of no great importance: the pieces of extant texts are however useful, like so many others, in supporting good readings here and there which have had poor support hitherto, or even in supporting conjectures (*τοῖς* Phaedrus 238 D). The most notable is perhaps a scrap of the *Cyropaedia*.

The ordinary reader turns next to the

private letters. Here, although there are none so good as some that are already known, we find human touches: Hephaestion says to his friend, 'Come to me; *ἐὰν δὲ ὀλιγωρήσῃς, ὥσπερ οἱ θεοὶ οὐκ ἐφίσαντό μου οὕτως κἀγὼ θεῶν οὐ φίσομαι.*' A terrible threat i' faith!

W. H. D. R.

VERSION

Du hast Diamanten und Perlen,
Hast Alles, was Menschenbegehr,
Und hast die schönsten Augen—
Mein Liebchen, was willst du mehr?
Auf deine schönen Augen
Hab' ich ein ganzes Heer
Von ewigen Liedern gedichtet—
Mein Liebchen, was willst du mehr?
Mit deinen schönen Augen
Hast du mich gequält so sehr,
Und hast mich zu Grunde gerichtet—
Mein Liebchen, was willst du mehr?

HEINE.

Quidquid ab Eois gemmarum carpitur undis,
Humanum quidquid poscit habere genus,
Est tibi; sunt oculi stellarum luce micantes:
Cynthia, quid maius iam dare fata cupis?
Stellarum quae luce micant, tua lumina vates
Materiem sumpsi carminis esse mei.
Innumeros pepigi versus pepigique perennes:
Cynthia, quid maius iam dare fata cupis?
Stellarum quae luce micant, tua lumina vatem
Torquendum flammis me rapuere suis.
En! perdis penitus; nunquam tua victima surget:
Cynthia, quid maius iam dare fata cupis?

H. L. HENDERSON.

NOTES AND NEWS

IF the blood of martyrs is the seed of the Church, persecution is the sun that makes it grow. Hence, while the heathen furiously rage in the Nineteenth Century, the ancient classics have put forth a sprout *in partibus*, in Bombay to wit. The first book of Proceedings contains some papers of originality, besides others of learning. Mr. W. C. Shepherd points out how bad the English translations of classics are, and that the main use of learning Latin and Greek is 'to read the books written in them.' Mr. Shepherd has no axe to grind: he speaks as a man of the world with literary interests, and he hits the nail on the head while many persons do not even see it. Major-General Swann discusses Alexander's Eastern Campaign as a soldier, Mr. A. C. Wild the Indian origin of Greek Music. All these have views which it is worth our while to consider; they see the subjects from a new side.

Juventus, a new Latin magazine, is another sprout. It has an idyllic picture of the Kaiser William in the presence of a crowd of pretty peasant girls. The title, 'Imperator inter rusticos,' makes one look again, to see what appear to be trousers emerging below some of the skirts: the picture is a mystery, perhaps symbolising the iron hand in the velvet glove. There are anecdotes, bits of news (including the names of two schoolboys imprisoned for theft), sententiae, witticisms, a bit of *Robinson Crusoe*, and riddles. At the foot of the page, many of the words are explained in German. *Juventus* has not the courage of *Scriptor Latinus*, which is the best of these Latin journals.

Mr. Hempl's paper, mentioned in our book list, is a wonderful achievement. With a few assumptions, he has deciphered and interpreted the Phaestos disc. He has found on it the Sanskrit virāma, a thing hardly to be expected; but more wonderful still, he has shown that the Minoans of 1500 B.C. spoke good Attic. At least, it is good as far as the dialect goes: it differs in that it allows the article to stand after the noun. Here

is a specimen of the translation. 'Lo, Xipho the prophetess dedicates spoils from a spoiler of the prophetess. Zeus guard us! In silence put aside the most dainty portions of the still unroasted animal. Athene Minerva, be gracious! Silence! The victims have been put to death, Silence!' It is noteworthy to find Zeus at this early time in Crete, before he was born in fact: but when the prophetess appeals to him to hide her pilferings we fear the punishment of the offended god. We remember how he treated Prometheus in like case.

CORRESPONDENCE

To the Editor of THE CLASSICAL REVIEW.

IT is, I think, due to the memory of the late Richard Shilleto that he should not be handed down to posterity as the author of a piece of at least doubtful Latin, owing to an error widely admitted into one of his famous masterpieces, which have been in almost universal use throughout the country in our schools and colleges for more than fifty years. During all this period a piece of Latin has passed muster over his initials for which the great master was not really responsible, though it is repeated in the published copy of his compositions. On p. 435 of that volume will be found a translation into Latin prose of a well-known English extract commencing: 'Peter Alexiwitz of Russia, when he came to years of manhood, though he found himself Emperor of a vast and numerous people, master of an endless territory. . . .' The Latin version runs: 'Petrus Alexandri filius Sarmatarum rex, cum in suam iam tutelam uenisset, uideretque sibi permissam regionem nationum et latissime patentium et hominibus abundantium. . . .'

Now, I have received copies of this piece from eight different and independent sources, and find that the reading is the same in all, except for the significant fact that some had 'permissum' altered into 'permissam.' Some years ago I questioned the Latinity of the expression 'regionem nationum,' and expressed my doubts to a Cambridge Professor. He replied supporting the reading, and quoting in confirmation 'quorum regio hominum' from Hor. *Ep.* 1, 15, 2. I was not satisfied, and a few years later I came across two more copies containing the true reading — viz., 'regimen nationum,' which is no doubt what Shilleto wrote. His manuscript was probably not very clear, and this, coupled with the fact that 'regio' is a more common word than 'regimen,' accounts for the substitution both in manuscript copies throughout the country and in the published version taken from his original manuscript. In this connexion I might mention a real slip in Shilleto's *Greek Proses*, which he himself would probably have liked to see corrected. In two places in the published version—viz., p. 171, l. 15, and p. 233, l. 4, Shilleto uses *ὠφειλημένα* for 'debts.' Though 'things that have been done' constitute 'deeds,' 'sums of money that have been owed' do not necessarily constitute running 'debts.' They may have been paid off in the meantime. Consequently the Orators always use the present participle *ὀφειλόμενα*, 'sums of money still due,' in the sense of 'debts,' not *ὠφειλημένα*. There are several other corrections which ought to be made in the published versions:

P. 157, l. 3, for *ἠσσῆτο* read *ἥσσητο*.
P. 165, l. 8. The words *ἀεὶ δὲ ἥδιον διακείμενος* seem to be the editors' addition. In ten other copies they do not occur. R. S. stopped at *πολλάκις*, the words *εὐδαιμονέστερον διακείμενος* being understood from l. 4. There is a muddle at the end of this piece, two versions being mixed up.
P. 165, l. 16, insert *ὥσπερανεὶ* before *ἀπαρχῆς*.
P. 167, l. 19, for *μᾶλλον* read *μέλλειν*.
P. 181, l. 18, read *ἀλλοίῳ καὶ τῷ εἴδη*.
P. 193, l. 20, insert *τὸ* before *ἐφίεσθαι*.
P. 207, l. 18, for *τοιαῦτα* read *τὰ τοιαῦτα*.
P. 215, l. 16, insert *ἂν* before *ἀνάγκη*.
P. 219. This is not R. S.'s latest version.
P. 229, l. 1, for *Ἐνθυμήθητε* read *Ἐνθυμήθητι*.
P. 229, l. 10, insert *πρότερον* before *πεπονημένοι*.
P. 239, l. 22, for *λόγῳ* read *λόγον*, though *λόγῳ* may be 'in accordance with reason.'
P. 239, l. 23, for *ὑπείκοντες* read *ὑπείκειν*.
P. 245, ll. 13-14, read *ἐν τοῖς πλουσιώτατοι*.
P. 245. l. 26. In one copy derived direct from R. S. *ἀλλὰ* is not in context, but belongs to an alternative version.
P. 247, l. 1, insert *αὐτῷ* after *γε*.
P. 247, l. 9, insert *τοὺς ῥήτορας* after *Ἀθήνας*.
P. 249, l. 9, for *ἢ* read *ἀλλὰ*. *ἢ* belongs to an alternative version containing *οὐ μᾶλλον*.
P. 258, l. 7 of Greek, insert *τοῦ νῦν* after *γε*.

F. T. RICKARDS.

Byculla Club, Bombay,
February 2, 1911.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Publishers and Authors forwarding books for review are asked to send at the same time a note of the price.

*** *Excerpts and Extracts from Periodicals and Collections are not included in these Lists unless stated to be separately published.*

American Philological Association (Transactions and Proceedings of). Vol. XL. With Indices to Vols. XXXI.-XL. $9\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. 202, clii+44. Ginn, 1909.

Andressen (G.) Cornelii Nepotis Vitae bearbeitet von Rudolf Franz, mit 25 Abbildungen und 6 Karten. $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5''$. Pp. xviii+138. Leipzig: G. Freytag, 1908. Cloth, M. 1.20.

Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἑταιρεία--πρακτικὰ τοῦ ἔτους 1909. $10'' \times 6\frac{3}{4}''$. Pp. 323, with a large number of full-page plates. Athens: Sakellarios, 1910.

Aristotle. De Partibus Animalium. Translated into English by W. Ogle. $9'' \times 6''$. Oxford: University Press, 1911. 5s. net.

Arnold (E. V.) Roman Stoicism. $8\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5\frac{3}{4}''$. Pp. x+468. Cambridge: University Press, 1911. Cloth, 10s. 6d. net.

Burton (H. E.) A Latin Grammar. $8'' \times 5\frac{1}{4}''$. Pp. 337. New York: Silver, Burdett and Co., 1911. Cloth, $ 0.90.

Bury (J. B.) The Imperial Administrative System in the Ninth Century. With a revised text of the Kletorologion of Philotheos. (Supplemental Papers of the British Academy, I.) $9\frac{3}{4}'' \times 6''$. Oxford: University Press, 1911. 10s. 6d. net.

Cicero. An Easy Selection from his Correspondence. By J. D. Duff. $6\frac{3}{4}'' \times 4\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. 126. Cambridge: University Press, 1911. Cloth, 1s. 6d.

Δέλτιο τοῦ ἐκπαιδευτικοῦ ὁμίλου: Α' Ιανουάριος, 1911. Ἀθήνα. Ὁδ. Ὀφθαλμιατρείου 12. $9\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. 64. Each no. δρ. 1.50.

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The Classical Review

JUNE 1911

ORIGINAL CONTRIBUTIONS

THE *ANDROMACHE* AND THE *TRACHINIANS*.

In the plays which Sophocles wrote in his splendid old age, his art appears to have undergone a change. His own words reported by Plutarch[1] define his latest style as *ἠθικώτατον*, most expressive of character, and *βέλτιστον*, the highest. There can be no doubt *a priori* that, as with all great artists, his work was influenced by the spirit of his time and by his contemporary poets. The effect of the Euripidean manner of writing upon the art of Sophocles has been made clear by various studies of the extant Sophoclean plays. With regard to the *Oedipus Coloneus*, Wilamowitz appears to be right in declaring that 'beyond a doubt Sophocles received the impulse to treat his *Heimatsage* in this play from the Phoenician Women of Euripides.' It has been shown by the late Professor Earle in vol. xxxiii. of the *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, that in writing the *Trachinians* Sophocles had the *Medea* before him, and 'that in the case of this play too he paid Euripides the compliment of imitation.' Dieterich[2] and Wilamowitz[3] have also shown the dependence of the *Trachinians* on the *Heracles*, and Professor Earle has pointed out the use of the *Alcestis* by Sophocles in *Trachinians* 325 ff. In my study of the date of *Heracles* I have discussed the dependence of the *Trachinians* on another play of Euripides—that is, the *Andromache*. In this paper I desire to bring out more fully the likenesses in the structure and motives in these two plays, and to show to what an extent Euripides' interest in and conception of feminine character has affected Sophocles.

The *Trachinians* has been generally recognised as the most Euripidean of the plays of Sophocles. Schlegel, the great Euripides-hater, gives testimony to this unconsciously in expressing the hope that for the sake of Sophocles the play may finally be attributed to some one else. Dieterich and Wilamowitz have made it clear that the character of the tragic Heracles has been suggested by Euripides' great play of the years 420-418. That of the heroine Deianira, however, does not follow the character of the wife of Heracles in that play. Points of likeness between her conduct and that of the deserted Medea have been suggested by Professor Earle, but of their natures he says: 'Is not the gentle and patient Deianira meant to be a foil to Euripides' fiery-souled Colchian?' I think it more probable that the character of the 'most feminine and lovely of the poet's heroines' was suggested by the study of the ideal wife and mother, made by Euripides in the *Andromache* (a play which according to internal evidence was produced in the years 417-416, not long after the *Heracles*), and continued by him in the

[1] Plut. *Profect. Virt.* 17.
[2] *Rhein. Mus.*, 1892.
[3] *Heracles*, I., p. 153.

Troades (415). I hold that the *Trachinians*, a play to which Jebb assigns the limits 420-410, followed by no long interval these two plays of Euripides, one his 'perfect piece'; the other, while distinctly to be reckoned τῶν δευτέρων, as its oldest critic says, yet possessed of a kind of hysterical strength and of the fires of bitterness and of hate.

The resemblances in the general structure of the *Trachinians* and the *Andromache* are striking. In both plays our interest at the outset is centred in the fate of a woman who is lamenting the absence of her protector, in the one case the husband Heracles, in the other Neoptolemus, to whom Andromache has been assigned as prize of war. In both plays the περιπέτεια is occasioned by the conflict between the claims of the lawful wife and those of the δορίκτητος γυνή[1] who in the *Andromache* is the heroine, in the *Trachinians* is utterly silent, and is made real for us only by the pitying words of the wife and of Lichas. In both plays the interest shifts from the fate of the heroine—in the *Andromache* to the death of Neoptolemus and to the fate of the wife Hermione and other characters; in the *Trachinians* to the death of Heracles, and to the fate of the captive Iolé and of Hyllus. Both plays have been criticised for this episodic character. Campbell, followed by Jebb, holds that in the *Trachinians* the two episodes are brought into a strict connection by the love of Heracles for Iolé, which causes him to destroy Oechalia and also causes Deianira to send the robe, and he maintains that in point of dramatic structure the *Trachinians* will bear comparison with the greatest of Sophoclean tragedies. The episodes of the *Andromache* have not found such defenders. The great art of Sophocles has prevailed to obscure to our eyes the inferiority in dramatic interest of the second part of his play, which Jebb with all his admiration for the *Trachinians* admits as a serious defect. In the Euripidean drama there is no corresponding greatness of conception or beauty of execution to hide its defects.

[1] Platt, A., *Sophoclea*, *Classical Quarterly*, July, 1910.

A comparison of the prologues will show that Sophocles has taken not only the motive of the wife left without her protector, but also the language in which she expresses her grief, from the *Andromache*. The Sophoclean play begins with a long Euripidean prologue of forty-eight lines, unique among the existing plays of Sophocles. Deianira tells of her sorrow in verses that correspond to those of the prologue of the *Andromache* in several important points. She begins with a reference to the famous *sententia*: 'Call no man happy before his death,' which appears in the *Andromache* in a more commonplace form at l. 100. She laments her lost happiness in language strikingly similar in sentiment and structure to that of Andromache.

Compare

Trach. 5. ἔξοιδ' ἔχουσα δυστυχῆ τε καὶ βαρὺν πότμον

with

And. 6. νῦν εἴ τις ἄλλη δυστυχεστάτη γυνή.

The beginnings of the narratives that follow are the same:

Trach. 6. ἥτις πατρὸς μέν.
And. 8. ἥτις πόσιν μέν.

The story of their unhappy unions and the expression of their fears follow:

Trach. 37. ταρβήσασ' ἐγώ.
And. 42. δειματουμένη ἐγώ.

Both prologues end with an expression of foreboding because of the continued absence of Heracles and of Neoptolemus respectively. Andromache is filled with fear for the safety of her little son, μὴ θάνῃ φοβουμένη, and Deianira for that of Heracles, σχεδὸν δ' ἐπίσταμαί τι πῆμ' ἔχοντά νιν.

The closing verse of each prologue contains a reference to Heaven—

Trach. 48. θεοῖς ἀρῶμαι πημονῆς ἄτερ λαβεῖν.
And. 55. θεὸν παράσχοιτ' εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν εὐμενῆ.

The feeling of the two prologues is the same, and after the soliloquy of each unhappy woman a servant addresses her

mistress with sympathy for her grief and a suggestion for the future. Andromache and Deianira accept the words of the slave with a sympathetic reference to the condition of servitude:

And. 64. ὦ φιλτάτη σύνδουλε.
Trach. 61. ὦ τέκνον, ὦ παῖ, κἀξ ἀγεννήτων ἄρα
μῦθοι καλῶς πίπτουσιν, ἥδε γὰρ γυνὴ
δούλη μέν, εἴρηκεν δ' ἐλεύθερον λόγον.

The Sophoclean antithesis here is entirely in the manner of Euripides, the poet in whom, as Decharme[1] says, we see for the first time placed together words that would have previously appeared contradictory, γενναῖος and δοῦλος.

The scenes of the two dramas that follow the first Chorus develop the character of the respective heroines, in each case a presentation of the ideal wife and mother according to the conception of each poet. The character of Deianira is, in Jebb's words, 'by general consent one of the most delicately beautiful creations in literature.' He adds, 'Many who feel this charm will also feel that it can no more be described than the perfume of a flower.' In this subtle beauty the genius of Sophocles is revealed in its greatness, immeasurably surpassing the Euripidean presentation of Andromache. Euripides, alas! did not always with his touches of things common lift them to the spheres. That glory after all belongs also to Sophocles, painting men οἵους δεῖ. Instead of the exquisite loveliness of Deianira Euripides presents to us the sordid spectacle of the young wife, Hermione, and Andromache, the δορίκτητος γυνή, contending about woman's virtue, each claiming it for herself and denying it to the other in an ignoble strife. Andromache here and in the *Trojan Women* has the rôle of the ideal wife. In the understanding of her character I am compelled to differ with Professor Gilbert Murray, who has done so much to interpret Euripides to our time. He finds her character in these two plays[2] wonderfully studied. She seems to him to be a woman who has not yet shown much character or perhaps had very intense experience, only waiting for sufficiently great trials to become a heroine or a saint. To me, on the contrary, this character appears that of the conventional type of Athenian wife, which still retained so much of the Oriental in contrast to the freedom of Dorian and of Northern Greece. The well-known passage so often quoted from the oration against Neaira[3] need not be repeated here, but it is a direct corollary of such a rule for the conduct of life as that given by Andromache as her own in one of her passages of vituperative advice to Hermione:

χρὴ γὰρ γυναῖκα, κἂν κακῷ πόσει δοθῇ,
στέργειν ἄμιλλάν τ' οὐκ ἔχειν φρονήματος.

'Tis woman's part, though married to a boor,
To please her lord and ne'er dispute his will.'

Andromache has only censure for all women except herself. In this hatred of women she is at one with Hermione, Menelaus, Peleus, and the Chorus, and a marked contrast to Deianira with her humanity and pity for her beautiful young rival. Hermione, too, suddenly forgets that she is Dorian-born and talks in Attic fashion. Andromache praises the woman ἥ ἔνδον μένει; Hermione goes further; 'a man who has a wife, if he be wise, will ne'er let other women come to see the sharer of his home. Let him guard well his doors with bolts and bars, for visits from her women friends without bring naught of good and a long train of evils.' With this may be compared the advice of Paolo,[4] son of Messer Pace of Certaldo, a Florentine merchant of the fourteenth century, who might be translating from the speeches of Andromache and Hermione. 'Woman is a light thing and vain. If thou hast women in thy house, keep them shut up as much as possible, and return thou very often and keep them in fear and trembling, and take heed that they always have something to do in the house, which they must not neglect.' In

[1] *Euripides and the Spirit of his Drama* (Loeb trans.), p. 117.
[2] *The Trojan Women*, p. 88.
[3] Κατὰ Νεαίρας, 138 C.
[4] *Men and Manners of Old Florence* (Biagi G.), p. 124.

the Florentine life of the fourteenth century, in which Signor Biagi says the housewife of the time was either a fear-inspiring virago or else a creature wholly absorbed in domestic matters, with no understanding for anything beyond her prayers and her pantry, there is a complete parallel, that has not passed unnoted, to the social condition of women, wedded and *ἑταῖραι*, in Athens of the fifth century, a city in whose history, as Wilamowitz says, no woman had any part except the Jungfrau auf der Burg. Andromache in her various long speeches of self-praise in the *Andromache* and in the *Troades* upholds a single virtue that has made her great among women, that of absolute obedience to Hector and of self-effacement for his sake, carried to an extent which is horrifying from the point of view of Occidental morality. Her bitterness toward women is not surpassed by that of Menelaus, who, one would grant, had some grounds for hatred of womenkind. So I fail to perceive the wonderfully studied character which Professor Murray finds in the Euripidean *Andromache*. We have rather Euripides' conventional picture of the Periclean ideal woman as she is often described in the dramas of this poet. In the scene with Molossus and in that with Astyanax in the *Troades* we have Euripides using the motive of the mother-instinct, which he uses so often with wonderful dramatic effect. But most often in the *Andromache* the heroine merely voices the poet's bitterness against Sparta and against women. Hermione, as a caricature of the Spartan girl, at first serves to express the poet's hatred of Sparta, as giving him opportunity to declaim against the unconventional dress of the Dorian maidens and their education in common with the youths. Even Helen's sin is charged against the Spartan system of female education. Later, however, in her fear that Neoptolemus will take vengeance on her for her attempted murder of his child and of Andromache, Hermione repents, and condemns disobedience in a wife entirely in the Athenian manner. She runs away with her husband's murderer, but quite properly says that she will not marry him unless she can obtain her father's consent. There is no intentional comic touch in the depiction of either Andromache or of Hermione. They are Euripides' pictures of the good and bad women of his time, whom he has depicted *οἷαι ἦσαν*. Even the genius of a Euripides could not make a *Tendenzschrift* like this, intent on lashing his two *bêtes noires*, Sparta and women, into a great artistic play. It remains interesting in many ways, but beyond a question second-rate.

Sophocles, adopting the Euripidean motive of the *ἐρῶσα γυνή*, shows the glory of his genius in this new field. The exquisite refinement of Deianira's nature and her lovely humanity are set forth as nobly as the heroic qualities of the heroines of his earlier and greater plays. He too is depicting the women commended by the Athenian public in his day, the type which Pericles describes—or was it rather Thucydides himself?—as the ideal Athenian wife and mother, whose greatest glory is to be known as little as may be either for good or for ill in the world outside her home. This lesson, which Euripides never tires of repeating, is expressed by him in these two lines of a play written at the time of the Funeral Oration:

γυναικὶ γὰρ σιγή τε καὶ τὸ σωφρονεῖν
βέλτιστον, εἴσω θ' ἥσυχον μένειν δόμων.

It was left for Sophocles to make from this pattern a living character fit to be ranked with the women of Shakespeare, and to immortalise the Periclean type. All the insistence of Andromache in the two Euripidean dramas in which she appears, that the perfect woman who minds the ways of her household, *ἡ ἔνδον μενει*, is realised in her and her alone, does not persuade us that she is fine and lovable, nor make us forget for a moment the greatness of Antigone. But the silence of Deianira when she turns from her son's curse is more potent in revealing her greatness than anything that lies within the repertory of Euripides' fluent eloquence. The spiritual beauty of this type of woman, about whose faults and virtues alike Euripides had been didactic for a lifetime, Sophocles has expressed once for all in this play of his later years, with an exquisite art that calls to mind the delicate grace and the nobility of the mourning women

on the Attic grave monuments of the late fifth century. The sorrowful loveliness of Hegeso and her like on these reliefs has for us the same ineffable charm as Sophocles' picture of the Periclean ideal of wife and mother, given in the *Trachinians*.[1]

Sophocles has in this play availed himself of the Euripidean vocabulary, prologue, double plot, and characters. But with all this borrowed material his play is, in the character of Deianira and in the ethical charm of its style so well emphasised by Jebb, worthy of his great genius. He has fallen short of the tragic grandeur of the Mad Heracles in the second part of his play, but in Deianira, 'the perfect type of gentle womanhood' (Jebb), he has given us the most human and lovely heroine of Greek literature, and has surpassed the younger poet, who, with all his interest in the psychology of women, has depicted nothing so great as this, even in his Alcestis.

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[1] In its verbal style the *Trachinians* displays Euripidean traits. The use of λέχος and λέκτρον is noted by Fraccaroli. The words ἀρτίκολλος, ἀρτίπους, ἀρτίχριστος form a group of compounds appearing in this play alone of Sophocles' extant plays. Euripides has a liking for this compound; cf. ἀρτίδακρυς, *Med.* 903; ἀρτιμαθής, *Hec.* 687; ἀρτίπλουτος, *Suppl.* 742; ἀρτίφρων, *Med.* 294; *I.A.* 877. The compound καλλιβόας, *Trach.* 640, seems to be of great significance in view of the fact that Sophocles has but two compounds of καλλι-, the other also in a late play (*O.C.* 682), while Euripides has no less than twenty compounds of this word. Moreover, καλλιβόας αὐλός is modelled on καλλίφθογγον κιθάραν of *Heracles* 356. This characteristically Euripidean compound is also found in *Ion* 169 and *I.T.* 222. The repetitions so frequent in Euripides also appear in this play in considerable numbers.

THE BURIAL OF AJAX.

IT were idle to deny that the last scenes of the *Ajax* of Sophocles are a melancholy anticlimax; as such they must strike anyone who reads the play for the first time; as such they must remain to the most devoted of the poet's admirers after long acquaintance. Critics assuming the part of special pleaders have done their best to defend them, but in vain do they talk about the sanctity of burial or the interest the Athenians took in the island of Salamis; Persuasion sits not upon their lips, and the very fact of their apologising shows that they feel there is something wrong. Nor is this feeling confined to the moderns alone; the ancients also experienced it, and honestly allowed the truth. A scholion on 1123 observes that 'such sophisms are not proper to tragedy; wishing to prolong the action after the death of the hero he fell into frigidity, and relaxed the tension of tragic feeling.' This is hardly the judgment of a Byzantine, but rather comes from the great critics of Alexandria. It is notorious that the best judges of antiquity held Sophocles to be an unequal poet, and the contrast between the overwhelming and terrible effect of the prologue, followed by the splendid poetry and breathless interest of the central scenes on the one hand, and on the other the tame rhetorical ending of the whole play, is the best proof now extant of the truth of their judgment.

It is best on every ground to admit this, and to confess that Sophocles was human after all; though it may also be allowed that on the stage the last scenes are more interesting to a spectator than they appear to a reader. Nor need we say that they are deficient altogether in merit, but nevertheless an anticlimax they remain.

Shall we rather inquire why it was that Sophocles so constructed this drama—what was the purpose that he had before him? To fathom his mind is indeed beyond us all; when Arnold said, 'Others abide our question, thou art free,' he applied to the English tragedian a line which might more truly be applied to the Greek. About Shakespeare's mind and its history we can know a good deal if we like to take the trouble, but Sophocles remains aloof in majesty like a god, inscrutable. Yet

in his art are laws discernible, laws structural and ethical, two of which are concerned with this very question.

To take the structural first, it is remarkable that in five out of the seven plays a more or less subordinate character appears in the earlier and later scenes while absent from the central. In *Philoctetes* Odysseus is the principal actor of the prologue, and returns near the end. In *Electra* Orestes dominates the prologue, but does not appear again until the interest has been concentrated upon his sister. In the *Trachiniae* Hyllus forms the connecting link between the two halves consecrated to Deianira and to Heracles. In *Oedipus Tyrannus* Creon, in *Ajax* Odysseus, again play similar parts.

One effect of this is to frame, as it were, the chief character; the central scenes and their protagonist are thus supported somewhat as the group in the middle of a pediment is supported by the recumbent figures in the side-angles, or again as the main figure is often by the lower ones in the pyramidal composition so familiar to Raffaelle. In art which appeals to the eye alone these subordinate persons must be different from one another; in drama this not only is unnecessary, but would indeed be ruinous; hence the chief supporting figure in these plays is the same at either end of it. (Two of the masterpieces of Turgenev, *Fumée* and *Eaux Printanières*, produce by other means a similar effect of framing.) Sophocles, however, is no mechanical workman working to a pattern, and in no two of the five plays is the treatment the same. Orestes is himself in sympathy with Electra, and is even more important than she for the action, though not for the interest, of the play. Odysseus is the enemy of Philoctetes, and is only necessary for the action as the spring which sets the machinery in motion. Hyllus is a connecting link, and perhaps not much more. Creon is most important for the action, as his quarrel with Oedipus leads to the fatal discovery. But in *Ajax* Odysseus is of no importance for the main action, or at any rate of very little, so far as his appearance in the prologue goes; he had indeed been responsible in a way for the madness of Ajax, but that part of his activity lies 'outside the action.'

Yet just try to imagine what would be the effect of his disappearance from the tragedy. Ajax might have been discovered by Tecmessa and the Chorus sitting amid the slain cattle; all those wondrous passages of pathos, beauty and despair would be the same in themselves; but would there not be something wanting?

Obviously, and that brings in the second or ethical reason. Perhaps we have no right to separate the poet's motives in this abrupt manner; the construction of his plot is as subtle and as defiant of either analysis or imitation as is the lovely language of his verse. But the analyst can only analyse, knowing nothing of the process by which the synthesis was made.

'Great poesy,' said Dryden, 'must be ethical,' and if we give the word a wide enough meaning he spoke truth. Tragedy, anyhow, if it be not ethical, is nothing at all, and the Greeks knew this well enough, Sophocles above all, who could have improved, I fancy, upon Aristotle's treatment of this matter. He knew that not only must the hero have some defect in his character, but also that precisely this must lead to his ruin, if he is to be ruined. And he brings out that defect by contrast. Thus Creon acts as a foil to the vices of Oedipus; throughout the early scenes it is he who is cool and sensible and in the right while Oedipus behaves like a madman, and yet Sophocles takes care, as by some miracle, to keep our sympathies with Oedipus. So is it also with the Odysseus of *Ajax;* he is necessary to architectural completion and at the same time as a foil to the hero; only in this case he serves to enhance both his vices and his virtues. In the prologue he assumes the right attitude of a mortal towards the terrible, omnipotent, inscrutable laws, or powers, or what you please to call them, of this universe, whereof Athena is a type and symbol. γοργῶπις, ἀδάματος—yes, those laws are so indeed, and Odysseus knew it. But Ajax first thinks he can defy them, and then rebels when in their remorseless action they have seized him. In his impious pride he tells Athena that he

will do what he likes about Odysseus, and she may have her way in all else. For sake of this hunting (this!) he will reward her, though he may have neglected her aforetime. Every line he utters, every line she answers, is barbed with that terrible irony which has become proverbial; his blindness and infatuation stand out in the white blaze of a searchlight, as the goddess mocks him and Odysseus gazes in mingled fear and pity upon him. And yet again, as by miracle, it is with Ajax that we sympathise, thinking, like Odysseus, perhaps, not less of ourselves than of him. For Sophocles was far too great an artist to leave any doubt on that; Odysseus is the wise man, Odysseus adopts the correct attitude, but it is to Ajax that the heart goes out.

There is a very interesting parallel to be found in Goethe, the modern who is most like Sophocles in many ways. In *Torquato Tasso* we meet again a similar contrast, the worldly wise Antonio, whose sensible mind enables him to thrive in his environment, who is perfectly right in everything he says, and over against him the unhappy poet who beats himself like a bird against his cage. But Goethe's play is unsatisfactory in its effect because the sympathy of the spectator is not enlisted on the right side. We ought to feel with Tasso, and Goethe has made this impossible. Yet Tasso surely was worth many Antonios, just as the Goethe of *Faust* was worth a wilderness of the Goethe who was minister of Weimar. The poet was so conscious of the defects of the poetic temperament that he turns devil's advocate against his own better and higher self. Sense may rise superior to Sensibility, but Tasso should have been something above both.

Ajax, though no poet himself despite the glorious speeches his creator has put into his mouth, has yet certain defects often associated with the poet, vanity and pride and foolish impetuosity. Pride leads to his ruin, impetuosity consummates it, for Tecmessa knows, and the Chorus also know, that his suicide is mere folly, and had he stayed but an hour longer to think Teucer had been in time to deliver him. Odysseus may not be entirely amiable, but he marks the contrast to these defects; it were long to dwell upon his words in detail, but the more we consider them the more plainly does this intention force itself upon us. And when the hero is dead and the two blustering generals of the army seek to deny him burial, the very same qualities of Odysseus again shine upon us, now no longer dimmed by the sun of Ajax, but like a gentle moon rising over a night of bewildered confusion. As even the noble Ajax had failed in competition with such a man, and that is just part of the eternal tragedy of life, so the stupid and brutal Agamemnon yields before him like clay in the hands of the potter; like Teucer we feel that we may praise him altogether, for he has deceived our expectation.

Yes, he has deceived our expectation, but why? What right have we to expect anything else? It is not because Odysseus was a bad man, for what evil has he done? nor yet because Sophocles has failed in doing his duty, for when we look at the prologue and consider it coolly we see that it is clear as daylight that Odysseus is neither a bad man nor a fool that he should triumph over the dead. I am almost afraid that it is because we are rather dull ourseives, and have allowed ourselves to be taken in by what Ajax and Tecmessa and the Chorus say, as if they were not prejudiced witnesses.

Such do I conceive to have been the motives which led Sophocles to continue the tragedy as he does. The trouble about the burial is due to the necessity for reintroducing Odysseus and completing the contrast between the two types of character. Presentation of character interested Sophocles more than anything else, and the truly great dramatist is known by this among other signs, that he will rather sacrifice his plot to his characters than his characters to his plot. So in this case the completion of the moral interest brought with it an anticlimax, due to three causes. Firstly, it involved the altercations with Teucer, and Sophocles does not move at his ease in the purlieus of Billingsgate. Secondly, the burial of a hero never was a matter of

tragic interest to anybody. Thirdly, the cool head, however valuable in life, and however useful as a hero for comedy of the type of Molière and Jane Austen, is a poor subject for tragedy.

Probably a good deal of this has been said before, but in any case it seemed to me to be worth saying now. The more violent partisans of the poet will, I trust, excuse me; the 'gentle Sophocles' himself certainly would have smiled and said it was no matter,

εἰ πτωχὸς ὢν εἶπόν τι κἀστωμυλάμην.

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VERSES IN LIVY.

MR. BRODRIBB does not appear to have observed that the phenomena to which he has called attention (*C.R.* Feb., 1910, p. 10) are by no means confined to the first three books of Livy. In the following list, as in Mr. Brodribb's, the original text is printed in Roman type and the metrical fragments obtained by rearrangement in italics; in the latter all words which do not occur in the original are marked by Roman type. Where only the original is given, it is already in a metrical form.

Bk. IX. chs. 1-5.

2 § 7. montibus circa perpetuis inter se iuncti.
perpetuis inter se iuncti montibus . . .

§ 13. castra propter aquam uallo circumdant.
propter aquam uallo circumdant castra . . .

§ 15 . . . nec auxilio locus esset.

3 § 8 quamquam filius ipse in primis iam animum quoque patris consenuisse in adfecto corpore rebatur.
. . . quamquam filius ipse in primis . . . animum quoque consenuisse corpore in adfecto rebatur . . .

4 § 9. ut illis decurrere ex Capitolio armatis in hostem licuit.
armatis illis licuit decurrere in hostem.

§ 10. mortem pro patria praeclaram . . .

5 § 7. caecos in foueam lapsos . . .

§ 10. se solos sine uolnere, sine ferro, sine acie uictos.
. . . se solos sine uolnere uictos.

Bk. XXI. chs. 10-16.

10 § 5. per quos priore bello rupta foedera sunt ulti.
. . . per quos ulti sunt foedera rupta.

§ 11. hunc iuuenem tamquam furiam facemque huius belli odi ac detestor.
hunc iuuenem tamquam belli furiamque facemque odi ac detestor . . .

§ 13. ipsumque Hannibalem ex foedere Romanis dedant.
. . . Romanis ex foedere dedant Hannibalem . . .

11 § 6. cum omnia uariis clamoribus streperent.
omnia cum uariis streperent clamoribus . . .

14. nudatam stationibus custodiisque solitis hostium esse urbem.
. . . nudatam solitis stationibus urbem.

§ 3. totis uiribus adgressus urbem momento cepit.
. . . totis adgressus uiribus urbem momento cepit . . .

15 § 1. uix ullum discrimem aetatis ira fecerat.
uix ullum aetatis discrimen fecerat ira.

16 § 6. bellum gerendum in Italia ac pro moenibus Romanis esse.
bellum Romanis pro moenibus esse gerendum.

Bk. XXXIII. chs. 5 10.

6 § 6. nullo inito certamine.
. . . inito certamine nullo.

§ 8. . . . ut praegressus corrumperet hosti frumenta . . .

§ 10. Philippus super amnem Onchestum posuit castra.
. . . posuit super amnem castra Philippus Onchestum.

7 § 1. nubibus in terram demissis . . .

§ 2. agmen ad incertos clamores . . .

§ 3. relicta ibi statione firma peditum equitumque.
. . . firma peditum statione relicta.

§ 4. Romanus eisdem ad Thetideum castris cum se tenuisset.
Romanus cum se castris tenuisset eisdem.

§ 8. inops consilii trepidauit.
consilii trepidauit inops . . .

Bk. XLIV. chs. 24-6, 38-42.

24 § 1. condicio rerum poterat: natura inimica.

§ 9. . . . sub ipsis moenibus urbis.

25 § 6. nam modo ne iuuaret bello Romanos terra marique, etc.
nam modo ne bello terraque marique iuuaret Romanos . . .

§ 10. interea Samothracae in templo depositurum.

26 § 7. et in ripa fluminis Axi posuit castra.
. . . posuitque in ripa fluminis Axi castra . . .

38 § 3. non grauabor reddere dilatae pugnae rationem.
. . . dilatae rationem reddere pugnae.

40 § 7. hora circiter nona iumentum e manibus curantium elapsum in ulteriorem ripam effugit.
. . . nona circiter hora e manibus curantum elapsum . . . . . ripam iumentum effugit in ulteriorem.

41 § 6. quae fluctuantem turbarunt primo, deinde disiecerunt phalangem.
. . . primo turbarunt, deinde phalangem disiecere . . .

42 § 4. suppliciter uitam orabant . . .

§ 6 retro qui poterant nando repetentes terram.
retro qui poterant nando terram repetentes.

Cicero: *ad Att.* I. 1. §§ 1, 2.

§ 1. more maiorum negatur.
. . . maiorum more negatur.

ut frontem ferias, sunt qui . . .

qui denegauit et iurauit morbum et illud suum regnum iudiciale opposuit. Catilina . . . erit competitor.
. . . morbum iurauit et illud iudiciale suum regnum opposuit. Catilina
or
iurauit morbum et regnum illud iudiciale opposuit. Catilina petet . . .

§ 2. quoniam uidetur in suffragiis multum posse Gallia, cum Romae, etc.
. . . multum posse uidetur Gallia, cum Romae . . .

With regard to Mr. Brodribb's iambics, it must be remembered that iambic senarii occur not infrequently in historical prose. There are at least six in Livy I. 13-25 (*e.g.* 13 § 8, etiam regnum duobus regibus fuit), and at least thirteen in Velleius Paterculus II. 92-118. And nothing is easier than to find passages which may be rearranged in the metre of Phaedrus. In the following iambics verbal changes and stopgaps are more numerous than in Mr. Brodribb's, and one line has been left without caesura, but against this may be set off the liberties taken by Mr. Brodribb, who in sixteen lines has allowed himself a line without caesura, a false quantity (uoluptatibus), a line ending in two iambic words, an anapaest in the sixth foot, and two consecutive anapaests. It will be observed that the first passage is one of those in which Mr. Brodribb detected fragments of hexameters.

Livy I. 10 § 6. 'Iuppiter Feretri,' inquit, 'haec tibi uictor Romulus rex regia arma fero templumque his regionibus, quas modo animo metatus sum, dedico sedem opimis spoliis, quae regibus ducibusque hostium caesis me auctorem sequentes posteri ferent.'
Iuppiter,
tibi haec, Feretri, Romulus rex regia
fero arma uictor, templumque his regionibus
quas animo sum tacente *metatus modo,*
spoliis opimis sedem uoce *dedico,*
quae caesis ducibus hostium atque regibus
auctorem me sequentes posteri ferent.

Livy XXI. 30 §§ 6-8. in ipsis portis hostium fatigatos subsistere—quid Alpes aliud esse credentes quam montium altitudines? fingerent altiores Pyrenaei iugis; nullas profecto terras caelum contingere nec inexsuperabiles humano generi esse. Alpes quidem habitari, coli, gignere atque alere animantes; peruias fauces esse exercitibus. eos ipsos, quos cernant, legatos non pinnis sublime elatos Alpes transgressos.
portis in ipsis hostium subsistitis
fessi: *quid Alpis aliud esse creditis*
quam montium altitudines! uel *fingite*
has *altiores* quam *Pyrenaei iuga,*
nullae profecto terrae tangunt sidera,
nec sunt humano generi inexsuperabiles.
Alpes quidem coluntur, habitantur, uiros
gignunt aluntque, fauces praebent *peruias*
exercitibus. legati, quos hic *cernitis,*
non pinnis eleuati trans *Alpes* eunt.

By this time it will be evident that metrical 'fragments' may be constructed in equal numbers from almost any part of Livy. As one would expect, they are much less numerous in Caesar's *Gallic War*, where on the average one may be found in every other chapter, and they are still rarer in Cicero's oratorical and philosophical prose.

It is obvious that their presence cannot be due to the use of a poetical source, for in the chapters from Bk. XXXIII. he is following Polybius, and no one would seriously maintain that Cicero wrote the first draft of his letter in hexameters. The explanation must lie in some peculiarity of style. Now, the favourite Ciceronian *clausulae* (a cretic or paeon as basis with a trochaic cadence) are as rare in Livy as they are common in Caesar. Further, one may reasonably assume that the rhythm of the whole period is likely to be in harmony with the *clausula*. Hence we need not be surprised to find that Livy begins his history with four feet of a hexameter, and that whereas Cicero and Caesar are full of unmanageable cretics and paeons, Livy's prose contains a fair proportion of words suitable for dactylic verse.

Mr. Brodribb regards the circumstance that the words of his fragments are almost always in prose order as an indication that they were once in metrical form. One would rather take it to be an argument to the contrary.

With respect to his iambics, the following passages furnish a sufficient explanation. Cicero, *Orator*, § 189, uersus saepe in oratione per imprudentiam dicimus . . . *senarios uero et Hipponacteos effugere uix possumus; magnam enim partem ex iambis nostra constat oratio.* Quintilian, *Inst. Orat.* 9. 4, § 76, illi (sc. senarii) minus sunt notabiles, *quia hoc genus sermoni proximum est.* itaque et uersus toti fere excidunt.

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NOTES

NOTE ON APPIAN, *BELL. CIV.* I. 21 *fin.*

'*και γάρ τις ἤδη νόμος κεκύρωτο, εἰ δήμαρχος ἐνδέοι ταῖς παραγγελίαις, τὸν δῆμον ἐκ πάντων ἐπιλέγεσθαι.*'

THE above law, on the strength of which Caius Gracchus carried his election to a second tribuneship, has given no little trouble to commentators, who differ considerably in the meaning which they attach to the clause '*εἰ δήμαρχος ἐνδέοι.*'

Mommsen[1] interprets: 'in case a tribune were to fall short of the necessary qualifications.' It is questionable whether such an elaborate sense can be loaded on to the single word *ἐνδέοι*. But admitted that the linguistic difficulty might be overcome, Mommsen's explanation does not meet the case. The qualifications for the tribunate were not so complex but Caius' opponents could under all circumstances have put up at least ten candidates against whom no technical disability could be urged. A second ballot such as gave Caius his chance could thus have been prevented under all circumstances.

Greenidge[2] offers two alternative suggestions. In the first place, '*εἰ δήμαρχος ἐνδέοι*' may be an equivalent of 'si tribunus non explesset tribus,' *i.e.* had not received a certain number of votes in a certain number of tribes. On this theory it must be supposed that Caius' adherents distributed their votes in such a way as to disqualify all other candidates except a preconcerted ticket of nine. But such a manipulation of the polls would have required a measure of skill among the caucus-mongers and a strictness of discipline in the electorate such as is quite out of keeping with the general disorganisation of the Gracchan party. Furthermore it has been pointed out by Mr. Strachan-Davidson[3] that '*παραγγελίαις*' refers not to the polling but to the 'professio' or preliminary notice of candidature. And

[1] *Römisches Staatsrecht*, I[3] p. 473.

[2] *History of Rome*, p. 165.

[3] Note on Appian, *ad loc.*

lastly, can '*ἐνδέοι*' *simpliciter* bear such a highly technical meaning as is here given?

Greenidge's second hypothesis is that the law contemplated a numerical shortage of candidates at the 'professio,' and that this deficiency was brought about by the withdrawal of a man of straw at the last moment.

From the linguistic point of view this theory is unexceptionable, but as an explanation of Caius' return it is inadequate. The sudden withdrawal of a Gracchan nominee could readily have been countered by the nobles putting forward a stop-gap creature at the eleventh hour; and if, as seems more likely, the opponents of Caius had entered as many candidates as there were vacancies, the tactics of the Gracchans would have been defeated before they were ever applied.

A new solution of the problem may be attempted by retaining the second of Greenidge's versions while attaching a different explanation to it. The numerical shortage of candidates may have been created by the simple expedient of inducing the tribune who presided at the 'professio' to refuse all nominations after the ninth. The right of returning officers to turn back candidates ('nomen non accipere') at their own discretion is indisputable.[1] Also there need be no doubt that the tribune under whose presidency Caius was re-elected was in collusion with the latter, for all Caius' colleagues in the tribuneship of 123 were amenable to him. Indeed it is not unlikely that the law mentioned by Appian was brought forward in the year of Caius' first tribuneship, the harmless-looking proviso '*εἰ δήμαρχος ἐνδέοι ταῖς παραγγελίαις*' being inserted precisely in view of the fact that the returning officer at the tribunician elections for 122 might be depended on to use his right of rejecting candidates *ad infinitum*.

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[1] Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, I³ p. 472. The case of the consul L. Volcatius Tullus, who refused Catiline's 'professio' for the consulship in 66 B.C. (Asconius, § 80), is a good instance of the exercise of this right.

NOTE ON TACITUS, *ANNALS* XIII. 37. 4.

'Tuncque (*i.e.* 58 A.D.) primum inlecti *Insochi*, gens ante alias socia Romanis, avia Armeniae incursavit.' In this passage the name *Insochi*, as given in the Medicean MS., has been generally impugned by modern editors, on the ground that there were no such persons as the Insochi; and its place has been taken by the reading *Moschi*.[2]

This emendation is attractive from the palaeographical point of view, and it appears at first sight to suit the context nicely, for the Moschi, whose habitat on the upper reaches of the Phasis is copiously attested, were excellently placed for such a raid as Tacitus here describes.

Yet there is reason to believe that the manuscript reading is approximately or even wholly correct. Among the border tribes of Mount Caucasus there existed a people whom Greek writers of various periods mention under the name Ἡνίοχοι.[3] Compared with the Moschi, these Ἡνίοχοι appear to have a better claim to be identified with the Roman allies of 58 A.D. Thus (1) the Moschi, lying between the Euxine Sea and the kingdom of Iberia, can hardly have been ignored by the Romans until the reign of Nero, for intercourse with Iberia had been opened by Pompey and renewed under Tiberius, and it is not probable that the intervening land of the Moschi was not affected by such communications. Yet Tacitus says distinctly that the Romans had not previously cultivated relations with their allies of 58 A.D. This datum is more applicable to the Ἡνίοχοι, who lived on the very slopes of Caucasus, and so beyond Iberia. (2) The forcible way in which Tacitus asseverates the amity of the invaders of Armenia to Rome remains inexplicable so long as the reference is held to be to the Moschi, for no ancient author mentions any particular friendship between

[2] Edd. Baiter-Orelli (1859); Ritter (1863); Haase (1865); Jacob (1877); Nipperdey (1892); Joh. Müller (1903); Furneaux-Fisher (1907).

[3] Hellanicus, fr. 109; Scylax, *Periplus*, § 76; Strabo, pp. 495-7; Arrian, *Periplus Ponti Euxini*, § 15; Anonymus, *Peripl. Pont. Eux.* § 42.

these people and Rome. On the other hand, Dio Cassius[1] records that Trajan, on the occasion of his expedition into Armenia (*i.e.* shortly before Tacitus composed the later books of the *Annals*), bestowed special rewards upon the king of the Ἡνίοχοι.

There remains the question of the Latin equivalent for the name Ἡνίοχοι. It is hardly to be supposed that the Greek form is an exact reproduction of the native word. Greek writers were notoriously fond of assimilating foreign names to words of their own tongue (one of the tribes adjacent to the Ἡνίοχοι was dubbed "Ἀχαιοί"); and in the case of the Ἡνίοχοι there is a special reason for suspecting that the phonetic transcript is not exact, fer etymologists had fathered this people upon the charioteer ("ἡνίοχος") of the Dioscuri.[2] Perhaps a clue to the correct lettering may be found in the name of a robber-folk which at the present day infests the district of Vladikawkas, the *Ingushi*.[3] This form suggests that the Latin name of the so-called Ἡνίοχοι was *Insochi*, or some closely similar form.[4] In the one case the Medicean reading is wrong by one or two letters only; in the other it turns out absolutely correct.

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NOTES ON CATULLUS LXIV.

In the December, 1909, number of the *Classical Review* (p. 249), Professor D. A. Slater has a note on Catullus lxiv. 241-245, proposing to read in l. 243 *falsi* for *inflati*. He refers to Statius, who, he says, 'twice alludes to the fate of Aegeus in lines apparently derived from these, and who on both occasions applies this same epithet (*falsus*) to the sail.' The passages in question are *Thebaid*, xii. 625, 626,

> Sunion, unde vagi casurum in nomina ponti
> Cresia decepit falso ratis Aegea velo,

and *Silvae*, iii. 3, 179, 180,

> haut aliter gemuit per Sunia Theseus
> litora qui falsis deceperat Aegea velis.

But surely there is no reference at all to Catullus in either of these passages; the death of Aegeus was a familiar enough story, and as a matter of fact Statius follows a different form of the legend in placing the scene at Sunium instead of on the Acropolis. Notice also in Statius the emphasis added to *falsus* in each case by the collocation of *decipere*, to which there is nothing to correspond in Catullus.

I had always thought that *inflati* could be defended (cp. Merrill's note *ad loc.*, 'The spread of canvas made the vessel the sooner visible to his straining eyes'; so also Ellis); but I am inclined now to follow many editors in accepting *infecti* from Muretus, by reason of the reference back to l. 225, in which Aegeus is giving the directions to Theseus:

> inde *infecta* vago suspendam *lintea* malo.

Then when the catastrophe comes, in l. 243 Catullus, as so often in this poem (cp. my brief article in *Classical Review*, xxii., p. 180), links the two descriptions by repeating emphatic words,

> cum primum *infecti* conspexit *lintea* veli.

For a similar reason I should be unwilling to accept Professor Tucker's conjecture on Catullus lxiv. 249 in the January, 1910, number of the *Classical Quarterly* (p. 5). He prints

> quae † tamen aspectans,

noting that there is a variant

> quae tum prospectans,

but proposes to read

> quae interea aspectans.

Is not *prospectans* supported here by ll. 52-54, where Ariadne is first introduced?

> Namque fluentisono *prospectans* litore Diae
> Thesea *cedentem* celeri cum classe tuetur
> indomitos in corde gerens Ariadna furores.

In ll. 249-250, where the poet takes his leave of her, two emphatic words (*prospectans cedentem*) are repeated, *carinam* recalls *classe*, and l. 250 gives the

[1] Bk. 68, ch. 19.
[2] Strabo, p. 496.
[3] Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien einst und jetzt*.
[4] Pliny (vi. 4. 12) gives the form *Heniochi*. This is probably a mere transliteration of the Greek, and is not based on any direct knowledge of the native form.

idea of l. 54. The lines then I would read as follows (with many editors),

Quae tum *prospectans cedentem* maesta carinam
multiplices animo volvebat saucia curas.

I would add a note on lxiv. 179,

Discernens ponti truculentum ubi dividit aequor.

In this line *ubi* of the MSS. is omitted by several editors, *e.g.* Ellis and Palmer, the latter regarding it as dittography. But it is defended by the line from Ennius (twice quoted by Cicero),

Europam Libyamque rapax *ubi dividit* unda.

Here Catullus repeats *ubi dividit* in the same place in the verse, and provides a synonym (*truculentum aequor*) for *rapax unda*.

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THE *CODEX LUSATICUS* OF PROPERTIUS.

In treating of this manuscript, *C.R.* 20 (1906), p. 349, I found fault with Herr P. Koehler for abbreviating its designation, as L, though he was aware that this was already the denotation of Lord Leicester's manuscript at Holkham. But Herr Th. Heukrath in his interesting degree-dissertation *de Properti codice Lusatico* (Marburg, 1910), a copy of which he has been good enough to send me, points out, pp. 18 *sq.*, that Herr Peper, the discoverer of the Codex, had already (1893) used the same letter. There was no reason in the interests of clearness against his doing so, as my collection of the Holkham MS. had not then appeared; but it is all the same regrettable that Herr Koehler and Herr Heukrath have followed him instead of choosing a different symbol, *e.g.* Λ, if the small *l* which I used distresses them. This would not confuse the denotation of Propertian MSS. by transferring to the Holkham MS. the symbol H, which belongs by ancient right to the Hamburgensis and is used for it by Mr. O. L. Richmond in his recent paper, *Journal of Philology*, vol. 30, p. 165.

J. P. Postgate.

Liverpool,
February 27, 1911.

TWO CONJECTURES.

Pliny, *Ep.* ix. 10. 1:

Cupio praeceptis tuis parere; sed aprorum tanta penuria est, ut Minervae et Dianae, quas ais pariter colendas, convenire non possit.

The sense here seems to demand that we should read,

ut ⟨et⟩ Minervae et Dianae.

Et could of course easily have fallen out after *ut*.

Livy, xxiii. 16. §§ 11-13:

Ratus deinde prodita colloquia esse metuque resides factos, partem militum in castra remittit iussos propere apparatum omnem oppugnandae urbis in primam *aciem* afferre, satis fidens, si cunctantibus instaret, tumultum aliquem in urbe plebem moturam. Dum in sua quisque ministeria discursu trepidat ad prima signa succeditque ad muros *acies*, patefacta repente porta Marcellus signa canere clamoremque tolli ac pedites primum, deinde equites, quanto maximo possent impetu in hostem erumpere iubet. Satis terroris tumultusque in *aciem* mediam intulerant, etc.

May not the true reading be *succeditque ad muros aries*? In the preceding sentence we have *apparatum omnem oppugnandae urbis*, and the occurrence of *aciem* just above and just below might account for the alteration of *aries* into *acies*.

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NOTE ON HORACE, *CARM.* 4. 5. 1.

Divis orte bonis.

The traditional interpretation of these words (denoted below as A) is to take '*divis bonis*' as an Abl. Abs. So Orelli, Müller, Dillenburger, Wickham, Lonsdale and Lee, Gow, and with some reserve Page. An alternative (denoted as B) is to take the Ablative as one of Origin after *orte*. This interpretation the writer ventures to maintain is correct, though no names of note can be quoted in its favour.

In support of the Abl. Abs. can be cited *Sat.* 2. 3. 8 *iratis natus paries dis*, and as a parallel to the sense of A, *Carm.* 4. 2. 37-8, *Quo nihil maius meliusve terris Fata donavere bonique divi.*

In support of B are the following: *Carm.* 1. 12. 50, *orte Saturno*; *Carm.*

3. 6. 33, *Non his iuventus orta parentibus*; *Carm.* 4. 6. 32, *puerique claris Patribus orti*; *Epist.* 1. 6. 22, *quod sit peioribus ortus*; *Sat.* 1. 6. 73, *pueri magnis e centurionibus orti*; also such cognate passages as *Maecenas atavis edite regibus* or the Virgilian *nate dea*.

But the most weighty argument against A is that it leaves *orte* standing blankly alone, which would seem to be very questionable latinity. The nearest parallel in Horace is apparently *Epist.* 2. 1. 17, *Nil oriturum alias, nil ortum tale fatentes*, but surely every scholar must feel that there is a wide gap between such a construction and the bald address of Augustus as *orte*.

To sum up: A presents us with a form of address which is in itself doubtful Latin, and which certainly has no parallel in Horace, nor to the best of the writer's belief in any author of repute; in B we have a common construction with five or six exact parallels in Horace, and which yields an excellent sense.

Surely, in spite of weighty names, A kicks the beam.

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REVIEWS

RECENT MONOGRAPHS ON GREEK AND LATIN METRE.[1]

THE study of Greek and Latin Metre appears at present to be in the stage in which Etymology lay before the invention of *Sprachvergleichung*; that is to say, we have abundance of material, considerable activity in research, and an entire absence of historical method. It may be said generally that writers on metre start from the assumption that all Greek and Latin verse is constructed upon abstract principles which hold good for all time; and recently there has been an increasing tendency to accept the principle of accent, which upon the known facts is a factor in classical metres only in a comparatively late stage, as the most fundamental. Before accepting a starting-point which lacks not only proof but probability, it seems better to endeavour to treat our material in accordance with ascertained facts.

The metres actually known to us in the classical languages appear to be based upon the following principles, which are stated in their presumed historical order:

(i.) Syllabic verse with caesura. Here the number of syllables is alone considered. Such is the metre of the Avestic hymns.

(ii.) Syllabic verse with caesura and quantitative preference. Here the number of syllables remain fixed, but preference is shown for long and short syllables respectively in particular positions. This is the metre of the Rigveda, and largely that of Greek and Latin lyric poetry.

(iii.) The same with a limited use of the principle that a long syllable may be replaced by two short syllables. The Greek hexameter, and the Iambic and Trochaic metres of Greek tragedy and comedy represent this stage. Verses of this type are usually readily divisible into feet.

(iv.) The same with preference for accented syllables in certain positions. This tendency is perceivable in all Latin metres.

(v.) Purely accentual verse, found in late Latin only.

In treating of any individual metre

[1] (1) *Enoplic Metre in Greek Comedy.* By J. Williams White. University of Chicago, 1907. (2) *Horace's Alcaic Strophe.* By L. J. Richardson. University of California, 1907. (3) *Zwei Beiträge zur lateinischen Metrik.* Von Julius Cornu. Prag, 1908. (4) *Beiträge zur lateinischen Metrik.* Von Julius Cornu. Wien, 1908. (5) *Carmen Arvale seu Martis Verber, or the Tonic Laws of Latin Speech and Rhythm.* By T. Fitzhugh. University of Virginia, 1908. (6) *The Twenty-Second Book of the Iliad.* With critical notes, by Alex. Pallis. London (D. Nutt), 1909. (7) *The Law of Breves Breviantes in the Light of Phonetics.* By E. A. Sonnenschein. University of Chicago, 1911.

found in Greek or Latin, the right method seems to be to endeavour to find it a place in the above scheme more or less corresponding to its date. But it remains to be added that most theories of metre are capable of scientific verification, if the material is sufficiently abundant; for syllables can be counted, and the proportion of long and short syllables, or of accented and unaccented syllables, can be stated in the form of a fraction. Statistics are as essential to metrical theory as to an investigation in physics; it is, however, very seldom that they are forthcoming. Further, no metrical theory is satisfactory which will enable prose to be treated as verse. This, as is fairly well known, is a result which more than one speculative theory has reached.

The Homeric hexameter occupies so dominant a place in the history of metre that it is a convenient starting-point for every discussion. The syllabic principle holds good for the fall[1] of the sixth foot, which is *syllaba anceps*, as in the Avesta every syllable is. In the first five feet a long syllable in the fall is equivalent to two short syllables; here we have quantitative equivalence. But according to the accepted rules the first syllable of each foot is invariably long. According to the history of metre we should expect to find that this rigidity represents what in an earlier stage was only a preference. Therefore when Mr. Pallis writes: 'In the present edition I adopt without reserve the principle that in the Homeric epics every tribrach can count as a dactyl and every iambus as a spondee,' he is only stating what is historically probable. On the other hand when Fick states that 'all short syllables can be lengthened as the effect of the ictus,' and Mr. Pallis that 'these short syllables must certainly have introduced a wrong pronunciation into the words in which they occurred,' they both seem to fall into the common linguistic error of assuming that rules exist before exceptions. For the facts as regards Homer Mr. Pallis supplies a solid basis which is worthy of attention; for though he introduces very numerous alterations into the received text, the object is in all cases to remove forms which are found only in the rise of the foot, and which thus proclaim themselves due to too rigid metrical theory.

The iambic metres of tragedy and comedy represent an earlier stage of metrical development. Thus in the trimeter (for instance) the syllabic base of twelve syllables is still commonly observed, whilst of each pair the first syllable is only preferably short, and the latter, though regularly long, is only occasionally replaced by two short syllables as a quantitative equivalent. Into the scheme of these metres, Prof. Sonnenschein, as I understand him, proposes to introduce the bacchiac (⏑ – –) and the cretic (– ⏑ –) and thus to avoid the necessity of postulating certain shortenings which involve phonetic difficulties. His words are:

> 'I see no *a priori* impossibility in the rise or fall of a foot being formed of two syllables of which the first is short, but the second long.'

The theory of Prof. Sonnenschein (I speak with all reserve of so eminent a Plautine scholar) is to my mind untenable. Against it stand first the solid facts that Plautus is familiar with both the bacchiac and the cretic foot, but in metres totally unlike those which are based on the iambus or trochee; and secondly that whilst we account for tribrach, anapaest, or dactyl as equivalents of iambus or spondee in accordance with known historical principles, the introduction of the new feet involves the appearance of a principle hitherto unrecognised. The matter cannot be disposed of in a few lines of comment, but when Prof. Sonnenschein tells us in connexion with iambic verse that 'to my ear [*Rudens* 459] is more rhythmical than [verses 458 and 460],' I cannot help thinking that he may unconsciously be measuring ancient Latin semi-quantitative verse by the standards of modern English accentual verse. The phonetic difficulty of counting as short the italicised syllables in words like vol*up*tatem, *aps*tulisti, *ex*probras, *in*sidiae, is undoubtedly serious; but it is going too far to suggest that the pronunciation of these words by Plautus and his hearers

[1] I adopt the convenient term suggested by Prof. Sonnenschein to indicate that part of the foot which does not bear the metrical ictus.

can in any way be determined by that of Cicero.

Dr. Cornu takes as the motto of one of his essays 'accentus anima versus,' and describes a foot of the type – ⏑ ⏑ as 'no genuine dactyl,' thus raising the fear that he too is bent on basing the Latin hexameter on the accent. He is however on safe ground when he maintains that 'there are things in Latin verse-formation which the quantitative theory alone cannot explain.' Why, for instance, are such forms as *collígere* (with elided final) and *armáque* so rare in the fifth foot of the dactylic hexameter, if not because Latin metre requires that in the fifth and sixth feet the accent should coincide with the ictus? We could wish that Dr. Cornu had pursued this question methodically. It is of course clear that in the second foot it is rare for accent and ictus to coincide, and it is stated that in the fourth foot the ictus-bearing syllable is usually unaccented. Putting these facts together, the conclusion seems clear that accent was originally entirely disconnected from ictus, and that so far as it plays a part in Latin metre it represents a new and ultimately an irreconcilable force. But though Dr. Cornu does not deal with any such generalisations, he supplies many interesting details, and we look forward with expectation to the time when he will combine his various investigations in a single systematic work. In his paper on the *distinctio* of the Roman poets he proposes to alter the received punctuation of many well-known passages, and this with much success.

Mr. Richardson, in the publications of the University of California, attempts to analyse Horace's Alcaic strophe into feet. Starting from the principle that two successive words cannot commonly correspond to two successive feet, he is led to the conclusion that the eleven-syllable verses are to be divided into 4 + 4 + 3:

o matre pul | chra filia | pulchrior,

the first foot being in character a diiamb. The precariousness of reasoning on this point is well known, and we cannot but notice that the historical theory of metre does not at all require that all verses should be divisible into feet.

Prof. J. W. White deals with those metres in Greek comedy which are now commonly called dactylo-epitritic or Doric, but which (in his view) are better termed enoplic. He compares the few verses of this type in Aristophanes with similar verses in the tragic poets and in Pindar, and finds that they are always based on metrical elements consisting of four syllables with varied quantitative succession, and not upon the dactyl. He is careful to explain that he is not dealing with origins. Nevertheless, it deserves to be pointed out that the enoplic theory is not only in accord with the classical tradition (on which point reference may be made to the lucid article of the late Prof. Fr. Blass 'on the rhythms of Bacchylides' in *Hermathena* XXX.), but also agrees better with the general theory of metre than the supposed combination of the trisyllabic dactyl with the quadrisyllabic epitrite.

Prof. T. Fitzhugh deals boldly with the general subject of the 'history of Italico-Romanic rhythm,' and publishes *Prolegomena* and *Supplement to Prolegomena*. His position is that Italian verse was originally ictuo-accentual, and that Ennius was the first to superpose considerations of quantity. This theory of course isolates Italian metre from that of other Aryan nations possessing an early verse-literature, and is based partly on *a priori* considerations, partly on an analysis of the Saturnian metre and of the *Carmen Arvale*. On account of the scarcity of the remains it is particularly easy to read any theory into these metres; but it is demonstrable that the Saturnian contains a quantitative element, and Prof. Fitzhugh has, to say the least, overshot the mark.

The comparison of these papers can only confirm the conviction that the study of metre is still, as regards its fundamental principles, in the pre-scientific stage. In one point only do we stand clearly on higher ground than our grandfathers: they thought that quantity was all; we know that it is not all.

EDWARD V. ARNOLD.

Bangor.

HANDBUCH DER GRIECHISCHEN DIALEKTE.

Handbuch der Griechischen Dialekte, von ALBERT THUMB. (In Hirt and Streitberg's *Sammlung indogermanischer Lehr- und Handbücher.*) Pp. xviii, 403. Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1909.

PROF. THUMB dedicates his book to his master Karl Brugmann, whose monumental *Griechische Grammatik* he is himself now preparing for its fourth edition. He is the greatest authority living on the whole range of the history of Greek: we need only mention by the side of the present volume his pioneer work on *Die griechische Sprache im Zeitalter des Hellenismus*, soon to reappear with the results of ten years' work added, and the much enlarged new edition of his *Handbuch der neugriechischen Volkssprache*. English translations of both these works have been arranged for by Messrs. T. and T. Clark; and it is to be hoped that English Hellenists will learn from them to realise how much is lost for the appreciation of Greek by the irrational isolation of the language in its relatively brief period of literary brilliance. In this book on the ancient Greek Dialects Prof. Thumb is of course mostly working as far away from the field of the classical scholar as when he expounds the world-language of the Roman Empire, or the patois of the peasants of to-day. But the solidarity of all Greek studies is being slowly recognised, and when our Atticists have learnt this lesson we may expect a veritable renascence in the much-threatened study of the noblest of human tongues. The part of Dr. Thumb's work which classical scholars will need most is of course his exposition of the dialect elements in literature. The mixed and artificial character of Greek literary language makes the guidance of a trained philologist peculiarly necessary when specialists in other fields tackle historical or archaeological or literary problems in which language is involved. Dr. Thumb provides a useful illustration in the acute discussion (pp. 363f.) of the date of the Attic *ā* 'pure' in its development from the Ionic-Attic *η*. It will appear that more than a century before the beginnings of Attic Tragedy forms like *Ἀθάνα* were as un-Attic as they were in Plato's time, and that Attic had already diverged from both Ionic and the other Greek dialects in the treatment of the primitive *ā*.[1] A still more burning question comes up in his delineation of the Homeric dialect. He sets forth the Aeolic traits in Homer's language, puts aside the dilettante philologists' suggestions that these may be Ionic archaisms, and at the same time rejects Fick's doctrine of an Aeolic 'Ur-Homer' as 'zu äusserlich.' Epic dialect arose in an Aeolic centre like Smyrna, which was early contaminated with Ionic speech-mixture. Since a literary dialect, appropriated to the epos, grew out of these mixed conditions, the appearance of Aeolic forms is no warrant of early date, nor does that of Ionic forms prove lateness, although more Aeolic forms are likely to appear in early epic than in late.

In the case of a book by so acknowledged a master, the value of which lies in its full and systematic presenta-

[1] Prof. Ridgeway's note in his fascinating *Origin of Tragedy*, p. 3, attempts to show that in *χώρη*, etc., Ionic has developed a tendency which in Attic received a more limited application. This is, of course, quite arguable, though no philologist would say that 'Attic went the whole way with Ionic and then turned back.' The Ionic-Attic vowel answering to original *ā* was a very broad *ê*, much broader than the *η* which came from original *ē*, just as that again was broader than *ē*(*ei*). This *ê* remained distinct from *η* in Attic when 'pure,' while in Ionic (as in Attic when 'impure') it became identical with *η*. This is all set forth with convincing lucidity in the passages of Brugmann's *Grundriss* to which Prof. Ridgeway refers. That forms of the *Ἀθάνα* type could ever have been Attic except as borrowed words is an assumption that would throw all scientific dialectology into disorder. It may be observed that Dr. Ridgeway's objection to Brugmann's use of *ὑφᾶναι* is easily turned by substituting *κερδᾶναι* or *καθᾶραι*, which can even be quoted from fourth-century Attic: these forms—obvious analogy levellings—are normal in the *Κοινή*. By the way, does not Prof. Ridgeway himself explain the tragic *ā* (it may be Doric, Boeotian, Aeolic, or anything but Ionic-Attic), when he shows the prominence of Sicyon in the early development of Tragedy? But there I am venturing on his preserve, and I must be careful.

tion of detailed material, it is needless to attempt any elaborate description, or to examine points in which there might be differences of opinion. As far as we can judge, after using the book for teaching purposes, it could hardly be improved, unless possibly we might ask for a yet fuller Greek Index, containing every occurrence of a dialectic word, with an abbreviation after it to show under which dialect it comes. The opportunity of this extension ought to arrive soon.

JAMES HOPE MOULTON.

DIE ILIAS UND IHRE QUELLEN.

Die Ilias und ihre Quellen. Von DIETRICH MÜLDER. Berlin: Weidmann, 1910.

THIS is a strange book, about which it is easier to hold an opinion than to express it. Still, if the propositions *ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν αὐτῶν γνώσεσθε αὐτούς* and *librum si malus est nequeo laudare* are arranged syllogistically, the conclusion must be unfavourable. The fruits of this book—that is, the writer's theory of the *Iliad*—are as follows. About the last quarter of the seventh century Homer, an individual, composed, probably in Ionia, our actual *Iliad*, which is an organic whole. He composed it mainly out of already existing poetical literature, with additions of his own and free treatment of his sources. He drew chiefly from two poems, one on the Theban War, another containing the exploits of the Thessalian peoples under the leadership of Achilles in the district of Adramyttium. Impelled by an 'universaler stoffordnender Idee,' Homer (A) generalised the canton-warfare of the Seven against Thebes into a national enterprise; (B) sent the host over the water against an alien race after the precedent of the Thessalian poem. One detail was still wanting—the name of the place or people against whom the generalised Argives fought: this was found in a third poem which described the relations of Hercules with Laomedon, king of Ilios. The *Iliad* was made. The reader will observe that not only did Homer about 625 B.C. compose his poem, but he by the same act invented the Trojan War—an event which had no real existence and had never been heard of before. The *Odyssey* was composed by another individual, after the model of the *Iliad*, in the time of Pisistratus.

Such a theory it is neither possible nor necessary to criticise formally. The method is only the old Kirchhoffian method of the discovery of discrepancies and inconsistencies, and the inference from them to the circumstances of composition of the poem. These discrepancies thirty years' experience has shown to be illusory, and the circumstances of composition which were imagined to result from them are given the lie by every new addition to the facts of language and ethnology. Herr Mülder's method, I say, is the same as that of the school of Kirchhoff; but whereas Kirchhoff and his followers use their method to detect the diaskeuast, harmoniser, or anachronist, Herr Mülder, with nothing less than second sight, descries in the same places the poet at work upon his sources—sources which Herr Mülder has invented *ad hoc*. The book is indeed a hard nut for evolutionists to crack, seeing that arguments essentially the same as theirs and which in their hands prove four centuries of development reduce, in Herr Mülder's laboratory, the same corpus vile to entirely different dust.

I do not argue with the writer, but I will suggest to my reader some consequences of this theory. When Homer composed the *Iliad* and invented the Trojan War in 625 B.C., it was a hundred years, according to Peripatetic and local chronology, since a series of poems had been begun which covered the Tale of Troy exactly to the beginning of our extant *Iliad*, took it up again at the last line of our *Iliad*, and continued it to the beginning of our *Odyssey*; the same period since Cynaethus had

composed the hymn to Apollo and recited Homer in Syracuse for the first time after its foundation. Early in the seventh century Magnes, at the court of Gyges, sang the wars of the Lydians and the Amazons, Aristeas sang his own adventures, Terpander and Tyrtaeus swept their lyres, Arion toured in Sicily, Callinus ascribed the *Thebais* to Homer, and Alcman told how Circe anointed the men of much-enduring Ulysses. Silently, unknown to tradition, at the end of this century, when epos was all but thrust from the scene, at the very moment when the humble Eugammon was winding up the family history of Ulysses in his *Telegonia*, and Stesichorus was refreshing the epic themes with new measures, this prodigious birth, the greatest achievement of the Greek spirit, came to the light. Its effect was miraculous; within a generation after the *Iliad* was pieced together in Ionia, Clisthenes of Sicyon was expelling Homeric rhapsodes from his town, and in three generations the Athenians based a claim to Sigeum upon their place in the Homeric Catalogue, a document of international authority.

I do not expect any of these considerations to weigh with the writer, but I invite the reader to consider how lightly, at the bidding of what the history of the Homeric Question has shown to be non-existent criteria, the course of Greek history and even the development of the Greek mind are sacrificed. Two questions must occur to any but a frivolous critic: (1) How could the Greek national poem, Bible, Libro d'oro, and Domesday Book, be born a generation before Solon, all unknown to the world, and in a century bustling and ringing with professional life and active professional rivalry?[1] If the fact were true, how could it have been forgotten? Where did Herodotus find the materials for his estimate of 400 years? How did the Parian marble arrive at 900-910? (2) How within a century could the Homeric theology have moved Xenophanes to his protest? and how could the Spartan before Gelo have appealed, as to an international feat, to a literary fabrication 150 years old? It is passing the bounds of decent speculation to suppose the good faith of any nation could be so quickly and so completely surprised, much more so that of the Greeks, who were born genealogists, retained a lively recollection of how the Dorians descended from Pindus, and how this and that family came of Cadmus, or Neleus, or the Lapiths.

The writer purposely puts archaeological and linguistic evidence on one side; he calls them *Materialismus*. His observations in detail have often a kind of bewildered acuteness, but his general principles prevent them arriving at any possible conclusion. They have the pathetic interest of the American who is at present engaged in the bed of the river Wye. He often lands an attack well on the Separatist target, and in one thing it must be said he seems on the right track: the *Iliad* is to him the work of an individual, its characteristics are the result of individual talents and failings. It is a long time since this obvious truth has been stated in Germany.

Many strange things have been written about Homer, from Wolf to Kirchhoff inclusive; and Kirchhoff's living disciples have worthily carried on the torch. It may be hoped that in this book we have touched bottom, and that, for all the credulity and elvishness of our English Homerists, the daily increasing output of archaeological and linguistic evidence may at length bring judgment and truth back to these studies.

T. W. Allen.

[1] Theopompus, it is true, put Homer at the same date, ol. 43; but if Clement and Tatian report him correctly, he must have based an inference on some anachronism in a Cyclic poem which went currently as Homer's. The older critics were dead to language, if Aristotle gives the *Margites* as Homeric. Even Theopompus, however, did not bring the Trojan War down to this period.

HANNIBAL'S MARCH.

Hannibal's March. By SPENSER WILKINSON. Clarendon Press.

THE data for a conclusion about Hannibal's Pass still provide a healthy exercise for intellectual athletes, and will probably continue to do so till such time as scholars shall agree about the date and personality of Homer. Professor Wilkinson has now entered the lists; and perhaps it is not altogether superfluous for a reviewer of his monograph to recapitulate in the briefest way what we are told by ancient authorities. According to Polybius, Hannibal crossed the Rhone at a point distant by four days' march from the sea; marched in four days to the 'Island' or delta formed near or in the country of the Allobroges by the confluence of the Rhone and the 'Skaras'—which has been usually identified with the Isère,—thence advanced ten days up 'the river,' which brought him to the actual passage of the Alpine chain. In crossing, he passed close to a 'white rock,' and showed his army a view of Italy from the summit of the pass. Livy follows Polybius here and there, but introduces details which are inconsistent with the earlier narrative. According to Livy, Hannibal marched up the Rhone, after crossing it, to the Insula and the neighbourhood of the Allobroges; then, leaving it, turned 'to the left' into the country of the Tricastini and Tricorii and Vocontii—that is, a district considerably south of the Isère; thence to the Durance, which he crossed, and continued by a *campestre iter* to the Alps. Both historians describe encounters between the Carthaginian army and the hill tribes through whose country it passed. They do not agree in their account of the part of Italy into which the army descended. Livy says it was the country of the Taurini, Polybius that of the Insubres. Varro is another 'authority.' He enumerates five Alpine passes known to the Romans of his day, and tells us that Hannibal crossed by the second of these, counting from the Mediterranean northwards.

On the statements of Polybius, it would be easiest to suppose that Hannibal crossed the Little St. Bernard; and till the early eighties that view was generally accepted. It was approved by Arnold and by Mommsen. But clearly there was always much to be said in favour of a more southern pass, not involving a long circuit like the Little St. Bernard route—unless, indeed, we are to press the statement of Livy and Polybius that Hannibal went north so as to escape Scipio. Mr. Freshfield pleads for the Col de Larche, otherwise called Col d'Argentière. The Carthaginians marched up the Rhone to the Rhone and Isère confluence, or thereabouts, and then turned abruptly eastward and crossed a hilly country to the upper waters of the Durance, whence to the Col de Larche. What, then, becomes of Polybius' ten days' march up the river after the Island? Mr. Coolidge votes for the Mont Genèvre, near the Mont Cenis route, but allows, or allowed, that there is much to be said for the Little St. Bernard (see *The Alps in Nature and History*). Now comes Professor Wilkinson with a different route altogether. He is not the first to suggest it; his book is a detailed justification of the view held by two French officers, Colonel Perrin and Captain Colin. According to these two gentlemen and Professor Wilkinson, the Rhone was crossed at the head of its delta, just above Fourques, only about thirty miles from the coast. Thence the Carthaginians marched in four days to the Island, which is the delta formed by the confluence of the Rhone and the Sorgue; in ten more days, to a place on the Isère, near St. Nazaire, about twenty miles above the confluence of that river and the Rhone; thence eastwards 'by Montaud, Noyarey, Grenoble, the valley of the Arc, and the Col du Clapier to Susa and Avigliana,' which route is 'both the shortest route through the Alps from France to Italy and the route which offers the fewest and least formidable defiles.' It is further urged in defence of the Col du

Clapier—and on these points, indeed, Colonel Perrin and Professor Wilkinson lay most stress—firstly, that this route leads directly past a very prominent, light-coloured mass of rock, easily to be identified with Polybius's λευκόπετρον ὀχυρόν; secondly, that the Col du Clapier alone of possible Alpine passes commands a view of sub-Alpine Italy; thirdly, that the difficulties of the descent as described by Polybius and Livy are such as would confront an army descending by this particular pass. Apart from this evidence, how far does Professor Wilkinson accord with ancient authority, and with what, in view of the uncertainty of the latter, is really almost as important, *a priori* probability? Certainly he is to be commended for a most meritorious attempt to make the most of Polybius and Livy. He may 'interpret' them; he does not disregard them. The base of the theory is that Hannibal did not cross the Little St. Bernard. He left the Isère pretty low down. Then, in order to fit in Polybius' fourteen days' riparian march, he must have crossed the Rhone low down, too. So he crossed it at Fourques. But can thirty miles from the coast correspond to Polybius' four days' going? Yes, says Professor Wilkinson; Polybius says 'four days' because Scipio, marching to catch Hannibal, took four days from the sea to the Carthaginian crossing-place. We do not know that; all that seems clear is that Scipio did not take more; but according to the narrative he may have taken less. Scipio was in a hurry, probably. Be this as it may, Hannibal marched in a leisurely four days to the 'Insula' formed by the confluence of the Sorgue with the Rhone; so that Polybius and Livy, who say that this was the Allobroges' country, must be mistaken; there are no Allobroges so far south. Ten days more, and Hannibal is twenty miles up the Isère valley. Having got so far, one would expect him to continue in that valley to its head, and cross the Little St. Bernard; but no, he turns due east, strikes the Arc valley, and heads for the Col du Clapier, a pass which apparently was not very commonly used. Meantime, what becomes of Livy and the passage through the country of the Tricastini and Vocontii, and the crossing of the Durance? Professor Wilkinson does his best to utilise Livy; but he can only do so by assuming that that historian confuses the order of events, and that the Carthaginians crossed the Durance in their march up the Rhone at the confluence of the two rivers—not, as Livy says, after marching through the above-mentioned country. It is worth noticing, however, that in Livy's description the army seem to have crossed the Durance by wading. Could that be done near its junction with the Rhone? Really, one cannot reconcile Polybius and Livy. Our author follows the excellent principle of neglecting no authority; and this must be counted to him for righteousness; but he is essaying a hopeless *tour de force*.

When we come to the actual passage of the Alps, the evidence on which Professor Wilkinson mainly relies cannot be said to be really conclusive for the Col du Clapier—it contradicts nothing and it confirms nothing. Hannibal *may* have marched from the Isère by the route which the Professor and the French officers have so carefully and ingeniously traced for him. But the ancient historians really supply nothing that can be called evidence. There is a mass of 'white' rock—the Rocher de la Porte—on the way to the Col du Clapier.[1] But how many cliffs are there on the passes of the Graian and Cottian Alps which might be called λευκόπετρον ὀχυρόν? As to the view of the Italian plain which the Clapier alone of possible passes is said to possess, there is no pass with a descent into Italy where a general might not say to his troops, 'That valley brings you to Italy.' To turn this simple and obvious sentence into 'there is Italy' is surely not inconsistent with the sobriety of even a Polybius—let alone a rhetorician like Livy. Nor can we well lay stress on the difficulties of the descent as pointing to the Col du Clapier more that any other Col. The difficulties described by Polybius and

[1] This white rock, I am told by Mr. Coolidge, is also on the route to the Petit Mont Cenis.

Livy read like the ordinary incidents of travel—slight impediments to a pedestrian, but real obstacles to an army, impressive (as steep snow always is) to the inexperienced, and no doubt losing nothing in the narrative. What does it all amount to? The army tried to cross a slope of hard old snow, coated over by a fresh fall—not enough of the latter to hold the foot. So men and beasts slithered and slid, as Polybius says, in a quite natural and familiar way, or else crushed through the lower crust and stuck in it: they would be particularly likely to do this with spring snow, which is peculiarly holding. There is a little glacier below the Col du Clapier, and Professor Wilkinson says that this was what Hannibal tried to cross. But I submit that what Polybius and Livy describe is not in the least like the passage of a glacier near its snout. And, in fact, such a passage, not always altogether without difficulty for walkers, must generally be out of the question for an army.

On the whole, while Professor Wilkinson's theory is interesting, and his defence of it is highly ingenious, I cannot see that we are much nearer truth. There is nothing in Livy or Polybius which really tells for the Col du Clapier. And *a priori* the pass is improbable. It seems never to have been a much used route, and the highroads of later times certainly followed different lines.

A. D. Godley.

ALLEN'S *ERASMI EPISTOLAE*, Vol. II.

Opus Epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami denuo recognitum et auctum per P. S. Allen, M.A., Collegii Mertonensis Socium. Tom. II. Oxonii in Typographeo Clarendoniano. MCMX. Pp. xx+608. 18s. net.

The three years from August 1514 to June 1517 which this volume covers are full of interest to every student of Erasmus' life and work, and not least to the English student. They were spent chiefly in Belgium and at Basle, but they also saw visits to London and Rochester. Among his English correspondents during this period of maturity, when he would be approaching and passing his fiftieth year, were Fisher, Warham, Colet, More, Bullock, Linacre, Latimer. The letters from these correspondents outnumber in the aggregate those from him to them: indeed, in the volume as a whole, for every two letters of Erasmus (his epistolary Prefaces included) there will be found to be some three from other people. The letters from his English friends are worth having. They throw a pleasant light on the shrewd intelligence of the senders, who judged to a nicety what Erasmus was best fitted to do and were very ready to help and stimulate him. And incidentally they illustrate their own characters and work. For instance, a good sketch of More and his *Nusquama* (the *Utopia*) might easily be drawn from passages on pages 193, 339, 442, and 459 of this collection. As for Erasmus himself, the well-known letter to Lambertus Grunnius (pp. 291-312), whatever its exact biographical value, graphically describes feelings and hardships which in the main the young scholar had certainly experienced.

Letters passing between Erasmus and Budaeus, together with one from Tunstall to Budaeus, and another from Budaeus to Tunstall, fill some eighty pages of the present volume. More than one of Budaeus' letters is long enough to deserve the title which Erasmus once gave to the last he had received—an *Epistle of Budé*. Erasmus replies in kind; and the result, on both sides, is much elaborate writing, many literary compliments, and some instances of doubtful Greek. But though they have many tastes in common, Erasmus and Budaeus are strongly contrasted personalities. The Low German is pre-eminently a humanist, the Frenchman pre-eminently a scholar of the scientific type. The range and solidity of Budaeus' services to classical learning are patent in his chief works, which mark

him out as a pioneer in the regions of ancient law, archaeology, lexicography: the *Annotationes in XXIV. Pandectarum libros*, the *De Asse*, the *Commentarii linguae Graecae*, the *Lexicon Graeco-Latinum*. As contrasted with Budaeus, Erasmus always has his eye fixed on the modern bearing of ancient studies—'ea studia sine quibus nec homines sumus,' as he calls them in one of his letters to Budaeus. Any merely esoteric view of classical learning was alien to his very nature. Classical antiquity attracted him not as an antiquarian but as a lover of universal culture; he found in it not an estranging but a unifying power. And his own writing, beautiful in its lucidity and full of point and wit, gave him an advantage often denied to men of greater erudition and more rigorously scientific method.

These qualities of Erasmus help to explain the plan followed by his edition of the New Testament, which forms the centre of interest in the present volume. The principal features of this work are well known: it was the first edition of the Greek Testament to be printed and published, and it contained (*α*) the Greek text, (*β*) a revised Latin translation, (*γ*) Latin notes. The aim thus was to give the New Testament in its original Greek form, and at the same time to make it more intelligible and more accessible. The notes are, it cannot be denied, popular and discursive; they show signs of that 'hurried reading' which Erasmus himself admits. The work as a whole has suffered from the same undue haste: 'Novum Testamentum praecipitatum est verius quam editum,' as Erasmus again acknowledges. In relation to the New Testament, as so often, his admissions must not be pressed too hard against him. We must not forget his earlier attempts to revise the Vulgate version nor the editorial preparations which he had made, during the year 1512 especially, when living in the old tower of Queens' College, Cambridge. But when, in 1516, his edition of the New Testament issued from Froben's printing-house at Basle, he had in hand another equally stupendous task, often mentioned in this volume of letters, that edition of Jerome which followed the New Testament at an interval of four months only. It was perhaps inevitable that a scholar, however gifted, who worked simultaneously at two such vast undertakings should, in the first issue of the New Testament, have overlooked many misprints or have committed serious errors which need not now be recalled. But when all abatements have been made, much remains. However poor his manuscripts and however faulty the uses he made of them, Erasmus' guiding principle was one of the soundest criticism: to go back to the original Greek text and to exclude passages (such as that of The Three Heavenly Witnesses) which he failed to find in the manuscripts accessible to him. The same fidelity to fact is shown when, in his translation of St. John's Gospel i. 1, he adopts 'In principio erat Sermo' in place of 'In principio erat Verbum'; or again, when in his notes on Acts x. 38, he writes, 'Apostoli Graecitatem suam non e Demosthenis orationibus, sed e vulgi colloquio didicerunt'—a statement strikingly confirmed by the non-literary papyri discovered in our own day. In reference to his own undertaking, Erasmus modestly says, in a letter to John Watson, the Cambridge divine: 'Novum Testamentum tibi, hoc est viro tum integro tum erudito, probari non moleste fero; de quo tamen ipse nihil ausim profiteri nisi nos annixos pro virili ut qualicunque industriola nostra Christi philosophiam bonis mentibus commendaremus' (Allen ii. 429). If, as it was once said by a writer we have lately lost, Greece at the Revival of Letters 'rose from the dead with the New Testament in her hand,' it is surely due to Erasmus as much as any man that Greek learning and the Christian religion were then found to be advancing side by side.

Mr. Allen's own editorial work is, if possible, even more thorough in this volume than in its predecessor, which was described in the *Classical Review* (xxi. 108 ff.) some four years ago. In minute matters of orthography, less exactitude of reproduction might be an advantage. The editor has himself occasionally departed from the original spelling, but he might well have gone further. Little, perhaps, is gained by

printing, often in the same letter and sometimes in the same sentence, forms such as 'haec' . . . 'hec,' 'editum' . . . 'aeditum,' 'Aristotelice' (genit. fem. of the adj.) . . . 'philosophiae,' 'mihi' . . . 'michi,' 'litteris' . . . 'literis,' 'tessera' . . . 'tessara,' *ποιῇ* . . . *λέγει* (subjunct.), *θεολογικώτατον* . . . *μουσικότατον* . . . *ἀκινδυνώτερον*, *ἐξηγηματικοῖς* . . . *ἀπολογετικοῖς*. In certain cases some degree of ambiguity follows: *e.g.*, when 'querendum' and 'eque' are given for 'quaerendum' and 'aeque.' On p. 313 there appears to be something amiss with the word Πειθ' in Melanchthon's verses, and on p. 449 a full stop has fallen out after *προκαλούμενος*. On p. 371 the critical note does not seem clear. Mr. Allen's conjectural emendations are many and good. For example, on p. 39 he omits 'non' before 'perinde,' in a letter from the mannered writer Ulrich Zäsi; perhaps Zäsi had begun the sentence with 'non aliter' in his head. In the postscript to the same letter it might be better not to insert 'scribere' but to supply mentally some words giving the general sense of 'se tibi . . . salutem.' With regard to Mr. Allen's note on p. 400, l. 368, it may be pointed out that Erasmus (p. 469, l. 2) appears to understand 'anno duodequinquagesimo' in the required sense.

It is not often that Mr. Allen has to confess himself at a loss for biographical information: the obscurer a man is, the more he usually has to say about him. But on p. 373 he writes, when dealing with a letter to Erasmus from one Simon Hexapolitanus: 'I am unable to interpret Hexapolitanus; but ll. 22, 26 suggest that the writer had come from some distance and was a German.' I would venture to suggest that this Simon belonged to the Sechsstädte. The six towns included in Lusatia Superior (Oberlausitz) were: Bautzen, Kamenz, Löbau, Zittau, Görlitz, Lauban.

A welcome addition to this second volume is an excellent portrait of Erasmus, reproduced from the diptych painted in 1517 for presentation to Sir Thomas More and now in the Stroganoff Gallery at Rome.

W. Rhys Roberts.

LE CULEX, POÈME PSEUDO-VIRGILIEN.

Le Culex, poème pseudo-Virgilien. Édition critique et explicative. Par Charles Plésent, professeur de première au Lycée Louis le Grand, docteur ès lettres. 8vo. Introduction, pp. 1-60; text, pp. 61-89; notes, pp. 90-264. Paris: Fontemoing et Cie. 1910. 5 fr.

Le Culex, Étude sur l'Alexandrinisme Latin. Par Charles Plésent. 8vo. Pp. vi+502. Paris: Fontemoing et Cie. 1910. 10 fr.

The *Culex*, even when all allowance has been made for the corrupt state of the text, is one of the most commonplace and incompetent of epyllia, and derives its chief interest from the fact that it is attributed to Vergil. M. Plésent has dedicated 502 pages to the discussion of its 414 lines, and has in addition produced a text and commentary which bring the total up to 766! The larger work, though it reveals considerable learning and infinite industry, contributes little that is new or suggestive, while it is long-winded past all belief. M. Plésent holds that, though Vergil actually wrote a *Culex*, the work was lost or suppressed, and that a forger, with the aid perhaps of fragments of the original poem, composed the work which we now possess. He would date the poem from the latter half of the principate of Augustus, who is addressed in the opening lines of the poem as the young Octavius. That the work is a forgery is possible enough, though the problem of the authorship is, in spite of the confident assertions of scholars on this side and that, extraordinarily difficult, if not actually insoluble. But admitting the possibility of the work being a forgery, it is still incredible that it should have been produced during the lifetime of Augustus. A bad forgery of a lost work by Vergil could not have been dedicated to Vergil's great patron during that patron's lifetime. It would have courted failure and exposure. Further, there is no evidence

in support of M. Plésent's view that the work proceeded from the circle of Pollio, nor, as it seems to us, that it was imitated by Ovid. On the hypothesis of forgery it seems more likely that the *Culex* was produced during the principate of Tiberius or of Claudius, to be accepted by Lucan and Statius, who were less in touch with the atmosphere of the Vergilian age, and might easily have failed to notice the chronological and historical difficulties, which for modern sceptics tell so heavily against the genuineness of the poem.

M. Plésent's researches on the sources and imitations of the *Culex*, on the mythology and 'moral ideas' of the poem, lead to little save the obvious; the whole question of imitations would have been more conveniently handled in tabular form. In a chapter dealing with the 'type and form' of the poem, M. Plésent treats of the general characteristics of Alexandrian literature. He holds that the *Culex* belongs to the 'Peloponnesian type of pastoral.' There is no real evidence to support such a supposition, which, in view of our almost complete ignorance of the 'Peloponnesian type of pastoral,' is somewhat gratuitous.

In his chapters on the language and grammar of the *Culex*, M. Plésent urges that the *Culex* is important for the study of vulgar Latin. That the language of the *Culex* has many peculiarities is undoubted, but the evidence as to the 'vulgar' element in the poem is uncertain to the last degree, and many of the peculiarities would not be found in a less conservative text than that of M. Plésent. The book concludes with an exhaustive chapter on the metre, which may be summarised in the following sentence (p. 487): 'Sans méconnaitre ce que le vers du Culex doit à la tradition Latine, on peut dire qu'il répresente l'accommodation la plus complète possible de cette tradition à l'art savant et au goût subtil des maîtres d'Alexandrie.' This is to give an exaggerated importance to the metre of the *Culex*, and is not substantiated by any real evidence.

M. Plésent's recension has the merit of being the first to be based on the MSS. (Bembinus, Corsinianus, Vaticanus 2759) which Professor Housman has demonstrated to be the pillars of the text. But M. Plésent has not succeeded in producing a satisfactory text. Apart from two ingenious conjectures, *fetura boum* (21), and *Iovis patrisque* (27), he has made no suggestion that can be of any conceivable assistance to the student of one of the most corrupt legacies of antiquity. Indeed, he has on the whole added to the difficulty of the text rather than lessened it. There are far too many readings which are manifestly impossible: *tendebant hydrae venientis ad omnia visus* (168), *pars inflexis super acta carinis* (346), and *rosa purpureum crescent rubicunda tenorem* (399), seem frankly meaningless, while the retention of readings such as *lurida* (47), *nec fulgor in ulla cognitus utilitate manet* (65), *in rivi praestantis imaginis undam* (57), *placidum rivis sonat orta liquorem* (149), *eversis* (180), *ut procul aspexit luco residere virenti* (109), *sicut Hymen praefata dedit conubia mortis* (247), to mention no others, is only an obstacle to the understanding of the poem. M. Plésent attaches great importance to the retention of the MSS. reading in l. 368, *Flaminius devota dedit qui corpora famae*, holding that it shows the democratic tendencies of the author, Flaminius, 'l'homme de Trasimène,' being a champion of the democracy. The inference is certainly rather a large one to draw from a line, which, if not corrupt, is certainly colourless and clumsy to the verge of fatuity. More instances of a similar kind might easily be quoted, but enough has been said to show the character of the text.

The commentary is clear and learned, where it is not vitiated by M. Plésent's views of the text. It would, however, gain by greater compression. The *apparatus criticus* is perhaps a little overburdened with the readings of inferior MSS., and will cause annoyance to those who object to the alteration of previous systems of abbreviations denoting the various *codices*. But M. Plésent apologises for his audacity, and deprecates in advance the 'raillerie agréable' of Professor Housman.

H. E. Butler.

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CITIES OF ITALY.

A History of Verona. By A. M. Allen. Edited by Edward Armstrong. With 20 illustrations and 3 maps. Methuen.

A History of Perugia. By W. Heywood. Edited by R. L. Douglas. With 21 illustrations. States of Italy: Methuen.

Roman Cities in Italy and Dalmatia. By A. L. Frothingham. With 61 plates. Murray.

The two first volumes on our list are part of a new series of local histories. If the others are like them, we shall be fortunate.

Italy is well suited for such a series of histories; there have been so many States, independent yet important, each developing in its own way; and some of them have had an important part in a wider history. How truly each was itself even the traveller can see, who passes from Venice to Verona, from Pisa to Florence. Their characters are shown in their buildings; they are shown no less in the men that were born in them, now in literature, now in art, or again in politics. Verona is especially attractive to us because Juliet lived there; an accident, no doubt, and it was nothing to Shakespeare, but it seems to attract the thoughts of a people that has ceased to care for art. Thus attracted, like Meno's slave they may feel a joy awakening in them at the sight of a Scaliger's tomb, or of the graceful porch of San Zeno. Perhaps the name of Scaliger may awaken a vague echo in the scholar's mind: he will be glad to read how this house showed a princely hospitality to men of genius—like the house of Peisistratus—and how Dante took refuge there; with Bartolomeo, our author holds, not with Cangrande. Unlike Athens, Verona only sheltered men of letters; she had no literary men of her own, although in Guarino she had a unique person, and one who was the cause of literature in others. Classical students will here find an account of the Amphitheatre.

If Verona is associated with literature and scholarship, Perugia is the place of painting for most of us: but that flower bloomed after Perugia's history was made, the free commune done with. The earlier history of the town could not have been written before; indeed it cannot be fully written now. But the documents of its history are being printed by degrees, and enough has been written on many points to enable this short history to be attempted. It is a summary of research up to the present, and to the English reader the whole will probably be new.

Both books are written in a scholarly manner, with ample footnotes; and the second especially quotes a great many authorities word for word. The pictures are excellent: print and paper good; none of your greasy white lead, but soft light paper that makes us think of the good old days of printing. There are full indices.

The *Roman Cities* is a book that touches more directly upon this Review. It includes both Perugia and Verona, with no less than twenty-five others, and a very large number of pictures. Many of these will be new to most readers—the book is meant for the student rather than the specialist—but if we had the choice, we should ask for more of the new pictures of Roman remains, and fewer of the smaller antiquities that can be found in many books. This will be a useful companion to the traveller, and will direct him to many things that he might otherwise miss; as the remarkable walls of Falerii, the Forum and Capitolium of Assisi, the remains of Ascoli, Asseria, Pola. It is written in an unpretending style, and by a competent authority.

W. H. D. R.

SHORT NOTICES

VAHLEN'S *LONGINUS*.

Διονυσίου ἢ Λογγίνου περὶ ὕψους. De Sublimitate Libellus. In usum scholarum edidit OTTO IAHN A. MDCCCLXVII: quartum edidit A. MDCCCCX IOANNES VAHLEN. Lipsiae in aedibus B. G. Teubneri.

THE fourth edition of this well-known book has followed the third at the comparatively short interval of five years. Hence we may infer, as Vahlen suggests in his new Preface, that the study of the Treatise on the Sublime is coming more and more to be regarded as a desirable element in a classical education. There is certainly something uniquely modern, and international, about this ancient essay in literary criticism.

Valhen's scrupulous care and wise judgment are as conspicuous as ever. He knows and appreciates all the most recent work connected with the subject, while he remains cautious and, in the best sense, conservative. It is five years, and more, since he wrote with reference to his advanced age: 'si quid opis aut utilitatis huic libello, cuius subtili elegantia multi delectantur, attulisse existimabor, non paenitebit, hanc operam hac aetate sumpsisse.' He has now lived to see another edition through the press, and we shall all hope to have still another from the hand of the same unwearied worker. To some famous words of Cicero a slight addition may perhaps be made without untruth: *haec studia senectutem oblectant—et vitam producunt.*

W. RHYS ROBERTS.

Theocritus in English Literature. By R. T. KERLIN. Lynchburg, Virginia: Bell and Co.

THIS is a thesis for the doctorate, filling more than 200 pages. To trace classical allusions in English literature seems to be a favourite pursuit in America; we have seen in England the same done for Shakespeare with instructive results, and Stemplinger's book on Horace has given much pleasure to readers. Mr. Kerlin's book gives a sidelight on Greek culture. He finds Theocritus first mentioned by Skelton in 1523. In the age of Elizabeth the critics all studied him, or gave him first place among the pastorals. He is alluded to in the *Shepherd's Calendar*, and was the model for Astrophel, as for Lycidas. Several of the Elizabethans were indebted to him; one (nameless) translated six idylls in 1588 (reprinted by Arber, with so many other precious things, for which we must thank that disinterested scholar).

In the seventeenth century the allusions are few; in the eighteenth very many; more than one-third of the book deals with the nineteenth century. The author ends by summarising his results, and gives a bibliography. This book contains materials for other men's deductions, and thus it will always be valuable.

W. H. D. R.

HUMAN LIFE IN LATIN INSCRIPTIONS.

Latin Terms of Endearment and Family Relationship. By S. G. HARROD. Princeton, U.S.A.: Falcon Press.

A Study of the Sepulchral Inscriptions in Bücheler's Carmina Epigraphica Latina. By J. A. TOLMAN. Chicago University Press.

Autobiographic Elements in Latin Inscriptions. By H. H. ARMSTRONG. Macmillan and Co.

THESE three pamphlets are specimens of the special studies which the American University system encourages. There are drawbacks to the system. From the student's standpoint, pedantry is often encouraged; the results are not always worth the trouble, although it is true that the smallest matter thoroughly worked out may throw light on greater

things. These three papers must have cost an enormous labour; but something human emerges from them, and the scholar ought to be grateful.

The first is a study of *C.I.L.* VI.: the crucial words of each text are cited, and the results summed up in tables. It appears that the terms of endearment are not very varied. It is true, 21 are found frequently (15 if we do not distinguish degrees); but out of a total of 6,810, carissimus has 1,644, dulcissimus 1,568; pientissimus, piissimus, optimus, sanctissimus, incomparabilis range between 862 and 263. The others of the first list range between 76 and 16; and, besides, there is a considerable number which occur once or rarely. Among these may be noted abstinentissima, audiens, domiseda, and lanifica (of one person), quietissima, simplex, unimarita. Different epithets are applied to different ages and relationships. The second part of the essay takes the relationships in order, and gives its epithets with each.

Mr. Tolman studies the form and topics of epitaphs. He shows how the writer will try to avoid commonplace phrases for common topics, and how the bereaved try to console themselves for loss. Fatalism, memories of past honour, pessimism, even frivolity, find expression; and very many hope for life beyond the grave. This collection is important for those who are interested in popular religion.

Mr. Armstrong includes even the fictitious personification where the object is supposed to address the reader, as in the Duenos inscription: this is to extend the idea of autobiography. His essay is rather a study of formulae; for with so wide a conception of the subject, there is not room to give many texts.

W. H. D. R.

Taciti Historiarum Libri. Recognovit C. D. FISHER. Clarendon Press.

A MODERN editor of the text of the *Histories* owes much of course to the labours of Orelli and Halm and Heraeus and Andresen. Yet in a way his task is also made more complicated by the number of conjectural emendations which he has necessarily to consider. Where you have only one manuscript, and that a very badly and carelessly written one (the numerous 'deteriores codices' being all derived from the Medicean and, as Mr. Fisher says, 'coniecturis quos vocant humanistarum scatentes'), there is really nothing to do but to emend for yourself or accept the guesses of others: the text must be reconstituted by collation of conjectures rather than of manuscripts; and the chief business of the editor is not to allow liberty to degenerate into licence. 'Medicei auctoritatem,' says the present editor, 'semper pro summa feci, et quidem plurimis locis contra Halmium revocavi.' That is quite right: Halm constructed his text primarily 'in usum scholarum,' and therefore sometimes rejected not only what was impossible, but what was merely difficult or not usual. Mr. Fisher has accepted a great many emendations, and made some for himself; but always, or very nearly always, when a reproduction of the manuscript would have been hopelessly unintelligible. Otherwise he is conservative: for example, he keeps the obviously suspect 'inexperti belli labor' of II. 4, because it is just possible (though indicating his doubt of 'labor'), in preference to any one of the numerous alternatives suggested. But when it is a question of dealing with hopelessly corrupt passages, he has nearly always accepted an emendation, and his selection shows scholarship and good judgment. No text of the *Histories* can always please everybody. The present reviewer cannot believe that it is right to print in III. 84 'morari pacem, domos arasque cruore foedare suprema victis solacia amplectebantur,' as if the infinitives were objects in apposition to 'solacia': this is surely a very harsh construction: the text would be improved by some kind of stop at 'foedare,' making it and the preceding infinitives simply historical. Nor is the editor's explanation of 'forte victi' in III. 18 (as a transposition plus a marginal note) satisfactory: for it involves taking 'forte' in the sense of 'fortasse.' Again in IV. 15 some may regret that Orelli's 'proxima occupatu' (the best and easiest emendation) is not

adopted, or even mentioned. But these small errors—if they are errors—weigh very little in the balance against the soundness of most of Mr. Fisher's conclusions. One is glad to see at last introduced into a standard text such suggestions as 'infesto' for 'justo' in I. 68, 'servientium' for 'inservientium' in II. 81, 'Daciam' for 'Asiam' in III. 53, and 'Ardae' for 'Aduae' in II. 40. The two latter are helpful and probable emendations, the others as certain as conjectures can be.

A. D. GODLEY.

NOTES AND NEWS

DR. MOULTON'S Greek Testament Grammar is to appear in Hirt and Streitberg's *Indogermanische Bibliothek* as *Einleitung in die Sprache des Neuen Testaments*. It has been revised and enlarged. The same author has in the press a small manual on Early Persian Religious Poetry (Cambridge University Press).

The Rev. I. Gregory Smith, LL.D., has deposited with the Editor copies of his pamphlet on the Study of Greek (1904). Any reader of the *Review* may have a copy (as long as they last) by sending a stamped and addressed envelope (9 inches long) to the Editor.

A new departure will be made this summer by the opening of a Summer School in Latin at Bangor, on the model of the holiday courses provided in Modern Languages and other subjects. The programme of the school is based upon the three reforms advocated by the Classical Association—viz., uniform and approximately correct pronunciation, simplified text for beginners, and improved grammatical terminology. The methods of the course will be largely oral, and teachers, whatever their views may be as to the importance of oral teaching, cannot but feel themselves better equipped for their task if they have these methods more at their command, and if they enter into conference together with the aim of making their work with their pupils more interesting and more effective. The school has been organised by Prof. E. V. Arnold; it opens under the auspices of the Incorporated Associations of Assistant Masters and of Assistant Mistresses in Secondary Schools. The director is Dr. Rouse, who will be assisted by Prof. Granger, Mr. Frank Jones, Mr. W. H. S. Jones, Mr. J. W. E. Pearce, Miss E. Ryle, and others. The opening is at present fixed for August 28, and inquiries should be addressed to Prof. Arnold, Bangor.

Mr. Godley's solution of *Agam.* 69-71 (above, p. 73), has been anticipated by Dr. Farnell in this Journal (vol. xi., p. 293). The Editors beg to offer their apologies for overlooking this. It is, however, a confirmation of the view that two scholars have hit upon it independently.

It may be worth while to record that Greek being voluntary in the High School of Ithaca, N.Y., only a few pupils asked to learn it. The School Board of Ithaca therefore refused to provide instruction. We are so often told that there always will be facilities for teaching Greek if any wish to learn it, that an instance of what actually happens may be useful (see *Classical Weekly*, p. 207).

TRANSLATION

THE LAMENT OF CYCLOPS TO GALATEA.

MERMAID of ocean stream, all white and slender,
Whiter than crudded cream, why so untender?
Playful as any calf, sleek as a berry,
No lamb so soft by half, nor half so merry.
Whene'er I slumber deep, you come and spy me:
But when I wake from sleep, straight you must fly me.
Scared like a sheep you flee that chance the gray wolf see;
What can the reason be Mermaiden flouts me?

Once when you had a mind to gather lilies,
Wishing the place to find where yonder hill is,
I showed you both the way, you and my mother:
I love you since that day, you and no other.
I've not a moment's peace since first I met you;
Nor can my passion cease, nor I forget you.
Yet for all that I swear you feel not any care:
O it is hard to bear! Mermaiden flouts me.

Fair maiden! now I know what is the reason
Why you avoid me so out of all season.
Over my single eye, well fit to scare ye,
One single brow doth lie, all shag and hairy,
Stretching from ear to ear my face to cover:
Flat nose and lips, I fear, please not a lover.
Yes, even such am I: what boots it to deny?
This is the reason why Mermaiden flouts me.

Yet I've a hundred kine on my farm grazing;
Never such milk as mine, worthy all praising!
Never a lack of cheese for every comer,
Bloom spring, or winter freeze, autumn or summer:
Here stand the crates in rows full to o'erflowing.
None of the neighbours knows my skill in blowing
Tunes like as I can play all night and all the day.
Alack and wellaway! Mermaiden flouts me.

At midnight often, too, when I think on ye,
I sing of me and you, O my sweet honey!
I have eleven fawns, markt with a crescent,
All feeding on my lawns, kept for a present;
Four little bears I rear, trying to tame them;
These you shall have, my dear, when you will claim them.
If you but come to me you shall no loser be:
Ah, 'tis no use, I see: Mermaiden flouts me.

Come, let the foaming sea on the rocks beat her!
Here in the cave by me you may sleep sweeter.
Here the dark ivy twines, bays grow in beauty,
Tall cypress trees, and vines most sweet and fruity.
Here from her woody hill Etna sends to me
Snow-water in a rill, drink to renew me.
Could any choose to be down in the rolling sea
Rather than here with me? Yet still she flouts me.

O if my shaggy hair be all that hinders,
Sticks and fierce fire is there under the cinders.
Singe out my life, say I, if 'tis your pleasure,
Or burn my only eye, my chiefest treasure.

O that I had been born finny and scaly!
How that mischance I mourn, O willow waly!
I had swum to your side and kist your hand with pride,
If you your lips denied: But O she flouts me!

I would have brought you bright handfuls of posies—
Bunches of snowdrops white, or ruddy roses;
One at a time, you know, not both together,
For those in winter grow, these in hot weather.
Well, I must learn, 'tis clear, to swim this minute,
If any ship comes here with sailors in it:
Then I perchance may know what pleasure 'tis to go
Down in your deeps below, and why you flout me.

Come, Mermaid, come and stay, wholly forgetting
How goes the homeward way, like me here sitting.
Tend with me, an' you please, my flock and pen it,
Milk kine, and cruddle cheese with bitter rennet.
Mother's to blame, I see, if my heart's broken:
Never a word for me once hath she spoken;
Yet she sees me begin each day to grow more thin,
If that I cannot win her that so flouts me.

I'll talk of head and feet throbbing and aching;
If I'm in pain, 'tis meet she have partaking.
Tush, Cyclops, whither away do your wits wander?
Weave withy-crates, I say, feed the sheep yonder;
So there is hope that you sense may recover.
What boots it to pursue a flying lover?
Come, milk the goat to hand! You may yet find you
A fairer mermaid than she who's behind you.
Full many wenches call, bid me stay near them;
They giggle one and all when I do hear them.
Clear that on land I've got to count a little:
Flout me or flout me not, I care no tittle!

W. H. D. R.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Publishers and Authors forwarding books for review are asked to send at the same time a note of the price.

*** *Excerpts and Extracts from Periodicals and Collections are not included in these Lists unless stated to be separately published.*

Aeschylus (Agamemnon) Freely translated by A. Platt. 7″×4¼″. Pp. 83. London: Grant Richards, Ltd., 1911. Cloth, 2s. 6d. net.

Alexander (G. G.) The Administration of Justice in Criminal Matters (in England and Wales). 6½″×5″. Pp. viii+158. Cambridge: University Press, 1911. Cloth, 1s.net.

Aristophanes. Die metrische und rhythmische Komposition der Komödien. II. Teil. 5, Ἱππῆς; 6, Νεφέλαι; 7, Βάτραχοι. By Prof. Carl Conradt. 10½″×7¾″. Pp. 40. Leipzig: G. Fock, 1911.

Beresford (R. A. A.) The 'Regular' Latin Book. 7¼″×5″. Pp. 63. London: Blackie and Son. Cloth, 1s. 6d.

Cahen (R.) Le Rythme Poétique dans les Métamorphoses d'Ovide. 10″×6½″. Pp. xii+626. Paris: P. Geuthner, 1910. Fr. 20.

Cahen (R.) Mensura membrorum rhythmica cum metrica comparatur. Exempla petuntur ex Ovidi Metamorphoseon libris. Paris: P. Geuthner, 1910. Fr. 4.

Cicero. Scipio's Dream. Oxford Plain Texts. 6½″+4¼″. Pp. 16. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911. Cloth, 4d.

—— Orationes: Pro Tullio, Pro Fonteio, Pro Sulla, Pro Archia, Pro Plancio, Pro Scauro. Edited by A. C. Clark. 7½″×5″. Cloth, 2s. 6d.

—— Orationes: Cum Senatui gratias egit, Cum populo gratias egit, De Domo Sua, De Haruspicum Responsis, Pro Sestio, In Vatinium, De Provinciis Consularibus, Pro Balbo. Edited by W. Peterson. 7½″×5″. Cloth, 3s.

Costa (G.) La Cronologia Romana Preflaviana. $9\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. 252-305. Estratto dalla Rivista di Storia Antica. N.S. Anno xiii. 2-3. Padova, 1910. Tipi della *Rivista di Storia Antica.*

Euripides (Cantica) Fragmenta Grenfelliano adjecto. By Otto Schroeder. Teubner's Text. $7'' \times 5''$. Pp. vi+196. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1911. M. 4.

—— Phoenissae. By J. U. Powell. $9'' \times 5\frac{3}{4}''$. Pp. 229. London: Constable and Co., 1911. Cloth, 8s. 6d. net.

Gardthausen (V.) Griechische Palaeographie, Band I. Das Buchwesen im Altertum und in Byzantinischen Mittelalter. Mit 38 Figuren. $10'' \times 6\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. xii+243. Leipzig: Veit and Co., 1911. M. 8.

Harder (C.) Lateinisches Lesebuch für Realanstalten II. Teil. Anmerkungen. $8\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6''$. Pp. 79. Leipzig: G. Freytag, 1911. Paper boards, M. 1.20.

Hardy (E. G.) Six Roman Laws, Translated, with Introduction and Notes. $9'' \times 5\frac{3}{4}''$. Pp. v+176. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911. Cloth, 6s. net.

Hay (J. S.) The Amazing Emperor Heliogabalus. $9\frac{1}{4}'' \times 6''$. Pp. xxviii+308. London: Macmillan and Co., 1911. Cloth, 8s. 6d. net.

Heitland (W. E.) A Short History of the Roman Republic. $8'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. 528. Cambridge: University Press, 1911. Cloth, 6s. net.

Longinus. De Sublimitate. Edited by Otto Jahn. $8\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5\frac{3}{4}''$. Pp. xxii+94. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1911. M. 2.80.

Mendell (C. W.) Sentence Connection in Tacitus. $9'' \times 6''$. Pp. viii+158. Oxford: University Press, 1911. Cloth, 6s. net.

Miller (J.) Essentials of the Christian Religion, pp. vi+286; and Fundamentals of Unity, pp. xii+416. 2 vols. of sermons. $8'' \times 5''$. London: Elliot Stock, 1911. 3s. net each.

Nixon (P.) A Roman Wit. Epigrams of Martial translated into English. $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5''$. Pp. xx+119. Boston, Mass.: Houghton, Mifflin and Co. Cloth, $ 1 net.

Ovid. Metamorphoses, Book II. By F. R. G. Duckworth. $7'' \times 5''$. Pp. 108. London: Blackie and Son. Cloth, 1s. 6d.

Pott (J. A.) Greek Love-Songs and Epigrams from the Anthology. $6\frac{1}{4}'' \times 5''$. Pp. xii+154. With frontispiece. Kegan Paul and Co., 1911. Cloth.

Prickard (A. O.) Plutarch on the Face in the Moon. Translation, Notes, and Appendix. $8\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. 77. Winchester: Warren and Son, 1911. Paper boards, 2s. 6d.

Rediadis (P.) Ἡ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχία. By a Greek naval officer. $8\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6''$. Pp. 104. Athens: Raphtanis Papageorgios, 1911. Dr. 3.

Renkema (M. G. F.) Studia Critica in Scholia ad Aristophanes Aves. $8\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. 96. Traiecti ad Rhenum: Kemink et Fils, 1911.

Ruppert (J.) Quaestiones ad Historiam Dedicationis Librorum pertinentes. (Inaugural Lecture.) $9'' \times 6''$. Pp. 46. Leipzig: R. N. Bornensis, 1911.

Sallust (Catiline) Simplified Text. By A. J. Barnett. $6\frac{1}{2}'' \times 4''$. Pp. 80. London: Methuen and Co., 1911. Cloth, 1s.

Schroeder (O.) Horazens Versmasse, für Anfänger erklärt. $7'' \times 4\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. 26. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1911. M. 0.60.

Scriptorum Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxoniensis. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911.

Sihler (E. G.) Annals of Caesar. A Critical Biography, with a Survey of the Sources. $8\frac{1}{4}'' \times 6''$. Pp. viii+328. New York: Stechert, 1911. $ 1.75=7s. 6d. Cloth.

Taylor (A. E.) Varia Socratica (First Series). St. Andrews University Publications, No. IX. $8\frac{1}{4}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. xii+269. Oxford: Parker and Co., 1911. 7s. 6d. net.

Terence. Phormio. Simplified for the use of Schools, with Introduction, Notes, and Vocabulary, by H. R. Fairclough and L. T. Richardson. $7'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. xvi+118. Illustrations 2. New York: Sanborn, 1911. Cloth.

The Place-Names of Lancashire: Their Origin and History. By H. C. Wyld and T. O. Hirst. $9'' \times 6''$. Pp. xxiv+400. London: Constable and Co., 1911. Cloth, 26s. net.

University of Nevada Studies, III. 1. The Identity of the Child in Virgil's Pollio, by J. E. Church. Sex-prophesying among the Ancients: its Basis, by J. E. Church. The Mother in Martial, vi. 3, by J. E. Church and J. C. Watson. $9\frac{3}{4}'' \times 6\frac{1}{4}''$. Pp. 32. Published by the University of Nevada, 1911.

Virgil (Aeneid, I.-VI.), with Introduction, Notes, and Vocabulary, by H. R. Fairclough, Ph.D., and S. L. Brown, A.M. $7'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. lxii+516+140. Illustrations 76. New York: Sanborn, 1911. Cloth.

Wright (F. W.) Studies in Menander (Doctor's Dissertations). $10\frac{1}{2}'' \times 7\frac{1}{4}''$. Pp. 110. Baltimore, U.S.A.: the Waverley Press, 1911.

The Classical Review

AUGUST 1911

ORIGINAL CONTRIBUTIONS

A WRESTLING MATCH IN NONNUS.

THERE is a point in connexion with Greek wrestling which, as it seems to me, has not been satisfactorily explained by Mr. Norman Gardiner either in his articles in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* (xxv. 14, 263, xxvi. 4) or in his recent book, *Greek Athletic Sports and Festivals*. The question is this. When it was a case of a fight to a finish how did the vanquished wrestler acknowledge defeat? All that Mr. Gardiner says is, 'In the pankration, as in boxing, the contest continued till one or other of the parties held up his hand in sign of defeat' (p. 435). Elsewhere, when dealing with boxing, he writes, 'Usually the fight went on until one of the two acknowledged himself defeated (*ἀπειπεῖν*) by holding up his hand' (p. 415, and *cf.* pp. 424, 440). For this he relies upon the evidence of vase paintings, and adduces no authority from literature. In boxing there seems to be no need for any such special means of acknowledging defeat. If knocked down and unable to rise and continue the combat the pugilist would simply be counted out: if not, he could at any moment end the fight by merely saying that he was beaten. So again in wrestling proper no question could arise, as the judges would decide when the requisite number of falls had taken place. But in ground wrestling it is a different matter. Here some recognised sign of yielding was necessary, and the question is, What was that sign? If it is suggested that here too all that was required was a verbal confession of defeat, I would point out that victory was usually obtained by getting a strangling grip of the throat which effectually prevented speech. The answer to this question will, I think, be found in the account of the match between Aeacus and Aristaeus as reported in the *Dionysiaca* of Nonnus (xxxvii. 554 *sqq.*). It will be convenient to consider this passage, as arranged in the edition of Koechly (1858), in three divisions:

πρῶτος Ἀρισταῖος, μετέπειτα δὲ δεύτερος ἔστη
Αἰακὸς εὐπαλάμοιο πάλης δεδαημένος ἔργα.
ζώματι δὲ σκεπόωντες ἀθηήτου φύσιν αἰδοῦς
γυμνοὶ ἀεθλεύσαντες ἐφέστασαν· ἀμφότεροι δὲ
πρῶτα μὲν ἀμφοτέρας παλάμας ἐπὶ δίζυγι καρπῷ
σύμπλεκον ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα, χυτῆς ἐπὶ νῶτα κονίης
ἀλλήλους ἐρύοντες ἀμοιβαδίς, ἄμματι χειρῶν
ἀκροτάτῳ σφίγξαντες· ἔην δ' ἀμφίδρομος ἀνήρ,
ἄνδρα παλινδίνητον ἄγων ἑτερόζυγι παλμῷ,
ἔλκων ἑλκόμενός τε· συνοχμάζοντο γὰρ ἄμφω
χερσὶν ἀμοιβαίῃσιν, ἐκυρτώσαντο δὲ δειρήν,

565 μεσσατίῳ δὲ κάρηνον ἐπηρείδοντο μετώπῳ
ἀκλινέες, νεύοντες ἐπὶ χθονός· ἐκ δὲ μετώπων
θλιβομένων καμάτοιο προάγγελος ἔρρεεν ἱδρώς·
ἀμφοτέρων δ' ἄρα νῶτα κεκυφότα πήχεος ὁλκῷ
δίζυγι συμπλεκέος παλάμης ἐτρίβετο δεσμῷ·
570 σμῶδιξ δ' αὐτοτέλεστος ἀνέδραμεν αἵματι θερμῷ,
αἰόλα πορφύρουσα· δέμας δ' ἐστίζετο φωτῶν.
οἱ δὲ παλαισμοσύνης ἑτερότροπα μάγγανα τέχνης
ἀλλήλοις ἀνέφαινον ἀμοιβαδίς· ἀντίβιον δὲ
πρῶτος Ἀρισταῖος παλάμης πηχύνατο καρπῷ,
575 ἐκ χθονὸς ὀχλίζων· δολίης δ' οὐ λήθετο τέχνης
Αἰακὸς αἰολόμητις, ὑποκλέπτοντι δὲ ταρσῷ
λαιὸν Ἀρισταίοιο ποδὸς κώληπα πατάξας
ὕπτιον αὐτοκύλιστον ὅλον περικάββαλε γαίῃ,
ἠλιβάτῳ πρηῶνι πανείκελον· ἀμφὶ δὲ λαοὶ
580 τηλίκον αὐχήεντα βοώμενον υἱέα Φοίβου
ὄμμασι θαμβαλέοισιν ἐθηήσαντο πεσόντα.

Up to this point we have an exhibition of ὀρθὴ πάλη. Mr. Gardiner says (*J.H.S.* xxv. 26), 'The first round follows closely the Homeric model. Aristaeus tries to lift and swing Aeacus, who clicks his left knee with his heel and so throws him backwards.' On this I would only say that in spite of the authority of Eustathius and Suidas, followed by modern scholars, *ex. gr.* Liddell and Scott and Dr. Leaf, I am inclined to think that κώληψ is not 'the hollow or bend of the knee,' but rather 'the ankle,' and that the action described is the kicking away the foot of the wrestler the moment he lifts his opponent from the ground. The passage in Homer (*Il.* xxiii. 726) does not help either view, but Nonnus, who uses the word thrice, always calls it κώληψ ποδός. If it means 'ankle' the addition is natural enough, but if it means 'the hollow of the knee' we shall be compelled to translate ποδός 'of the leg,' which I think is hardly possible. Liddell and Scott say (*s.v.* πούς) 'also of *the leg with the foot* . . . *Il.* xxiii. 772, *Od.* xiii. 261, etc.,' but I can see no reason for so translating the word in either of these places, and a comparison of the other passages in Nonnus (x. 354, 368) will, I think, show that he at least took it to mean 'ankle.' So, too, Nicander (*Ther.* 424) refers to the bite of a snake:

ὅτ' ἐν κώληπος ἢ ἐν ποδὸς ἴχνεϊ τύψῃ.

I may add that in all these passages the old Latin translation gives *talus*, while the scholiast on Nicander, *l.c.*, says 'κώληπος· ἤγουν ἀστραγάλου,' citing the passage in Homer. Let us now proceed to the second round:

582 δεύτερος ἠέρταζε μετάρσιον ὑψόθι γαίης
κουφίζων ἀμογητὶ πελώριον υἷα Κυρήνης
Αἰακός, ἐσσομένην ἀρετὴν τεκέεσσι φυλάσσων,
585 ἀκαμάτῳ Πηλῆι καὶ εὐρυβίῃ Τελαμῶνι,
ἀγκὰς ἔχων, οὐ νῶτον ἢ ὄρθιον αὐχένα κάμπτων,
πήχεσιν ἀμφοτέροισι μεσαίτατον ἄνδρα κομίζων,
ἶσον ἀμειβόντεσσιν ἔχων τύπον, οὓς κάμε τέκτων
πρηΰνων ἀνέμοιο θυελλήεσσαν ἀνάγκην.
590 καὶ πελάσας ὅλον ἄνδρα περιστρωθέντα κονίῃ
Αἰακὸς ἀντιπάλοιο μέσων ἐπεβήσατο νώτων·
καὶ πόδα πεπταμένης διὰ γαστέρος ἐκτάδα πέμπων,
καμπύλον ἀκροτάτῳ περὶ γούνατι δεσμὰ συνάπτων,
ταρσῷ ταρσὸν ἔρειδε παρὰ σφυρὸν ἄκρον ἑλίξας·
595 καὶ ταχὺς ἀντιβίου τετανυσμένος ὑψόθι νώτων·
χεῖρας ἑὰς στεφανηδὸν ἐπ' ἀλλήλῃσιν ἑλίξας,
αὐχένι δεσμὸν ἔβαλλε βραχίονι, δάκτυλα κάμψας·
μυδαλέῳ δ' ἱδρῶτι χυτὴν ἔρραινε κονίην,
αὐχμηρῇ ψαμάθῳ διερὴν ῥαθάμιγγα καθαίρων,

600 μὴ διολισθήσειε περίπλοκος ἄμματι χειρῶν
θερμὴν τριβομένοιο κατ' αὐχένος ἰκμάδα πέμπων.

It seems fairly obvious that lines 588, 9 are out of place. A single man, οὐ νῶτον ἢ ὄρθιον αὐχένα κάμπτων, cannot resemble a pair of rafters. They clearly belong to the description of the first bout, and a comparison with the passage in Homer suggests that they should be placed after line 537, with a change of ἔχων to ἔχον. Mr. Gardiner's comment is, 'But the second bout diverges widely from Homer. Aeacus tries to lift Aristaeus, but failing to do so he springs suddenly round him and jumps upon his back, twisting his legs round his stomach and knotting his hand round his neck so that he cannot speak.' It will be seen at once that by a curious oversight Mr. Gardiner has misrepresented what occurred. Aeacus does lift Aristaeus and throw him, subsequently assuming the position, and getting the grip, described above. Then Nonnus continues:

τοῦ δὲ πιεζομένοιο συνέρρεον ὀξέϊ παλμῷ
κεκριμένοι κήρυκες, ὀπιπευτῆρες ἀγῶνος,
μή μιν ἀποκτείνειεν ὁμόζυγι πήχεος ὁλκῷ.
605 οὐ γὰρ ἔην τότε θεσμὸς ὁμοίιος, ὃν πάρος αὐτοὶ
ὀψίγονοι φράσσαντο, τιταινομένων ὅτε δεσμῶν
αὐχενίων πνικτῆρι πόνῳ βεβαρημένος ἀνὴρ
νίκην ἀντιπάλου μνηστεύεται ἔμφρονι σιγῇ,
ἀνέρι νικήσαντι κατηφέα χεῖρα πετάσσας.

'The officials,' says Mr. Gardiner, 'interfere to save him from death; "for," says Nonnus, "there was no law such as later generations long ago devised by which the vanquished could give a sign of his defeat by turning down his thumb."' In the first place the action of turning down the thumb is not that which Mr. Gardiner elsewhere represents, on the authority of vase paintings, as the sign of defeat, viz., the holding up of the hand,[1] and in the second he has mistaken the meaning of κατηφής. Nonnus, who has the word frequently, always uses it in a moral, not in a physical, sense, as a single instance within the next four lines will show; the son of Aristaeus takes the loser's reward.

δεύτερα πατρὸς ἄεθλα κατηφέϊ χειρὶ κομίζων.

There is, therefore, no idea of 'turning down the thumb,' and the line must be translated 'stretching a dejected hand to the conqueror.'[2] If anyone will take the trouble to assume the position of Aristaeus, and allow a friend, on whose powers of self-restraint he can rely, to act the part of Aeacus, he will find that it is an absolute impossibility to stretch out a hand, whether dejected or not, to his victor, and will wonder why 'later generations' should have devised anything so fatuous. The simple explanation is that they did not devise anything of the sort, and that Nonnus never said that they did. The whole credit of the invention belongs to an early commentator according to Koechly, who, after quoting the actual words of Nonnus, remarks, 'quod egregie em. G<raefius> quem recte secutus est Ma<rcellus>.' Even the boldest corrector of texts will admit that an emendation which involves the alteration of all the words, five in number, in a line requires some very strong support from the context to justify its existence, and that when the

[1] The similar statement in Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, vol. ii., p. 328, 'The victory was not decided until one of the parties was killed, or lifted up a finger, thereby declaring that he was unable to continue the contest either from pain or fatigue,' is not borne out by the language of Philostratus (*Imag.* ii. 6), who is cited as the authority for the statement. He only says καὶ τὸ ἀπαγορεῦον ἐπισημαίνων τῇ χειρί, words as applicable to the procedure related by Nonnus as to that stated in the Dictionary.

[2] The phrase χεῖρα πετάσσας is in itself questionable. Homer has χεῖρε πετάσσας, but never χεῖρα: neither has Nonnus elsewhere nor, as far as I know, any other writer. If he wished to express the stretching out of a hand, it is strange that he should not have used τανύσσας (ii. 234) or, more probable still, his favourite τιταίνων or τιτήνας (vii. 27; xxi. 124 *et al.*).

result is to change a perfectly clear and intelligible statement into what may fairly be described as 'clotted nonsense,' the epithet 'egregious,' though not quite in Koechly's sense of the word, may rightly be applied to it. Now what did Nonnus say according to the MS. evidence as reported by Koechly, and as printed in the edition of Lectius (1606)? Why this—

ἀνέρα νικήσαντα κατηφέϊ χειρὶ πατάξας.[1]

Precisely. Aristaeus is lying flat on his face upon the ground. Aeacus is lying on top of him, 'knotting his hand round his neck so that he cannot speak.' Thereupon Aristaeus does the only thing he can possibly do, namely taps his adversary to show that he gives in. Those who have seen the Japanese jiujitsu, characterised by Mr. Gardiner as 'the closest parallel to the pankration (*J.H.S.* xxvi. 13), will recognise that this is exactly the way in which a wrestler, finding himself in a hopeless position, gives up the contest, namely by tapping either his adversary or the ground. The statement of Nonnus is confirmed by a passage in Lucian (*Anach.* § 1), referred to by Mr. Gardiner in *J.H.S.* xx. 264, and partially quoted on p. 441 of his book. Anacharsis watching such a bout as that described above, thus addresses Solon:

καὶ ἦν ἰδοὺ ἀράμενος ἐκεινοσὶ τὸν ἕτερον ἐκ τοῖν σκελοῖν ἀφῆκεν εἰς τὸ ἔδαφος, εἶτ' ἐπικαταπεσὼν ἀνακύπτειν οὐκ ἐᾷ συνωθῶν κάτω ἐς τὸν πηλόν, τέλος δὲ ἤδη περιπλέξας αὐτῷ τὰ σκέλη κατὰ τὴν γαστέρα, τὸν πῆχυν ὑποβαλὼν τῷ λαιμῷ, ἄγχει τὸν ἄθλιον· ὁ δὲ παρακροτεῖ ἐς τὸν ὦμον, ἱκετεύων οἶμαι, ὡς μὴ τέλεον ἀποπνιγείη.

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[1] If authority is required to support this phrase, I would refer to the following passages in Nonnus, in addition to l. 577 *supra*.

σφαῖραν ἅτε θρώσκουσαν, ἀτέρμονι χειρὶ πατάξας (ii. 465).
ἄλλον ἀπηλοίησεν ἀφειδέϊ δουρὶ πατάξας (xxii. 203).
πεπταμένῃ δὲ μέτωπον ἀφειδέϊ χειρὶ πατάξας ψευδαλεόν σέο θάμβος ἐχέφρονι δείκνυε σιγῇ (xlii 229).

Also, from the Paraphrase of St. John, i. 199:

θαύματι πιστὰ μέτωπα θεουδέϊ χειρὶ πατάξας.

NIC. ETH. IV. III. 15. 1123[b]31.

IN view of some questions which have been put to me, I may be allowed to return to the subject of my article in the *Classical Review* of August 10, 1910.

1. The words in that article: 'The point is not that the *μεγαλόψυχος* would not retreat, but that if he had to do it, he would retreat as became a man of dignified courage,' were not intended to imply that *φεύγειν* here means to 'retreat in general.' I supposed that *φεύγειν* itself was denied of the *μεγαλόψυχος*. He would retreat in a dignified manner, and not fly off at a sprinting pace. This would have been clear if to the words quoted above had been added, 'a retreat, not an undignified headlong flight.'

2. In racing, as in walking, some movement of the arms is natural and is a help, though athletes may differ as to the manner of it. Certainly the *μεγαλόψυχος* would look ridiculous if he held his arms stiff in running.

But whether what was exactly meant by *παρασείειν τὰς χεῖρας* was an ungraceful movement or not, I venture to think Aristotle had not that in his mind, and that it is not the point of the passage. So far I disagree with what I spoke of as the ordinary view. The undignified thing I suppose intended is simply the racing away from the enemy; *παρασείσαντι* being put in not to express any ungraceful bodily movement, but a characteristic of the racer's action—'going at all speed'—'sprinting off to the rear.'

3. The use of *παρασείειν* without expressed accusative for *παρασείειν τὰς χεῖρας* should hardly cause difficulty. That runners were said *παρασείειν τὰς χεῖρας* appears from *De. Inc. An.* 705[a] 16, *διὸ καὶ οἱ πένταθλοι ἄλλονται πλεῖον ἔχοντες τοὺς ἁλτῆρας ἢ μὴ ἔχοντες, καὶ οἱ θέοντες θᾶττον θέουσι παρασείοντες τὰς χεῖρας· γίνεται γάρ τις ἀπέρεισις ἐν τῇ*

διατάσει πρὸς τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τοὺς καρπούς: and it is only in accordance with a common phenomenon of language that in a phrase like this, in constant use about racing, the accusative should be often, indeed usually, dropped, as there could be no doubt what was to be understood. Compare also the following passage from the *Problems* 881^{b}3—ὁμοίως δὲ τούτῳ καὶ ὁ πένταθλος πρὸς τοὺς ἁλτῆρας (sc. ἀπερείδεται) καὶ ὁ θέων παρασείων πρὸς τὰς χεῖρας. διὸ ὁ μὲν μεῖζον ἅλλεται ἔχων ἢ μὴ ἔχων ἁλτῆρας, ὁ δὲ θᾶττον θεῖ παρασείων ἢ μὴ παρασείων. If it be objected that this is no true instance because the object of παρασείων is inferred from πρὸς τὰς χεῖρας (sc. ἀπερείδεται), it may be replied that if παρασείων attributed to a runner did not of itself imply χεῖρας, such an expression as ὁ θέων παρασείων πρὸς τὰς χεῖρας ἀπερείδεται with χεῖρας inferred for παρασείων would be too harsh to be tolerable. Otherwise we might justify ὁ πένταθλος ἔχων πρὸς τοὺς ἁλτῆρας ἀπερείδεται, for here the inference could logically just as well be made that the object of ἔχων was ἁλτῆρας. But language does not allow of this, because ἔχων does not suggest its own object. In ὁ θέων παρασείων, the word παρασείων would naturally suggest its own object; and so in the context before it is each time without expressed object, while ἁλτῆρας is of course added each time to ἔχων.

But in any case the second clause seems to give sufficient evidence of itself—διὸ ὁ μὲν μεῖζον ἅλλεται ἔχων ἢ μὴ ἔχων ἁλτῆρας, ὁ δὲ θᾶττον θεῖ παρασείων ἢ μὴ παρασείων. For even if in the preceding clause χεῖρας had actually been supplied, the omission of it in this clause, where ἁλτῆρας intervenes and is the only accusative, would be intolerable if παρασείων could not itself be used absolutely as implying its own object. The contention in the case of both clauses is illustrated by the effect of substituting κινῶν for παρασείων throughout the passage. The result would be impossible, because κινῶν cannot be used absolutely for κινῶν τὰς χεῖρας. This confirms what I must think the otherwise certain interpretation of the passage quoted from Theophrastus (see below).

4. My explanation of φεύγειν παρασείσαντι may perhaps seem to involve a difficulty about the connexion with it of the next sentence οὐδ' ἀδικεῖν, τίνος γὰρ ἕνεκα πράξει αἰσχρὰ ᾧ γ' οὐδὲν μέγα; To say 'it would not at all befit the μεγαλόψυχος to sprint off in a retreat, nor to be unjust either, etc.,' may seem to make a harsh and illogical co-ordination of a single undesirable act of a limited kind with the whole field of injustice (ἀδικεῖν) and vice in general (cf. μὴ ἀγαθός).

But the difficulty is only apparent, and is removed by a consideration of the context.

A thought which Aristotle has before him in the passage, and to which he gives expression several times, is this:—

The μεγαλόψυχος is one who claims the highest distinction in all departments of conduct, and really deserves it — μεγάλων αὑτὸν ἀξιῶν ἄξιος ὤν (1123^{b}2). As (*α*) having such distinction, he must *a fortiori* (*β*) have the ordinary virtues. Thus (1123^{b}27-29) since he is μεγίστων ἄξιος he (*α*) has the highest excellence (ἄριστος ἂν εἴη), and therefore (*β*) must have ordinary excellence (δεῖ ἀγαθὸν εἶναι). Again (*α*) to the μεγαλόψυχος belongs τὸ ἐν ἑκάστῃ ἀρετῇ μέγα (1123^{b}30), and μεγαλοψυχία is κόσμος τις τῶν ἀρετῶν, μείζους γὰρ αὐτὰς ποιεῖ (1124^{a}1), and therefore *a fortiori* (*β*) the possession of the ἀρεταί is the *sine qua non* of μεγαλοψυχία and οὐ γίνεται ἄνευ ἐκείνων.

In the passage before us Aristotle is putting these two things (*α* and *β*) negatively, by denying (*α*) undignified action, and (*β*) unjust and unvirtuous action in general of the μεγαλόψυχος; and on the same ground as before, viz., the high pretensions and deserts of the μεγαλόψυχος. These claims are implied in οὐδαμῶς ἂν ἁρμόζοι, and γελοῖος, which corresponds to it below.

It will be well to quote the passage more fully:

> οὐδαμῶς τ' ἂν ἁρμόζοι μεγαλοψύχῳ φεύγειν παρασείσαντι, οὐδ' ἀδικεῖν, τίνος γὰρ ἕνεκα πράξει αἰσχρὰ ᾧ γ' οὐδὲν μέγα; καθ' ἕκαστα δ' ἐπισκοποῦντι πάμπαν γελοῖος φαίνοιτ' ἂν ὁ μεγαλόψυχος μὴ ἀγαθὸς ὤν.

The argument then would be as follows:

On the one hand (*α*) undignified

action such as *φεύγειν παρασείσαντι* is incompatible with the claims of a *μεγαλόψυχος*, as he aims at the *μέγα ἐν ἑκάστῃ ἀρετῇ*; and so also, on the other hand, (*β*) is an unvirtuous action (cf. *μὴ ἀγαθός*) such as injustice incompatible with his claims, for the disgraceful gain of injustice would be nothing to a man of such a high standard; and in general, absence of ordinary virtue (*μὴ ἀγαθὸς ὤν*) would be ridiculous for a man of his pretensions.

The sense of the passage may be paraphrased thus: (*α*) undignified action, such as flying off at a racing pace in a retreat, would not be at all consistent with the pretensions of a *μεγαλόψυχος*, nor (*β*) would such unvirtuous action as injustice either, for the disgraceful gain of it would be no temptation to one who thinks nothing of great importance. And generally any unvirtuous action would be ridiculous for a man with his standard.

5. As to the difficulty raised about the combination of the aorist with a present, it was not enough, I ventured to think, to object *simpliciter* to an interpretation that it treats the aorist like a present, considering the idiomatic uses, discussed in the grammars, of the aorist where our idiom requires the present, and particularly the use of the aorist participle for an action contemporaneous with that of the principal verb.

Questions of idiom can only be settled empirically, and it is sometimes at least advisable not to allow an interpretation to be decided by a doubtful theory of a grammatical formula. On the other hand, if it happens that we can fairly determine what the passage must mean, as I imagine we can in the present case, that helps to determine the idiom. For such a usage as that involved by the interpretation here proposed, it is not necessary to give a theory if one can find satisfactory parallels.

I venture to think we have the kind of parallel wanted in a familiar Homeric expression:

βῆ δὲ κατ' Οὐλύμποιο καρήνων ἰάξασα.

Here an attribute of the motion, always contemporaneous with it, is put in the aorist participle. A contemporaneous state with a verb in a historic tense is put normally with the present, the tense of the aorist being determined relatively to the time of the principal verb—*e.g.*, *Od.* *ρ* 524 *ἵκετο πήματα πάσχων*; *π* 424 *ἦ οὐκ οἶσθ' ὅτε δεῦρο πατὴρ τεὸς ἵκετο φεύγων*. But with the same principal verb and same tense of it we have the aorist participle in a passage which seems to give another good parallel to the one before us, *Od.* *κ* 117:

τὼ δὲ δύ' ἀίξαντε φυγῇ ἐπὶ νῆας ἵκεσθον.

To what grammatical category the usage should be referred may be a matter of dispute. *δακρύσασα δ' ἔπειτα προσηύδα θεῖον ἀοιδόν* (*Od.* *α* 336) suggested itself as a parallel. If the passage belongs to this class, a still better parallel is Soph. *Aj.* 207-8, *Αἴας θολερῷ κεῖται χειμῶνι νοσήσας* quoted by Kühner, § 386. 5. 2nd edn. (who, I observe, has also quoted the above passage *Od.* *α* 336), as an instance of the aorist used for the 'Eintreten einer Handlung.' Another instance with present of principal verb is Soph. *Phil.* 58-9.

The aorist participle, then, would be used of an action or state which, while contemporaneous with the action or state of the principal verb and connected with it, originated, with the latter action or state itself, at a time previous to that indicated by the actual tense of the principal verb.

For the justification of the idiom as apart from a theory of its explanation, one would rely rather on the Homeric passages, because they give instances of rapid motion and an attribute of it, like the Aristotelian text.[1]

[1] Since this article was in proof, a friend, who has looked into the matter for me, has found that the *Ethics* passage has already been associated with the Homeric *βῆ δὲ ἰάξασα* by Monro, *Homeric Grammar*, § 77, who says that the participle of the aorist is sometimes used to express exact coincidence with the action of the principal verb, and that this is especially found with verbs expressing the manner with which a thing is said or done. He gives Arist. *Eth.* IV. iii. 15 as an instance of the special usage. This view is akin to Madvig, *Gk. Synt.*, § 183, An. 2, where the participle is translated by 'indem' and 'dadurch dass.' Madvig, however, speaks only of the case of a momentary contemporaneous act, whereas the case before us is the momentary beginning of a continuous action.

It will be observed that the parallel passage from Theophrastus already quoted (*Classical Review*, xxiv. 5, p. 144) shows the same kind of combination of aorist participles with a present—*παρασείσαντα δὴ δεῖ τοὺς τοιούτους τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ διαράμενον ἀπαλλάττεσθαι ὅστις ἀπύρετος βούλεται εἶναι.* As indicated in my previous article, this passage is suspected. But it shows at least how the writer understood the Aristotelian passage, and that he thought the aorist natural, for he put his own addition in the aorist.

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NOTES ON PROPERTIUS.

I. xv. 33.

multa prius ! vasto labentur flumina ponto,
annus et inversas duxerit ante vices,
quam tua sub nostro mutetur pectore cura :
sis quodcumque voles, non aliena tamen.
† quamtibi † ne viles isti videantur ocelli
per quos saepe mihi credita perfidia est.

Palmer's *tam mihi* does not seem adequate: if this was what Propertius meant, why should he say *tam mihi ne viles* instead of *ne mihi tam viles*?

The following parallels strongly favour *quare*:

quare quid possit mea Cynthia, desine, Galle, quaerere.
I. v. 31.

quare, si pudor est, quam primum errata fatere.
I. ix. 33.

quare, dum licet, inter nos laetemur amantes.
I. xix. 25.

quare, si sapis, oblatas ne desere messes.
II. xvi. 7.

quare, ne tibi sit tanti Sidonia vestis.
II. xvi. 55.

quare ne tibi sit mirum me quaerere viles.
II. xxiv. 9.

The stages of corruption may be supposed to have been quare : quate : quam te : quam tibi. Actually the *i* of ꝑ in N is not a well-traced *i*.

I. xxi.

The form of epitaph, in which the buried man is represented as addressing the passer-by and charging him with a message to his kinsfolk in another place, is common enough in Greek: *e.g. Anth. Pal.* vii. 499, 500, 502. Usually the message is to tell that he is dead and where he is buried. But there is at least one example (by Agathias) of the dead man forbidding the passer-by to take home any word of his death:

μηδὲν ἀπαγγείλειας ἐς Ἀντιόχειαν, ὁδῖτα,
μὴ πάλιν οἰμώξῃ χεύματα Κασταλίης
κ.τ.λ.

Anth. Pal. vii. 589.

If vv. 5, 6 of this poem of Propertius are correctly read (as I believe)

sic te servato possint gaudere parentes
ne soror acta tuis sentiat e lacrimis,

it belongs to the second and the less usual type. Vv. 7, 8 explain what are the *acta* which are not to be communicated to the dead man's sister. But a correction is needed in v. 10. Read:

et quaecumque super dispersa invenerit ossa
montibus Etruscis, *ne*sciat esse mea

quaecumque NAF quicumque DV.

Just as he wishes his sister not to hear of his fate, so (if the piece is to be coherent) he must wish her *not* to know that any bones she may find scattered on the hills are his. Mr. Butler reads *nec sciat*, which seems to me slightly less probable: *nec* would be for *ne quidem*.

II. x. 23.

ut caput in magnis ubi non est tangere signis,
ponitur hac imos ante corona pedes,
sic nos nunc inopes laudis conscendere carmen
pauperibus sacris vilia tura damus.

23. carmen O culmen *s*.

To support the astonishing metaphor, *laudis conscendere carmen*, one could adduce

candida concessos ascendat Ciris honores
Ciris 205

and such a phrase as

hi qui nuper de numero gentium congregati nec praevalentes evangelicam perfectionem *conscendere*.
Cassian, *de inst. coenob.* VII. xvii. 5.

In the verse

denique stelligeri *conscendas culmina* caeli
Sedulius Scottus, III. ii. 9
(*P.L.M.Æ.* iii. p. 233),

we have not a testimonium to the reading *culmen* in Propertius, but to Prudentius *contra Symmachum* 458.

Modern commentators dismiss the couplet with a perfunctory phrase about bold metaphor, but allege nothing which might serve to attest the authenticity of this most questionable piece of Latinity. But the strangeness of the metaphor might pass for Propertian, and the construction of *inopes* with an infinitive clause attached might pass for Horatian, were it not for a more definite objection. Two passages of Valerius Maximus, an author whose prose is thoroughly coloured with the language of Augustan poets, show us *inopes laudis* standing for a compound adjective. Now just as it is inconceivable that any Latin author should juxtapose the words *serus* and *studiorum*, and not mean them to bear the sense of *ὀψιμαθής*, but leave the genitive *studiorum* to be governed by something else in the sentence; so, if *inopes laudis* forms an organic unit, we must make what we can of the *conscendere carmen* by itself. These are the passages in Valerius:

Probentur nunc cuiuslibet gloriae cupidi, qui ex desertis montibus myoparonumque piraticis rostris *laudis inopes* laureae ramulos festinabunda manu decerpserunt (II. viii. 5).

Et maior natu minori, et fortissimus imbelli, et gloria excellens *laudis inopi*, et quod super omnia est, nondum Asiatico iam Africanus (legatum se ire promisit) (V. v. 1).

These appear to fix *laudis inopes* as = *ἄδοξοι*. What, then, are we to do with *conscendere carmen?* I suggest that *cãmen* should be *camena*, and that *conscendere* was expanded metri gratia out of *conscende*, which was itself a corruption of *poscente*.

Sic nos nunc, inopes laudis, poscente Camena,
(So do I now, I the inglorious, since I must obey the Muses' command. . . .)

For *poscere* in such contexts, cf.

poscimur. Hor. *Od.* I. xxxii. 1.

non est mora libera nobis:
poscimur.
Ov. *Met.* II. 143.

Palilia poscor:
non poscor frustra si favet alma Ceres.
Fast. iv. 721.

In Propertius, IV. i. 74, poscis ab invita verba pigenda lyra, it is the poet who claims or commands a song; here, if I am right, it is the muse who summons the poet, just as Aeneas is he

quem numina poscunt (*Aen.* viii. 512).
Cf. ego poscor Olympo (*Ib.* 533).

II. xxxiv. 31, 2.

tu satius memorem Musis imitere Philetan
memorem Musis N Musis memorem FLDV
meliorem musis *s*.

Bergk and Schneidewin conjectured *tu Latiis Meropem*, and the word *Meropem* is commended by Meleager's *θετὸν Μερόπων ἀστόν* (*A.P.* vii. 418, cf. 419). But it is possible that a couple of Horatian idioms supply what is wanted:

meis contentus honestos
fascibus et sellis nollem *mihi sumere*.
Sat. I. vi. 97.

sume tibi deciens. *Sat.* II. iii. 237.

quis *sibi* res gestas Augusti scribere *sumit?*
Ep. I. iii. 7.

ingenium *sibi* quod vacuas *desumpsit* Athenas.
Ep. II. ii. 81.

and

ad Maecenatem *memori* si *mente* recurras.
Sat. II. vi. 31.

Read:

tu satius memori sumas tibi mente Philetan.
or sumes

III. ix. 43, 4.

inter Callimachi sat erit placuisse libellos
et cecinisse modis dure poeta tuis.

That Philetas is the poet indicated in the pentameter is certain; by what phrase Propertius here expressed his oft-praised model remains doubtful. Only palaeographical probability discredits Beroaldus' bold *Coe poeta;* Scriverius' *Dore poeta* has entered the text of many editions as a makeshift, but I have long lost any little faith that I ever had in it.

The following conjecture has, I think, a good deal of probability on two grounds, but is weak from lack of attestation to the particular form which it introduces.

One of the chief legendary heroes of Cos is Eurypylus (Homer, *Il.* II. 677), whom Propertius names in IV. v. 23:

Eurypylique placet Coae textura Minervae.
(Heinsius conjectured *Eurypylisque.*)

Now if a patronymic be formed from this racial hero as Horace formed one from Virgil's *Iarbas*

rupit *Iarbitam* Timagenis aemula lingua.

(see Jahn's note cited in Orelli-Baiter-Mewes on Hor. *Ep.* I. xix. 15) as a poetical equivalent for *Cous* we might have *Eurypylites* or *Eurypylita*.

Once granted the possibility of the form, I think it will be allowed that

et cecinisse modis, *Eurypylita*, tuis

satisfies the other conditions of probability: the corruption of *Euripileta* or *Euripilita* into *dure poeta* is easy to suppose in such a context.

III. vi. 9.

si cã / sicut eam } incomptis vidisti fiere capillis
siccine eam *vulg.*

The roughness of the elision makes the usual reading suspicious, and palaeographically it does not commend itself as accounting for the MS. tradition.

We ought to restore here an Ovidian idiom:

sic erit: haeserunt tenues in corde sagittae.
Am. I. ii. 7.

sic erit: ingenio prostitit illa meo.
Ib. III. xii. 8.

MS. authority favours *sic erat* in both these places, and Burmann defended it against Heinsius. Whichever tense stands, the meaning differs little from a *hoc illud*, except for the interrogative turn.

sic erat? incomptis, etc.
('Was this so? Did you really see?' etc.)

And so, pretty surely, we must read one or other in I. viii. 27:

sic erat. hic iurata manet! rumpantur iniqui!

III. vii. 49.

non tulit haec Paetus, stridorem audire procellae
et duro teneras laedere fune manus,
sed chio { thalamo / calamo / chalamo } aut { orythia / orytia / oronthea / oryrrhia } terebintho
et fultum pluma versicolore caput.

Such is the sum of variants for this line, which, in spite of Rothstein's explanations, still leaves me uneasy about its Latinity. Can one really supply a positive verb for the second couplet out of the *non tulit* of the first? *Amabat* is to be understood, says Rothstein; I remark that the MSS. offer us something very like *amavit* in the *amoaut*, or something very like *adamavit* (he 'hankered after'—a still more suitable sense) in the *alamoaut*.

What other circumstances of luxury did Paetus hanker after besides the feather-stuffed cushions? Inlaid wood in his bedroom, say the commentators. But is not this unexampled? Is there any evidence for inlays and veneers of thya, citrus, etc., employed in a bedroom?

Briefly, I suggest that for *sedchiothalamoaut* we should read *sed cyathos adamavit*.

What of the remaining words? *Terebintho* is in no way suspect: both the timber and the perfumed oil were a familiar part of the paraphernalia of luxury. Pliny gives a vast deal of information about the tree and its uses. Amongst which he mentions that a certain Thericles was celebrated for making *calices* out of terebinth wood (xvi. 205), and that wine *e terebintho* (xiv. 112) was one of the innumerable aromatic decoctions, which (like modern liqueurs), originally invented for a medicinal purpose, became mere refinements of gulosity. The terebinth, then, may denote either the material of the *cyathi*, or the flavouring of their contents.

Remains the adjective. The terebinth grows in Macedonia; and, says Rothstein, the epithet, Oricia, means that it is shipped from Oricum. Virgil (*Aen.* x. 136) in a simile derived from *intarsia* work has the lines:

vel quale per artem
inclusum buxo aut Oricia terebintho
lucet ebur.

One passage has affected the other—that is certain. Not only the phrase *Oricia terebintho* in the clausula, but the medial hiatus as well make it certain. But has Virgil plagiarised? or Propertius? There is a third hypothesis, which is, that the familiar Virgilian verse has debauched the tradition of the Propertian. One *deterior* actually gives *Orontea*. Why not *Orontea*? If Macedonian terebinth shipped from Epirus can be called *Oricia*, why should not

Syrian terebinth shipped from Antioch be called *Orontea*?

Paetus was soft, and could not stand hardships and perils of the sea, but he was also luxurious, and hankered after delicacies and refinements. It was to get money for these that he took to the sea. The early editors aptly entitle the piece, *de Morte Paeti ob avaritiam.*

> sed cyathos adamavit Orontea terebintho
> et fultum pluma versicolore caput.

IV. v. 21.

> si te eoa { dororantum / dorozantum / derorantum } iuvat aurea ripa
> et quae sub Tyria concha superbit aqua.

If anything is to be got from inference towards the mending of these rags, it is (1) that a river's name is concealed in the nonsense-word, which should agree with *ripa;* (2) that probably some gem was named in the hexameter, to which the Tyrian shell of the pentameter corresponds; (3) that some Eastern name would be likely.

Suppose a misplacing of three letters in the verse, viz. the *tee*, and the rudiments of an emendation at once begin to appear: For *siteeoadorozatum*, read *si oad orotee*—i.e., *si quid Oronteae . . . ripae.* Here is at least a framework. The adjective is supported by I. ii. 3:

> aut quid Orontea crines perfundere murra;

and perhaps by the reading just proposed in III. vii. 48; it pairs neatly enough with Tyria.

What is to be filled in? Now there is nothing *prima facie* suspicious about the words *iuvat aurea.*

> si quid Oronteae . . . iuvat aurea ripae.

(*ripa* for *ripe* I take to be a mistaken assimilation to *aurea.*)

If a gem is named, I suggest that it was the *xanthus.*

The *xanthus* (Pliny, *N.H.* xxxvii. 168-9) is a variety of the bloodstone: est et alia eiusdem generis quae vocatur menui ab Indis, xanthos appellata a Graecis, e fulvo candicans. It comes from Arabia, so that Antioch (*Orontea ripa*) would be as natural a place of export for it as for the perfumes of Arabia (*Orontea murra*, I. ii. 3). Theophrast. *Lapid.* § 37 (quoted by Sillig on Pliny, *loc. cit.*): ἄλλη δὲ (αἱματῖτις) ἡ καλουμένη ξανθή, οὐ ξανθὴ μέν τὴν χρόαν ἔκλευκος δὲ μᾶλλον ὃ καλοῦσι χρῶμα οἱ Δωριεῖς ξανθόν.

It is not certain that this auburn-whitish gem could be called *aurea;* nor certain whether, if it be the right word here, Propertius Latinised it as *xanthus* feminine, or *xanthe.* In neither case is it a very long step, palaeographically, from *zantū.* The Mentelianus reads *derorantem*, the Groninganus *doroxanthum*, according to Hertzberg. But if Propertius can describe the chrysolith as *flavo lumine*, it seems not unreasonable to think that he might call a xanthus *aurea.*

IV. xi. 29.

> Sisyphe, mole vaces; taceant Ixionis orbes;
> fallax tantaleo corripiare liquor.

No emendations hitherto attempted of this passage deserve mention except *tantaleus*, which Heinsius brought in from the codex Groninganus, and Auratus' *corripere ore*, detestable rhythmically and condemned by the mood of *vaces* and *taceant.* It will hardly be disputed that a word for 'throat' or 'lips' seems to be demanded by the context, and that the most obvious word would be some case of the stem *fauc-.* Can the palaeographical probability be brought to meet the contextual probability?

Mr. Housman's restoration of *saucius* for *gallicus* in II. xiii. 48 furnishes another instance of the misreading of *u* into *ll.* Now this is a typical Irish corruption, that is to say, a typically likely corruption to arise in the copying of the text out of an Irish codex. The Irish *ll*, written in one movement of the pen, is hardly distinguishable from a slightly overelongated *u.* Add to this another common confusion of the same script, viz. *ce* or *ci* for *a*, and you have *fauce* converted into *falla.* I take it, then, that *fallax tantaleo* should read *fauce a tantalea* or *fauci tantaleae*: with a preference for the former, since the dative seems to be unexampled in this noun.

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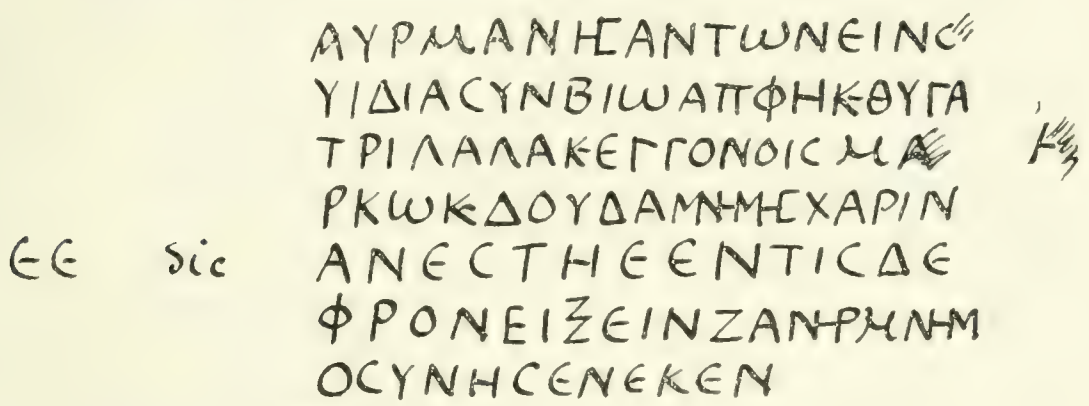
THE PRONUNCIATION OF UNMETRICAL GREEK VERSE.

It is characteristic of non-literary Greek verse, especially in metrical epitaphs, that it constantly violates metrical rules. Long syllables occur in place of short, short in place of long, and syllables are omitted or added at the whim of the composer. This is especially true of the Greek inscriptions of the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire. In some cases those inscriptions must be scanned half by accent and half by quantity;[1] in most cases they baffle scansion on any principle.

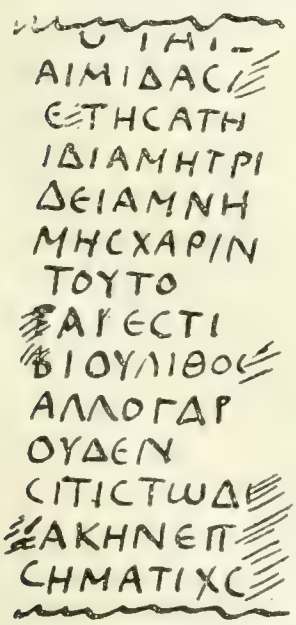
An inscription found by Sir W. M. Ramsay and me at Kerpishli, on the border of Lycaonia and Galatia, in 1910, throws unique light on the local pronunciation of unmetrical verse. It runs as follows:



(1) Αὐρ(ήλιος) Μάνης Ἀντωνείνου ἰδίᾳ συνβίῳ Ἀπφῃ κὲ θυγατρὶ Λάλα κὲ ἐγγόνοις Μάρκῳ κὲ Δούδᾳ μνήμης χάριν ἀνέστησεν· τίς δὲ φρονεῖ ξεινζ ἀνὴρ μνημοσύνης ἕνεκεν

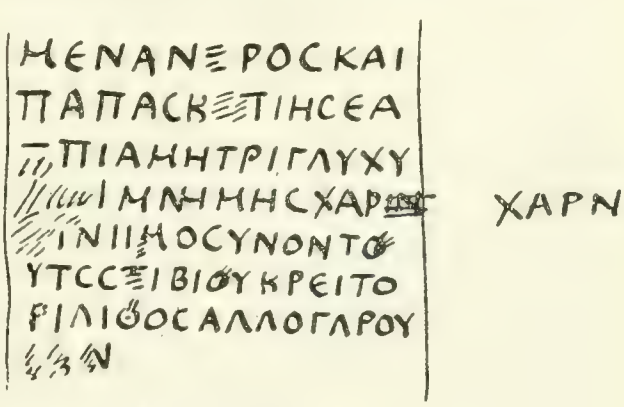
The letters ΞΕΙΝΖΑΝΡ are clearly cut and certain.

The concluding formula in this inscription is paralleled by others from the same district. In 1908 I copied the following inscription at Tchimen, near Kandil, a few hours south of Kerpishli:



(2) . . . [ὁκ]αὶ Μίδας [ἀν ἑστησα τῇ ἰδίᾳ μητρὶ Δείᾳ μνήμης χάριν τοῦτο γὰρ ἐστὶ βίου λίθος ἄλλο γὰρ οὐδέν· εἴ τις τῷδ[ε κ]ακὴν ἐπ[ὶ σήματι χ[ε [ἶρα προσοίσει] κ.τ.λ.

The stone carrying this inscription was broken at top and bottom. The words εἴ τις, etc., must have been followed by the usual curse, *ὀρφανὰ τέκνα λίποιτο χηρὸν βίον οἶκον ἔρημον*. With the help of this inscription I was able in 1910 to make more complete copies of two difficult inscriptions of Kozanli (east of Kerpishli), published by Mr. Anderson in *J.H.S.* 1899, pp. 120, 121 (Nos. 119 and 123). The former of these should read:

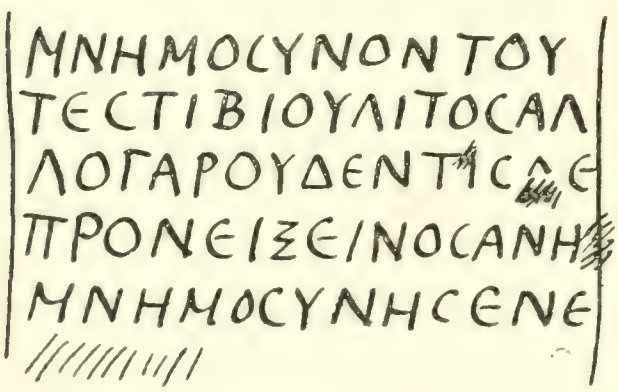


(3) Μέναν[δ]ρος καὶ παπᾶς β' [ἐ]πίησε Ἀ-π]πίᾳ μητρὶ γλυχυτάτῃ] μνήμης χάριν μ]νημόσυνον τοῦτ' [ἐ]στὶ βίου κρειτορ]ι λίθος, ἄλλο γὰρ οὐδέ]ν

[1] See Fraser in Ramsay's *Studies in the Eastern Rom. Provinces.*

I could find no trace of a letter after N in line 8. The name Βατρηος in Mr. Anderson's transcription must be given up: the sixth letter from the end can only be π, and the second last letter is ε: the horizontal bar is clearly engraved. Επίησε, like the commoner ἐπύησε, is an orthographic variety of ἐποίησε. I have placed the first letter of line 7 in square brackets, but it is practically certain. The stone is much worn, and the circular part of the letter was cut very shallow: but in certain lights it appears clearly.

A variation of the same formula occurs in Mr. Anderson's No. 123 (*loc. cit.*). I recopied this text, adding a line. My copy exactly agrees with Mr. Anderson's in the first six lines: the next six lines should read:



(4) *μνημόσυνον τοῦ-*
τ' ἐστὶ βίου λίτος ἄλ-
λο γὰρ οὐδέν· τίς [*δ*]*ὲ*
προνεῖ ξεῖνος ἀνὴ[*ρ*
μνημοσύνης ἔνε-
[*κεν.*]

Λιτος is put for λιθος: προνεῖ for φρονεῖ. The three latter inscriptions ring changes on what must have been a well-known formula in this district; it is also attested elsewhere.

(2) *τοῦτο γὰρ ἐστὶ βίου λίθος, ἄλλο γὰρ οὐδέν.*

(3) *μνημόσυνον τοῦτ' ἐστὶ βίου κρείτορι λίθος, ἄλλο γὰρ οὐδέν.*

(4) *μνημόσυνον τοῦτ' ἐστὶ βίου λίτος, ἄλλο γὰρ οὐδέν.*

These expressions seem to be an unintelligent confusion of the idea, 'this monument is a stone and nothing more,' with that expressed in the common formula *ὁ βίος ταῦτα*. I cannot explain *κρείτορι* in No. 3.

The formula *τίς δὲ* (*φ*)*ρονεῖ* (or *τίς δ' ἐφρόνει*?) *ξεῖνος ἀνήρ*, etc., in No. 4 appears alone as the concluding formula in No. 1. The text of No. 1, which was copied by Sir W. M. Ramsay and myself in company, is certain throughout. The orthography of *ξεινζ* has unusual interest in its bearing on the local pronunciation of Greek verse. The concluding words of No. 1 are identical with those of No. 4. The pentameter in the latter inscription does not scan, and similar imperfect metres are common in Asia Minor. But I have observed no other instance in which the orthography accommodates itself to the metre. In No. 4 *ξένος* fills the space assigned to one short syllable, and the reading *ξεινζ* proves beyond doubt that in pronunciation the word was slurred and contracted to a single short syllable. The use of the Ionic form does not necessarily imply that the first syllable in *ξεῖν*(*ος*) was long: *ει* is constantly used as an equivalent for short *ι* in Anatolian inscriptions. The final syllable *-ος* did not entirely disappear in pronunciation, but was softened to *ζ*. The line accordingly scans:

τῑ̄ς δε̆ φρο̆| *νεῑ̄ ζεῖνζ ᾰ̆*| *νῆρ* | *μνῑ̄μο̆σύ*| *νης*
ε̆νε̆| *κεν.*

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NOTES

DEM. *CHERS.*, p. 107, §§ 69, 70.

The text (Oxford, Bekker, Sandys, etc.) reads as follows:

ὅστις δ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ βελτίστου πολλὰ τοῖς ὑμετέροις ἐναντιοῦται βουλήμασιν, καὶ μηδὲν λέγει πρὸς χάριν, ἀλλὰ τὸ βέλτιστον ἀεί, καὶ τὴν τοιαύτην πολιτείαν προαιρεῖται ἐν ᾗ πλειόνων ἡ τύχη κυρία γίγνεται ἢ οἱ λογισμοί, τούτων δ' ἀμφοτέρων ἑαυτὸν ὑπεύθυνον ὑμῖν παρέχει, οὗτός ἐστ' ἀνδρεῖος, καὶ χρήσιμός γε πολίτης ὁ τοιοῦτός ἐστιν, . . .

The objection to this text is:

How can a statesman, who 'deliberately prefers a policy in which Fortune has more control than forethought and calculation,' be praised by Demosthenes, of all statesmen, and called *χρήσιμος πολίτης*?

The passage may be easily amended by reading: *ἀλλὰ τὸ β. ἀεὶ κἀν (καὶ ἐν) τῇ τοιαύτῃ πολιτείᾳ . . . ἐν ᾗ.*

'But always prefers the best course even in a state in which Fortune,' etc.

ἡ τοιαύτη πολιτεία, referring to Athens, is, in fact, rather an apt description. Cf. *Phil.* I. § 12, p. 43—*εἴ τι πάθοι καὶ τὰ τῆς τύχης ἡμῖν, ἥπερ ἀεὶ βέλτιον ἢ ἡμεῖς ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιμελούμεθα*; cf. also the opening of *Olynthiac* II.

The emendation involves only the substitution of *ν* for *ι*, and *vice versa*, a fairly frequent source of corruption in MSS. Cf. *De Halon.*, § 20, where three MSS. read *ξενίαι*, one *ξενία*, the rest *ξενίαν*; and *Olynth.* III. 34, where there are three variants — *μικρῶν*, *μικρόν*, *μικρῷ*.

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AESCHYLUS, *AGAMEMNON* 178-180 (Wecklein).

οὐδ' ὅστις πάροιθεν ἦν μέγας
παμμάχῳ θράσει βρύων
οὐδὲν †λέξαι πρὶν ὤν.

The popular amendments of the last line are *οὐδὲ λέξεται* (Ahrens), 'will not even be spoken of as once having been,' and *οὐδ' ἐλέγξεται* (Margoliouth), 'will not even be proved to have once existed.' But as regards the first, though it is somewhat tame, it is not easy to see why it should have been corrupted into nonsense; and as regards the second, not only is 'not even' out of place (for what more could be wanted than a proof?), but I believe it ought to mean 'will not even be *convicted* of having once existed,' as if it were a crime, which cannot be intended. Both also sacrifice *οὐδέν*, which follows very well on *οὐδέ* above. Might we not rather read *οὐδὲν ἕλξεται*, translating 'not even he who was so great of old, swelling with confidence to fight all comers, *will weigh at all* as earlier having been'? This carries on the metaphor of *πάντ' ἐπισταθμώμενος* ('putting all to the *scale*') and *τὸ μάταν φροντίδος ἄχθος* just above. The poet conceives himself as testing all claimants to divine sovereignty by weighing them against the known facts of human life and destiny; and since the traditional polytheism must be rejected as void of weight, being inadequate to meet the facts, he can conceive of nothing else to make up the balance except the supreme moral government of Zeus. The middle voice of *ἕλκω* occurs in Pindar, *Pyth.* II. 90 *στάθμας δέ τινος ἑλκόμενοι περισσᾶς*, 'tugging as it were at an uneven scale (the envious only inflict a *ἕλκος* on themselves).'

If this will pass, it throws some light on another passage, Soph. *Oed. Col.* 134-137:

τὰ δὲ νῦν τιν' ἥκειν
λόγος οὐδὲν ἄζονθ', ὃν ἐγὼ λεύσσων
περὶ πᾶν οὔπω δύναμαι τέμενος
γνῶναι ποῦ μοί ποτε ναίει.

There is no other instance of the active form *ἄζω* for *ἄζομαι*, and Triclinius altered it to *ἄγονθ'*. The reader will observe that this slight change converts the line into an anapaestic dimeter, and that the next is a verse of the same measure, while the next is a paroemiac verse, such as usually closes a system of anapaests. In the antistrophe the anapaests are already perfect, the word corresponding with *ἄζονθ'* being *ἔχεις*. Thus the metre supports Triclinius in expelling the unparalleled *ἄζοντα*. But what does *οὐδὲν ἄγοντα* mean? I would compare *ἄγειν μνᾶν*, 'to weigh a mina,' and translate 'but now there is a report that some *worthless fellow* (lit. of no weight—i.e., the blind beggar Oedipus) has come, whom I by looking round the whole precinct cannot yet discover, wherever he may be hiding from me.' Sir R. Jebb, who does not recognise the verses as anapaests, but divides them otherwise, retains *ἄζονθ'*, and then, in order to produce correspondence, reads *οἴσεις* for *ἔχεις* in the antistrophe, *οἴσεις* being superscribed to *ἔχεις* in the Laurentian MS. My suggestion is that this makes two errors in the text instead of one.

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REVIEWS

THE BACCHANTS OF EURIPIDES AND OTHER ESSAYS.

The Bacchants of Euripides and Other Essays. By A. W. VERRALL, Litt.D., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Cambridge: At the University Press. 1910.

The Riddle of the Bacchae: the Last Stage of Euripides' Religious Views. By GILBERT NORWOOD, M.A., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, Assistant Lecturer in Classics in the University of Manchester. Manchester: At the University Press. 1908.

THE appearance of a new book by Dr. Verrall must always be an event of great interest, but hardly anything he could have given us would have been more welcome than his interpretation of the *Bacchae*: the difficulties in the construction and general intention of the play have always been recognised, and had recently been greatly emphasised in Professor Norwood's Essay. It was generally expected that Dr. Verrall would apply to the *Bacchae* the principles of criticism with which we have become familiar in his previous work on Euripides, and it was no surprise to find that he follows in the main the lines laid down by Professor Norwood, though he has greatly strengthened the argument of the earlier work, partly by the exclusion of presuppositions to the action, partly by an interpretation of the play as a whole at once more general and more concise. To deal adequately with Dr. Verrall's book would need a careful examination by a Euripidean specialist, but it may be worth while that a layman should attempt to write the impression which the new theory makes upon him in regard both to its intrinsic probability and its effect on the understanding of the play. As Professor Norwood's work has not hitherto been criticised in the *Classical Review*, I shall include some consideration of its main contentions.

Both essays are primarily an attack on what may be taken to be the traditional view of the play, that it was written to show the divine power of Dionysus and the futility of human opposition, and that, whether it be regarded as a 'recantation' by Euripides at the end of his life or a claim for the 'orgiastic' ritual of Bacchus as against the staider cults of the orthodox Hellenic religion, it stands apart from the general run of Euripides' plays and represents him at least in a different mood. Such a view of the play Dr. Verrall admits to be possible (p. 17), and he thinks that the 'holiday mob' which saw the play first produced, probably interpreted—and were meant to interpret—it in this sense. But for the band of true Euripideans, with whom Dr. Verrall's previous work has already familiarised us, the play had a meaning very different from its 'face-value.' For these it was not a support of the Dionysiac religion, but a very damaging onslaught upon it: though the chorus, especially in the Hymn to Holiness (370 ff.), suggest the moral value of the more sober side of 'orgiastic' separation, yet the main action of the play is designed to show not only the immorality and cruelty of the Dionysus legend, but the evil effects of the Bacchic enthusiasm. Dionysus is not the suffering but ultimately victorious hero, comparable, as Professor Murray's translation not infrequently hints, to the figure of Christ, but a not overscrupulous fanatic; Pentheus is no longer the overbearing tyrant, but the hero falling into misfortune, having a ἁμαρτία indeed in his rashness and imperiousness, but suffering a fate entirely beyond his deserts. Dr. Verrall takes as typical of the traditional interpretation Professor Murray's translation, and shows, to my mind effectively, how, in order to support it, it has been necessary for him in many places to 'heighten' the language, and lift it into a plane of mysticism and exaltation which a straightforward interpretation of the text will not bear.

To establish the new view it is necessary to prove two main points, (1) that the Dionysus of the play is not

god but man; (2) that the miracles reported are not intended to be believed. We may consider the two points separately. If Dionysus is not the god, who is he? At this point Professor Norwood and Dr. Verrall part company. The former believes the Dionysus of the play to be the son of Semele and some unknown man. The child born at the time of Semele's death was in some way translated to Asia, and there, out of his own emotional musings and his instruction in Eastern philosophy, conceived a new religion of nature: gradually he came to believe in himself, firstly as the hierophant of the new god of his creation, Dionysus, and then, inspired by the legendary account of his birth which has reached him from Thebes, as himself divine. He gathers converts around him in Asia, and crossing over to Europe determines to induce his native city to accept his new belief. Before the play begins, we are to assume, he has had a momentous interview with Teiresias, and by a singular series of arguments, partly theological, partly practical, has won him over to his side (pp. 87-100). This curiously euhemeristic view of the situation, though it would in some respects give a stronger dramatic point to the play than Dr. Verrall's explanation, cannot, I think, for a moment be sustained. There is, as far as I know, nothing to prove that such a line of thought was possible for Euripides or his contemporaries (it certainly strikes one as wholly modern), and Dr. Verrall has sufficiently shown (p. 56, note) that the pre-supposition of such surprising events ἔξω τοῦ δράματος is dramatically impossible: the play could not have been intelligible without a 'programme.' Dr. Verrall's own view is not open to these objections: he sees in 'Dionysus' a perfectly human figure, a Lydian stranger, an 'adept,' a fanatic who has learnt the art of hypnotism, and being regarded as divine by his Lydian followers, is determined, without scruple as to means, to force his claims on Hellas. As to the influence of such an interpretation on the general effect of the play I will attempt to say something later: we must ask now whether it is a possible interpretation—in other words, whether we can account for the events of the play, acted and narrated, on the assumption that Dionysus is a man. This leads at once to the second question of the miracles.

It is not possible to discuss in full the problems which centre round the minor miracles narrated in the speeches of the two messengers, and probably both writers would agree that the new theory must stand or fall on the decision reached with regard, firstly to the 'palace miracle,' as explained in both works, and secondly, to the 'hypnotism' of Pentheus by Dionysus when he assumes the Bacchic dress, as now interpreted by Dr. Verrall. The contention about the 'palace miracle' is briefly this: in the chorus following Dionysus' arrest and despatch within the palace there is reference to an 'earthquake' (585) and the falling of pillars (591), and when Dionysus subsequently comes out he first assumes (605) that the chorus have perceived the 'earthquake,' and later (632) states that the god had 'rent the δώματα to the ground.' Pentheus, when he subsequently appears, makes no reference whatever to these events, nor is there any mention or implication of them in the rest of the play. Now, it is contended, and surely rightly, that it would have been impossible to represent such occurrences on the Attic stage; nor, say Professor Norwood and Dr. Verrall, could the audience be required to imagine them. But, they contend, Euripides did not intend that they should: he never wished the audience to believe in the earthquake or the destruction of the palace, for they never occurred; they were only an hallucination produced hypnotically in the minds of the chorus by the 'mesmeric' power of the 'adept.' Now granting that it is not too much to ask even of an audience of initiated critics that they should thus understand the situation—and to my mind it is a considerably heavier demand than the imaginary destruction of the palace—I still think that a great deal more has been made of the whole incident than is warranted by the text. I see no indication that a total destruction of the palace is intended, but many that it is not. Dionysus is taken into the stables (509) and

there has his struggle with Pentheus: the chorus hears a noise and supposes that 'perhaps the god *will* shake Pentheus' house to a fall' (587): one member of the chorus asks the rest whether they saw pillars falling (591), Dionysus says, in a phrase of which Dr. Verrall makes much, *ἤσθησθ', ὡς ἔοικε, Βακχίου διατινάξαντος κ.τ.λ.* (605), and finds it necessary to narrate to the chorus (632) that the god has 'rent' *δώματα* (with no article) *χαμᾶξε*. Now all this seems to me a clear proof not of any hypnotism of the chorus, but that Euripides, intending a real miracle, yet realising the limitations of stage management, purposely placed it in a remote part of the palace, whose destruction would not affect the main building visible to the audience. Dr. Verrall lays much stress on the fact that all subsequent speakers assume the palace to be intact: he has omitted to notice that 'Dionysus' does so himself immediately after he narrates its destruction (*ἥσυχος δ' ἐκβὰς ἐγὼ δωμάτων*): surely, even if we accept his most ingenious interpretation of *συντεθράνωται δ' ἅπαν* (633) (which to my mind would produce a parenthesis so jerky as to border on a joke), this sudden restoration would be a considerable strain even on a hypnotised chorus. I believe the 'palace miracle' is a miracle, but on a smaller scale than is generally supposed, and that the difficulty of stage representation was in this way purposely avoided.

The second crisis does not present such serious difficulties. Pentheus, who has entered the palace to discuss his visit to the Bacchanals with Dionysus, returns clad as a Bacchant, silly and foolish, and with all the symptoms of intoxication (912). On the ordinary view this result is taken to be due to the exercise of the influence of the god. Dr. Verrall, who throughout this discussion *assumes* the humanity of 'Dionysus,' objects firstly, that if this is the result of hypnotism, the process should have been represented on the stage, as it is in Professor Murray's translation of the preceding dialogue, but not, as I think Dr. Verrall has conclusively shown, in the text of Euripides; secondly, that if the effect is due to hypnotic influence alone, there is no reason for the indications of intoxication. He therefore supposes that the 'adept' induces Pentheus to drink a truce with him and drugs his cup. Such a supposition seems to me unnatural and unnecessary. The process of 'hypnotism' leading up to Pentheus' degraded condition of mind is not represented on the stage, because it would be *μιαρόν*: Euripides makes it take place 'within' in pursuance of the normal principles of restraint in Greek drama. Nor, if Dionysus is divine, is there the least difficulty in accounting for the tremendous effect of the exercise of his influence, and if the result resembles that of intoxication, is that strange when the power at work is that of the god of wine? Dr. Verrall's argument is considerably weakened here, because he has not, for critical purposes, viewed the passage in the light of the 'traditional' interpretation, when it presents no difficulties.[1]

In the two crucial passages then I feel that Professor Norwood and Dr. Verrall have failed to prove the purely human origin of the 'miraculous' occurrences: and with the reinstating of the miracles must come the reassumption of the divine character of Dionysus. Are we then to return to the 'traditional' view of the play? I think not, for it seems to me that Dr. Verrall's criticism has put out of court for ever the idea that the *Bacchae* represents a whole-hearted support of the Dionysiac worship, and the belief in Dionysus as the suffering hero in the play. How then can we understand it? To my mind the *Bacchae* is more truly a 'problem' play than any other of

[1] In two later passages in the play Dr. Verrall sees allusions to the drugging of Pentheus: (1) In 913 he would return to the MS. text *σπένδοντά τ' ἀσπούδαστα*; but apart from the strangeness of the expression, it seems to me impossible that Euripides could have used a phrase so near to the obvious oxymoron *σπεύδοντα ἀσπούδαστα* without producing almost the effect of a bad pun. (2) In 1157 he sees in the much-vexed *νάρθηκά τε, πιστὸν Ἄιδαν, ἔλαβεν εὔθυρσον* a *double entente*, *νάρθηκα* being used to suggest the libation cup as well as the wand, *πιστὸν* to act as the verbal adjective from *πίνειν* as well as in its more ordinary sense. The idea is brilliant, but surely far too subtle to be caught even by the initiated—and that not in dialogue, but in the course of a choric song.

Euripides, in that, although he approaches his subject in a sceptical spirit, he does not, as in other cases, force his sceptical conclusions on his audience. He seems to me to say practically this: 'Here is the ancient legend as it must have happened, if it be true, and here are the results of the Bacchic enthusiasm; in both you will see much that is brutal, cruel, and even bestial: yet there is a truly great religious element in this unquestioning exaltation of spirit, even as there are fine traits in the character of the Dionysus of the legend. I present this to you, and you must draw your conclusion.' What that conclusion was in his own mind could not be better expressed than in Professor Norwood's chapter (ii) on the general attitude of Euripides, in which he argues that he believed in religion, but disbelieved the popular mythology. And surely on this view we have a far stronger argument, a far more Euripidean treatment, than in Dr. Verrall's supposition of the human 'adept': for Euripides is in fact attacking the god himself, as represented in legend, and not a mere human priest. It is a greater thing to show the immorality of a dogmatic belief than the immorality of its credited exponents.

I have not left myself space to speak of the other essays in Dr. Verrall's book, which contain one and all matter of great interest. One of them, 'The Meeting of Idomeneus,' is an ingenious application of Dr. Verrall's principles of dissection to the Homeric problem; another, 'Christ before Herod,' an extension of the method beyond its ordinary scope. Perhaps the most interesting essay to most classical readers will be the examination of the use of rhyme in Greek Tragedy in 'Rhyme and Reason'; it opens up quite new possibilities of understanding many passages. I need not add that the whole book is written in that arresting manner, pungent and brilliant, yet firm in touch, which makes Dr. Verrall's works almost unique in the criticism of the Classics. Every page is suggestive, and the reader puts the book down with a consciousness of a great many new problems to think about, and a feeling that he must return to the reading of Greek with many fresh interests.

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WELTENMANTEL UND HIMMELSZELT.

Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt. By ROBERT EISLER. 2 vols. 4to. Pp. xxxii+811. illustrations. Munich: Oskar Beck. 1910. M. 40.

Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt is the title of a very learned and noteworthy investigation of the ideas of the ancient civilised world about the shape of the universe. The author, Herr Robert Eisler, has ranged over a very wide field, from the kingdoms of Sumer and Accad to the Holy Roman Empire and from the Avesta to the Zohar. No single reviewer can venture to sit in judgment upon him over this extended area, and indeed the first word should in justice be one of unqualified praise. Even if specialists decline on some points to ratify his conclusions in their own province, Herr Eisler will still deserve our gratitude in having introduced us to the many problems discussed in the book which are brought together there in one connexion.

We begin with the Coronation Robe of the Emperor Henry II. (1014), now preserved at Bamberg, a gorgeous blue cloak with the Zodiac and other heavenly bodies embroidered upon it. This Robe is shown to be the medieval equivalent of the *toga picta* of Constantius Gallus and other Roman Emperors (p. 38), which in its turn is derived from the Robe worn by the victorious Roman general at a Triumph, itself the mystic dress of the ancient Kings (p. 43), whose clothing was after the fashion of the God of Heaven Himself (p. 45).

In chap. ii. it is shown that the proper clothing of God or Goddess is the heavens, starry or cloudy. 'The Heavens are the work of Thy hands—

as a vesture shalt Thou change them,' quotes Herr Eisler on p. 88, and goes on to remark: 'Besonders die Schlussworte weisen deutlich auf das bekannte Ritual der regelmässig erneuerten Götterkleider hin.' I should have thought that the change of seasons, not to speak of changes of weather, might have suggested the words, quite apart from the fact that the Psalmist definitely refers to the creation of the heavens in the beginning. It is a pity that Herr Eisler is so determined to press everything into the service of his thesis.

In chap. iii. we come to the weaving of the Cosmic Web. It is the Web of Penelope. Penelope, also known as St. Agatha, patroness of Sicily, is said to be Persephone. Her lord, who finally succeeds in obtaining possession of her, is Odysseus, or rather Olysseus the Destroyer, who is also Plutus (p. 136). It is all connected with the *ἱερὸς γάμος* of Heaven and Earth, to prepare for which the Web is made by the woman in the story of Penelope-Persephone, but by the man in the myth of the marriage of Zeus and Chthonie in Pherecydes (p. 129). Another form of the same rite, according to Herr Eisler, is to be seen in the crowning or covering of the sacred Mithra-tree (*δένδρου μίτρωσις*). 'Wie Sandan, Zoganes, Kottys-Attis, Sandra-Kottos and *Kuanna*[1]-Astrochiton ist also auch Mithras nichts anders als der selbständig adorierte, hieratisch-symbolische, weltbedeutende Schmuck (*κάδμος-κόσμος*) des heiligen Baumes' (p. 181).

In chap. iv. we come to a discussion of the Tent of Heaven, which takes up the greater part of the second volume (pp. 321-632). Herr Eisler starts with the fragments of Pherecydes' Cosmogony. By an ingenious emendation (p. 351) he introduces Hera into the text, regarding Chthonie as the mystical name of Hera in connexion with the holy marriage of the Heaven and Earth. According to Eisler (p. 599 *f.*) the marriage of Zeus and Chthonie takes place by the heaven-God Zeus throwing the star-embroidered mantle (*φᾶρος*) over the winged tree which the earth-Goddess Chthonie has caused to spring out of the ground. This is the divine marriage-tent, which signified the universe in which heaven and earth move and have their being. The divine marriage is the pattern of all other marriage ceremonies, and so it comes to pass that the *Himmelszelt* survives in the canopy under which still Jewish brides and bridegrooms are united.

Eternal beside Zeus and Chthonie there was also Chronos, a personage who reappears in the mysteries of Mithra. From Chronos come Wind and Fire and Water; nay more, *χρόνος ἄπειρος* — unending Time — was the *κίνησις* of everything (p. 541). This idea of Chronos is prominent in Magian religion, where it is brought in as the cause of all things.[2] Perhaps the chief value of Chronos to us in the system of Pherecydes is that his presence makes it clear that the system is partly due to Magian speculation.

The antique conception of the world as a tent or house is actually figured in the diagrams which accompany the *Christian Topography* of Cosmas Indicopleustes, and are given by Eisler on pp. 621-624. In these the universe is depicted as something not unlike a Saratoga trunk, with the kingdom of heaven in the arched lid, which is supported by the 'pillars of heaven.' On the earth is the great mountain, whose shadow hides the sun's light when it goes behind it every night. Herr Eisler points out (p. 625 *f.*) that well as the Topography of Cosmas fits certain passages of the Old Testament it was not only from the Bible that he derived his ideas, but also (as he himself tells us) from Mar Aba of Nisibis, then Nestorian Patriarch. Mar Aba had been a Magian priest before his conversion, and Herr Eisler suggests that his views on the shape of the universe are Magian. It should be noted, however, that this is a mere conjecture of Eisler's; what we know of Mar Aba from other sources (see

[1] Said to be a name for Nebo at Borsippa, p. 172. Even 'John Barleycorn, das bekannte Gedicht von John (*sic*) Burns' is pressed into the service, p. 148.

[2] *Ζουρουάμ, ὃν ἀρχηγὸν πάντων εἰσάγει*, says Theodore of Mopsuestia (quoted, p. 415).

Wright's *Syriac Literature*, pp. 116-118) would suggest that his point of view in later life had become wholly Christian and ecclesiastical.

However this may be, Herr Eisler has done well to bring this antique *Weltanschauung* before us and to contrast it with the spherical system of Ptolemy, which he rightly regards as modern and scientific, the result of observation rather than of mystic imaginings. The polemic of Cosmas Indicopleustes, he says, is not essentially a disagreement between Christian and 'Classical' cosmology. Rather it is the last struggle of two views about the world, the one mystical and religious, belonging to the East, the other having its origin in the West, and in its nature intellectual and scientific. The Greeks had started from the Eastern view. Not only Pherecydes, when he regards the visible heavens as a tent and the world as a seven-cornered Cave, a Cave such as the sanctuaries of the worshippers of Mithra, but also Anaxamenes and Heraclites, who make the sun at night disappear behind the Mountain of the North, Parmenides who speaks of the walls of heaven, the Orphics who speak of the four-pillared *μέγαρον* of the world, Anaximander with his anarchical astronomy—all these belong to another order of things than that wonderful series of systems which, starting from the primitive similes of ancient mystic cosmogony, such as the Egg, the Nut, the Apple, led up in so comparatively short a time to the system of Ptolemy and the immortal conjecture of Aristarchus of Samos. Herr Eisler, whose words I have paraphrased, goes on to point out (p. 631) that this second view is purely Hellenic and belongs to Science. The other view is essentially not scientific but religious, and like all Religion comes to us from the Orient.

In justice to the magnitude and complexity of Herr Eisler's work, I have tried rather to describe than to criticise. As I have however already indicated, its chief fault is the endeavour to press all sorts of incongruous stuff into the service of the main theme. A few details may conveniently be noted here, mostly connected with the Semitic side of the investigation. Thus on p. 381, Mabbog, the Syriac name of Hierapolis-Bambyce, has nothing to do with *mabbūa'* (spring), as may be seen from the Arabic form Manbij. And in the same Note *'āphḳa*, if it be a real Syriac word at all, has nothing to do with *'ĕphaḥ* (to embrace), the first letter being quite different, though no doubt inaudible to Greeks. On p. 230 *ff.* St. Peter's vision at Joppa is explained to mean that the *σκεῦος* in which the apostle sees all the animals is the Viylon (*Velum*) or lowest Rabbinical heaven! Peter, according to Herr Eisler, sees the archetypes of the animals in the sky, and thereby recognises that they are all God's creatures and not 'chthonic.' Herr Eisler appeals to *Geist und Tiefe*, but his new interpretation hardly applies to the command to 'slay and eat.' Every Jew knew from Genesis that all animals had been created by God, but that did not make all animals lawful for food.

Equally far-fetched is Herr Eisler's explanation of Psalm xix. 4-6 on p. 601, according to which it is *vollkommen klar* that the verses describe how the God (El) celebrates His marriage with the Sun. El is the Moon-God and the Sun is His bride! Herr Eisler does not satisfactorily explain how it can be said of the Moon that 'nothing is hid from the heat thereof' (*ḥammāthō*, a word specially used of the Sun).

Of the final chapter, which treats of Thales, and the genesis of those abstract ideas that form the groundwork of philosophical theology, I do not feel competent to say anything.

F. C. Burkitt.

GREEK PAPYRI IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

Greek Papyri in the British Museum. Catalogue with Texts. Vol. IV. The Aphrodito Papyri, edited by H. I. Bell, M.A. With an Appendix of Coptic Papyri, edited by W. E. Crum, M.A. British Museum. 1910.

This volume contains a collection of documents 'all from one village and all falling within a little over twenty years —that is, between 698 and 711 A.D.' The Coptic papyri, which are added, concern the same persons and subjects, and the two illustrate each other. The texts are printed without breathings or accents, but the words are separated: abbreviations are not extended, but they are explained in an index.

Aphrodito, or *κώμη Ἀφροδίτης*, is now identified with the earlier Aphroditopolis hitherto supposed to be elsewhere. The place was once the capital of a nome, but it evidently declined into a village. The subdivisions of the place, fourteen in number, can be found from a comparison of the documents. It is odd that a large sum is paid for taxes by *οἱ ὄντες ἐν Βαβυλῶνι* (*i.e.* Fustāt, Old Cairo): probably the place furnished sailors or workmen of some special class, like the modern Astypalaean porters of Smyrna and Constantinople, and they seem to have emigrated on condition of paying their tax. Several monasteries were mentioned; the word *ὄρος* is sometimes used for a 'desert monastery.' The documents also are instructive for the organisation of Egypt, even of the Khalifate generally. *Ἀνατολή* seems to be the name of a province, part of Asia Minor: *Φόσσατον* (Fustāt) is capital of the province of Egypt: these and other indications help to show that the Arabs left the Byzantine organisation much as it had been. The eparchies remained, and each seems to have had its *δοῦξ* (*εὐκλεέστατος*). Other officials are *ζυγοστάται* and *χαρτουλάριοι*. There is some new evidence on the relation of *παγαρχία* and the ancient nome: the editor argues that the nome continued as a geographical division, the pagarchy being the official unit. These documents disclose a vast amount of red-tape.

A section of the introduction is given to the system of Taxes, which appear very clearly, with their mode of assessment and collection. There were taxes in coin and taxes in kind, which the Government called for as it wanted them. There were a land-tax (*δημόσιον*), poll-tax (*ἀνδρισμός*, also called *διάγραφον*, probably *διαγραφή*), and *δαπάνη*, or special allowances: taxes in kind were *ἐμβολαί*. Women paid no poll-tax. Besides these, *ἐκστραόρδινα* could be levied, and personal service required at need.

This volume is specially full of information about the navy. Each province had its fleet, and yearly raids (*κούρσα*) were made on the domains of the empire. There were building yards and arsenals (one at Babylon). Ships were manned by *ναῦται* and *μάχοι*, the sailors being got by conscription. Light is also thrown on the relations of governors to governed, on the price of many commodities, on wages and the general cost of living. The taxes seem to have been heavy, but perhaps not so heavy as under Byzantium.

We are not able to judge of the penmanship of the writers, as no facsimiles are given; but the documents are peculiar in having a number of dots and marks, which are sometimes used for stops, sometimes between double consonants, often with no clear reason. For language the documents are important. New words and new senses are common, and many anticipations of modern Greek. *ω* and *ο* are confused, and so are *η υ ι*; there is a strong liking for double adverbs in compound verbs, and for new prepositional groups.

The letters from the governor to the pagarch deal with fugitives, requisitions of men, taxes, fines, posts, official duties (1349), and other topics. There are allusions to Trajan's canal (1346), the raid on Sicily by Atā b. Rāfi (1350, Ατα νιου Ραφε), the mosques of Jerusalem and Damascus. Other letters go from the governor to the tax-payers (*ἐντάγια*), ordering payment of taxes. Most of the other documents are accounts and registers, which are difficult to interpret and full of abbreviations. These con-

tain a number of technical terms and names of officials. Several complete books of many pages have been preserved: one of them (1414), which had been torn to pieces and scattered, has been restored almost completely with the help of the others. It is impossible here to discuss the questions that arise out of these accounts, which would need not only large space but very special knowledge; probably it will be long before their difficulties are solved. Many names of articles are mentioned—e.g., *σταπις* (raisins, almost the modern *σταφίδι*), *κιλικια*, *ακανθαι*, *γοναχια* (prayer-carpets?), *ψιαθοι*, *τυλαρια*, *σιναπι* (how familiar this word looks!), *κένδουκλον* (felt), *πησσομενα* (nails), *οξος* (wine), *αλογα* (horses), *καρίσια*. An important register is 1433, which gives various requisitions arranged under *χωρία*. A section of Protocols completes the Greek papyri.

The 150 Coptic papyri have summaries or translations added, in which the Greek titles are given in Greek letters.

These documents consist of guarantees (no example of this class amongst the Greek papyri), registers, receipts, and others, often different in form from the Greek, but on the same general subjects. We may note as curious *παραμυθια* 1497 and *φιλοτιμια* 1565, apparently in the sense of 'douceur.'

After reading the documents, the impression left is that the syntax and accidence are better than might have been expected. Whilst there are many unclassical uses, as of *ἐάν* sometimes, *εἰ φανῶσιν*, *εἰ μὴ ἂν ἐκπέμψῃς*, we find *οὐ μή* correctly used and other common constructions. The style is wordy and obscure, and there are many phrases of current speech which are strange: *κατάλαβε τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς* 'come down our way' is common, *παρ' ὃ ἧς ἐθεματίσαμεν διατιμήσεως* 'contrary to' is found once, *διὰ στράτας* 'immediately.' Some Latin words are used, as *ορρια*, *εκστραορδιναρια*; some Arab words, as *μασγιδα* (masjid), *αμαλιτης* (a porter?). For the new Greek words and new senses the student may refer to the Indices (Subjects, Persons, Places, Taxes, Symbols, Words, 148 pages). Our legislators may take a hint from Egypt and impose an air-tax (*ἀερικόν*).

W. H. D. Rouse.

COMMENTATIONES TULLIANAE, DE CICERONIS EPISTULIS AD BRUTUM AD QUINTUM FRATREM AD ATTICUM QUAESTIONES.

Commentationes Tullianae, de Ciceronis epistulis ad Brutum ad Quintum Fratrem ad Atticum Quaestiones. By H. Sjögren. Two facsimiles. Pp. 1-167. Upsala: Almqvist et Wiksell, 1910.

K. Lehmann, in his masterly treatise, *De Ciceronis ad Atticum epistulis recensendis et emendandis* (Berlin, 1892), showed that the Italian MSS. containing these letters fall into two families, which he termed Σ and Δ. There is also a Transalpine tradition, represented by a few leaves from a MS. of the eleventh, or twelfth, century MS. found at Würzburg (*W*), and by two lost MSS., viz. the *Codex Cratandri* (*C*) and the *Tornaesianus* (*Z*), used by Lambinus and other French scholars. Lehmann found many agreements between Σ and *CWZ*, and considered the order of merit to be (1) *CWZ*, (2) Σ, (3) Δ. He published variants from his MSS. in the case of letters printed in Hofmann's edition, but did not live to construct an apparatus for the whole collection. On his death-bed he gave orders that his collations were to be destroyed, so that his work has had to be done over again.

The task has been worthily carried out by Dr. H. Sjögren of Upsala, who has produced a treatise conspicuous for modesty, sobriety of judgment, and soundness of method. Although he differs from Lehmann upon some minor points, he agrees with him upon those which are essential, thus establishing the permanent value of Lehmann's work.

The division of the Italian MSS. into Σ and Δ is fully consonant with the facts recorded concerning the discovery of

MSS. at the time of the Renaissance. There was in the fourteenth century a MS. belonging to the Cathedral of Verona, which was used in 1329 by the anonymous compiler of the *Flores Morales*,[1] still contained in this library (*Veronensis* clxviii.), shortly afterwards by Pastrengo of Verona, a friend of Petrarch, who quotes from these letters in his work, *De Originibus Rerum*,[2] and in 1345 by Petrarch, who made a copy of it with his own hand.[3] We know that a MS. containing these letters, which had belonged to the Cathedral of Verona, was sent to Milan in 1390, a fact which requires no explanation when we remember that Verona was captured by the Milanese on June 26 in that year.[4] Coluccio, Chancellor of Florence, obtained from Pasquino, Chancellor of Milan, in 1392 a copy of this MS., which is now in the Laurentian Library, XLIX, 18 (*M*). This MS., the value of which has been much disputed, is the chief member of Lehmann's Δ. We also hear of a second discovery made in 1409 by Bartolommeo della Capra of Pistoia. This is described by Leonardo Aretino as *volumen antiquissimum sane ac reverendum*.[5] He says that it contained *Att.* i.-vii., in addition to the letters to Brutus and Quintus. As the Σ MSS. are mutilated and defective, generally containing these particular books, there is a *prima facie* probability that they, or some of them, are derived from this second fount. We also hear of what apparently was a third MS., described as a *liber veterrimus*, which in 1412 was in the possession of Giovanni Corvini (Johannes Arretinus) at Milan.[6] I venture to make a suggestion further on concerning descendants of this MS.

Lehmann's view was revolutionary, since previously *M* had been considered the chief, if not the only, source of evidence. This opinion is still held by O. E. Schmidt,[7] who considers Σ to be interpolated MSS. derived from it, and, though sometimes he speaks more doubtfully, is inclined to hold that *C* and *Z* were drawn from this contaminated source. There are grave chronological objections to Schmidt's theory. Thus *E* (*Ambros.* E. 14 *inf.*), the chief member of Σ, is said by Lehmann to be a fourteenth-century MS., and to be older than *M*. As I have myself examined both *E* and *M*, I may be permitted to associate myself with this view. Also, there is good ground for identifying *Z* with a MS. which formerly belonged to Cluni, No. 492, in the twelfth-century catalogue.[8] It may be mentioned that *Clun.* 498, containing Cicero in Catilinam, the *Caesarianae* and part of the *Verrines*, which is now in the Holkham Library, is a ninth-century MS., while *Clun.* 496, containing Cicero, *pro Sex. Roscio*, *pro Murena*, etc., which was taken to Italy in 1415 by Poggio, appears to have been older still.[9] It is, therefore, likely, that *Z* was a MS. written not later than the ninth century. Other difficulties, e.g. the impossibility of deriving from *M* within the limits of time necessary to Schmidt's theory MSS. which differ so widely from *M*, are well dealt with by Sjögren.

Lehmann has shown that apart from *E*, which occupies a place by itself, the Σ family falls into two groups, which he terms Π and Φ. The chief representatives of these groups, according to him, are *Laur. Conv. Soppr.* 49 (*N*) and *Taur.* 495 (*O*) respectively. He also placed among Φ certain MSS. used by Malaspina, and a Ravenna MS. (*Rav.*), of which I shall say something later. Sjögren has recollated *N* and other Σ MSS. used by Lehmann, but not *O*,

[1] The *Flores* contain two quotations from the letters to Brutus, viz. *f.* 10 *v.* (Brut. i. 15. 9) *vicit amentia levissimi hominis nostram prudentiam*, and *f.* 25 *v.* (*ib.* i. 1. 1) *nichil enim minus hominis videtur quam non respondere in amore hiis a quibus provocare* (*sic*). The second is said to come *in quadam epla ad Brutum;* the first is headed *Cic. libro* 3 *epl. ad Brutum.* Cf. *Class. Rev.* xx. (1906), p. 224, *n.* 4. I thought it well to verify the references not long ago when passing through Verona.

[2] Sabbadini, *Scoperte dei codici*, p. 18.

[3] The MS. was probably shown to Petrarch by Pastrengo. Cf. Voigt i. p. 207 *n.*

[4] Sabbadini, *Scoperte*, p. 7, *n.* 23.

[5] Leonardi Aretini, *Epp.* iii. 13, ed. Mehus.

[6] Sabbadini, *Scoperte*, p. 74.

[7] *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der Briefe Ciceronis*, Leipzig, 1887; *Der Briefwechsel des M. Tullius Cicero*, Leipzig, 1893.

[8] L. Gurlitt, *Berl. Phil. Woch.* xiv. (1894), p. 925.

[9] *Anecdota Oxoniensia* x. (The *vetus Cluniacensis* of Poggio), p. xvii *sqq.*

which has been greatly damaged by the recent conflagration at the Turin library. In place of it he relies chiefly upon *Paris.* 8536 (*P*), and *Palatinus* 1510 (*Pal.*), a MS. not used by Lehmann. His chief representative of Π is *Paris. Nouv. Fonds* 16248 (*G*), a MS. to which attention was first called in the pages of this Review (*Classical Review*, x. pp. 321 *sqq.*, 1896). He also has made a careful study of Δ and especially of the corrections in *M*. Some of these are made by the second hand without comment, while others are introduced by c^s or *al.* Schmidt assigned these to various persons who possessed the MS., viz. Coluccio, Niccolo Niccoli,[1] and Leonardo Aretino, and Sjögren appears to agree with the identification. He rejects, however, Schmidt's singular theory that c^s = *Coluccius*, and considers this symbol, which is also found in *N*, to be a *communis nota*. Sjögren finds that the c^s variants are taken from some MS. belonging to Δ, a conclusion which is puzzling, since elsewhere c^s, where I have observed it, introduces conjectures. Thus in Poggio's copy of Asconius it is used three times before an emendation, just as *credo* is also employed. I have also noticed it in Sozomenus' copy of Asconius, and it is frequently used before conjectures in *Laur.* (*Gadd.*), xc. *Sup.* 69.[2] Sjögren considers that the ordinary corrections in *M* (M^2) are also taken from Δ. I should have thought it possible that some of them might represent variants occurring in the *Veronensis*, and subsequently added by the corrector. This, however, would not agree with the theory of Schmidt and Sjögren, which attributes them to Coluccio. The variants introduced by *al.* are said by Sjögren to be taken from a MS. of the Σ family, possibly from *E* or *N*. The most important conclusion at which Sjögren arrives is, that the variants ascribed to Niccolo (M^3) are derived from the MS. of Capra. The evidence for this statement is that these marginalia only exist in those books (*ad Brut.*, *ad Q.F.*, *Att.* i.-vii.), which we know to have been contained in this MS. This seems to be an important clue which should throw further light upon the affinities and value of the Σ group.[3] The readings ascribed to Leonardo (M^4) are regarded as conjectures. I would only remark that several of them are palmary, *e.g. Att.* viii. 15. 3 *me derideri*, M^4 : *mederi* cett.

Previous writers have considered *M* to be the parent of a considerable family. Sjögren goes to the other extreme and regards it as ἅπαις. In such a matter it is necessary to go very warily, and I would only say that some of his arguments do not convince me. Thus when speaking of *Vrb.* 322 (*S*), he will not allow that it is copied from *M* (p. 29) : later on (p. 155) he notices that in *Att.* iii. 25 :

perspicio nobis in hac calamitate tabescendum esse. Neque enim—sed bonam in partem accipies—si ulla spes salutis subesset, tu discessisses

Coluccio has written *tabesco* in the margin of *M*, thereby calling attention to the word. Here *S* absurdly inserts *tabesco* after *neque enim*. I do not see how this can be explained, if *S* is not derived from *M*. My own experience of the Poggian MSS. of Asconius and Valerius Flaccus, all of which are derived from his transcript now at Madrid (X. 81), would lead me to expect great variety in the later copies, especially in their treatment of corrections and marginalia.[4] Thus the Vatican MS. of Valerius Flaccus (no. 1613), the origin of which is clear from the fact that a passage of 82 lines which it omits occupies two pages in the Madrid MS., frequently gives what is shown by other evidence to have been the original reading of the *Matritensis*, but which has been tampered with or erased in that MS. by a corrector. So also in the MSS. of Asconius, the scribes have dealt with the readings of the various hands of the *Matritensis* in a very puzzling manner, sometimes preferring a con-

[1] Sjögren speaks of Niccolo as '*dives Florentinus*,' which seems odd. He was a poor man, except for the liberality of Cosimo de Medici, and at his death he owed 500 ducats to the bank of the Medici. Voigt (i. p. 305) happily calls him *der arme Mäcen.*

[2] *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, x., p. xlviii.

[3] The *Codex Caprae* appears to have resembled *GH*, i.e. the Π division of Σ. It is tempting to suppose that the other division, Φ, may be connected with the MS. of Corvini.

[4] *Classical Review*, xiii. (1899), p. 121. Asconius, ed. Oxon., pp. xxii-xxviii.

jecture and sometimes retaining the original corruption. I do not, therefore, feel convinced that *m* (*Berol. Ham.* 166) is not derived from *M*, though it frequently gives the reading of M^1, neglecting a simple correction made by M^2.

Sjögren has what I venture to think a strange theory regarding the origin of *M*. He holds that the *Veronensis* from which Coluccio obtained a copy was not the MS. used by Petrarch in 1345, but another MS. which subsequently emerged at the same place. *Prima facie* this would appear very improbable, since MSS. of these letters were excessively rare before the fourteenth century. His argument that another *Veronensis* may have been found after the first, just as a third *Parisinus* (*G*) came to light recently after Lehmann's collations, is misleading, since all three Paris MSS. belong to a period when *codices* had been multiplied. Sjögren's theory is founded on a fact previously noticed by Lehmann, viz. that Petrarch, when quoting from these letters, not unfrequently has a reading which is not that of *M* (or M^1), but is found in a MS. of the Σ group. Lehmann goes so far as to include Petrarch's apograph among Σ. Some of his instances are important, others are doubtful, and a number of cases only show that Petrarch agrees with M^2 as against *M*.[1] Lehmann is arguing that *M* is not copied from Petrarch's transcript, and he appears to prove this. I cannot, however, see anything in the facts inconsistent with the derivation both of his transcript and also of *M* from a single fount, viz. the *Veronensis* of Petrarch. This, like all MSS., must have contained variants, erasures and corruptions, which would receive different treatment from Petrarch and the scribes employed by Pasquino in 1392. It must also be remembered that, according to Lehmann and Sjögren, Σ and Δ are both derived from a common archetype (Ω), so there is nothing surprising if Σ readings survived in Petrarch's apograph, while they have been replaced by a variant or corruption in Δ. This appears to me more likely than Sjögren's theory of an ὁμώνυμος. I have previously noticed a reason for the transference of the *Veronensis* to Milan in 1390, viz. the conquest of Verona by Gian Galeazzo Visconti in that year; and agree with Voigt in thinking that the ancient MS. of these Letters, of which Decembrio speaks in a letter written about 1415 as existing at Milan,[1] was no other than the *Veronensis* of Petrarch.

The second part of Sjögren's treatise deals with a large number of passages, chiefly taken from the letters *ad Brut.*, *ad Q.F.*, *ad Att.* i., vii. He has a great advantage over all his predecessors, since they did not possess a full *apparatus criticus*. The first and most important duty of an editor of what must in many ways rank as an *editio princeps* is to establish the reading of the MSS., and of this fact he is deeply conscious. His position may be briefly described as that of an extreme conservative. In a large number of instances he successfully defends the reading of the MSS., frequently relying upon a weapon already used by the Dublin editors, viz. the employment by Cicero of idioms borrowed from Plautus and Terence. He also possesses a wide knowledge of Ciceronian idiom and usage, which may be observed in such notes as those upon the ethic dative (p. 117), on mixture of pronouns in oratio obliqua (p. 122) and of tenses in parallel clauses (p. 126), collocations like *ut aut . . . aut ut* (p. 126), the rhetorical plural (p. 142), and the use of the future of *volo* in such passages as *Att.* xiv. 1. 2: *quicquid volet, valde volet* (p. 150). Among other cases where he defends the reading of the best MSS. with great skill are *Brut.* i. 18. 3 *si is* (p. 119), *Q.F.* i. 3. 2 *iracundiae causam* (p. 129), ii. 3. 1 *de imperio Lentuli abrogando* (p. 132), iii. 1. 23 *coniecta* (p. 141), *Att.* i. 18. 3 *instat hic nunc annus* (p. 149), viii. 11 p. 7 *a teque ad ea* (p. 167). In some others I do not feel convinced, though I recognise the ingenuity of the argument, e.g. p. 134.

Q.F. ii. 13. 2 *quoniam ut scribis poema ab eo nostrum probari.* So MSS., *tu scribis* edd. Sjögren defends *ut* by Terence *Adelph.* 648 *ut opinor eas non nosse te et certo scio.* The passages quoted from Cicero seem to be different, and the confusion of *tu* and *ut* is constant.

[1] Cf. Schmidt, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung*, etc., p. 60.

Att. ii. 11. 2 (p. 115). *Haec igitur, et cura ut valeas.* So the best MSS.: *et* is generally omitted by editors, but defended by Sjögren. It is, however, noted by Schmidt, whose remark he endorses (p. 38), that *et* in *M* frequently stands for a mark of punctuation which was in the archetype. This explanation would suit the present case and gives a good sense, *i.e.* 'This is all I have to say. Take care of your health.'

Sjögren's methods may be studied in the following example, *Q.F.* i. 2. 5 (p. 127):

scribis cupisse te. . . . Zeuxim eligere omni ratione voluisse, [ultra] quem adductum in iudicium fortasse an dimitti non oportuerit, conquiri vero et elici blanditiis, ut tu scribis, ad iudicium necesse non fuit.

For *eligere* M^4 (*i.e.* Leonardo) gives *elicere*, so edd.: *ultra* is given by *M*, and omitted by Σ: *fortasse dimitti non oportuerat* M^4 (Leonardo) and edd.

Sjögren defends *fortasse an* by a quotation from Accius, and several from Varro, also from Aulus Gellius, who affected archaic idioms. Strange as such a construction may appear in Cicero, it is hard to resist the evidence brought forward. On the other hand, Sjögren's retention of *eligere* seems quite paradoxical, since *elicere* is demanded by *elici* immediately afterwards. No confusion is more common than that of *C* and *G*, due to similarity not only in capital script, but also in pronunciation. Thus *Att.* viii. 14. 2, *elicere cupio sententiam tuam* M^4EOR, and doubtless most other MSS., give *eligere* (*elicere* M^2 and Petrarch, *Epp.* xviii. 8). The same corruption is found in the best MSS. in *Balb.* 37 *praemiis elicere*, and *Vat.* 14 *inferorum animas elicere.*

Sjögren omits *ultra* with Σ, but does not give any reason for its appearance in *M*. I would suggest that there was a variant *traductum, i.e.* that in Ω, the common archetype of Σ*M*, there was *u t tra adductum.*

Other examples of extreme conservatism are:

Att. ii. 1. 5 (p. 143), *quaerit ex me num consuessem Siculis locum gladiatoribus dare. Negavi. 'At ego,' inquit, 'novos patronos instituam.'*

Here editors read *novus patronus.* Sjögren says that Clodius refers '*ad novam quasi seriem patronorum designandam a se tamquam duce ac principe ortam,*' which seems very forced. *Novos* is clearly an old spelling for *novus*, and the corruption *patronos* is due to misunderstanding. Cf. *Mil.* 79 *quonam modo ille vos vivus* (vivos *HET*) *adficeret, quos mortuus* (*mortuos H*) *inani cogitatione percussit?*

Att. iv. 8 *A.* 3 (p. 148):

Quid sit quod se a me removit, si modo removit, ignoro. Here for the first *removit* editors read *removerit* (or *remorit*). A subjunctive is required by all the laws of Latinity. Sjögren says that the indicative is *mirabilis atque inauditus*, and that other examples quoted from Cicero are not similar. He keeps, however, the indicative, '*qui nulla re magis quam ratione aequabilitatis excusatur.*' The corruption is so simple and common that the authority of the MSS. appears to me to be nil.

Q.F. iii. 1.8 (p. 146):

Id facit Oppius non numquam necessario ut, cum tabellarios constituerit mittere . . . serius quam constituerat mittat, neque nos datis iam epistulis diem commutari curemus.

Sjögren says '*curamus* Lehmannus sine iusta causa, etsi sic debuisse scribere Ciceronem nemo non videt.' The assimilation of moods after *ut* is exceedingly simple, and I do not like to admit that Cicero wrote bad grammar. It would be ungenerous to dilate upon such points in view of the great and solid merits of Sjögren's work. I would only say that if he offends, *in eam partem potius peccat quae est cautior* (*Rosc. Am.* 56).

Although Sjögren describes himself as *coniecturarum parcus*, those which he has made are good. Perhaps the best is *Q.F.* ii. 1. 3 (p. 132) *tum Clodius rogatus diem dicendi eximere coepit.*

Here editors read *dicendo* with M^3SO^2. Sjögren suggests <*calumnia*>*dicendi* referring to *Att.* iv. 3. 3 *Metellus calumnia dicendi tempus exemit*, and other passages.

Other interesting suggestions are:

Att. vii. 3, 7 *et amicorum* <*et alienorum*> *multitudine occupati.*

Att. iv. 17. 3 *censuerunt comitia primo quoque tempore haberi* [*censere*].

Att. iv. 4. A. 1 *Offendes designationem Tyrannionis mirificam librorum meorum* [*bibliotheca*].

Sjögren regards *bibliotheca* (so *M*, *om.* Σ) as an index word from the margin of the archetype, a view which seems convincing. In *Q.F.* ii. 7. 1 he thinks that the mysterious words *non curantia* may be a gloss for *ἀπραγμοσύνη*, and in *Q.F.* i. 2. 14 suggests that the archetype may have had

in custodiam Ephesi tradidit sed in publicam vel in *pistrinum* *privatam non satis . . . intellegere possumus.*

These examples show Sjögren's skill as a textual critic, and make us hope that in the future he will not keep himself under such stern restraint.

I would conclude this notice by making a few remarks about the Ravenna MS. (*Rav.*), which seems to have been hardly used of late. It enjoyed for a time a blaze of glory in consequence of a strange mistake made by Mommsen, who, when a young man, declared it to have been written in the thirteenth century and to be '*praeclarum omniumque qui supersunt Epp. ad Atticum MSS. sine ullo dubio antiquissimum.*'[1] In a letter to Garatoni, which is still to be seen at Ravenna, he refers to the excellence of the Greek in *Rav.*, and supposes that a knowledge of Greek survived at Ravenna after it had been forgotten elsewhere. It was pointed out by Detlefsen and Boot that the MS. was written in the fifteenth century, and it is so described in Cappi's catalogue. When I examined it myself, it appeared to me a normal fifteenth-century MS. without any indications of superior antiquity. I observed the following marginal note made by the writer upon *Att.* i. 11. 3, where Cicero is speaking of the books left to him by the brother of Paetus, viz. *Erat M. Tullius librorum avidus, sed in ea re cedebat tibi, Florentine.* This can only have been written after the Florentine scholars had begun to collect MSS.

Lehmann did not collate *Rav.* which, on the strength of certain readings published by Boot, he pronounnced to be a member of Σ, and specially connected with *O*. Sjögren does not appear to have seen *Rav.*,[2] which he considers on the evidence of Boot's excerpts to be a *gemellus*, not only of *O*, but of *Palat.* 1510 (*Pal.*). He says '*certum igitur est, Pal. et Rav. gemellos esse: quae cum ita sint, satis visum est Pal. tantum conferre.*' As some years ago I spent two or three days over *Rav.*, which I collated with the variants given in Purser's text, I may be unduly partial towards it. I can only say that it appeared to me to have some striking readings, and that, merely on the ground of superior age, I should have thought that it deserved to be preferred to *Pal.*, which, according to Sjögren, was written at the end of the fifteenth century.

ALBERT C. CLARK.

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[1] Cf. Lehmann, p. 44.

[2] He mentions (p. 4 *n.*) that, if Boot is to be trusted, in *Att.* iii. 8. 2 *Rav.* has *ab Ilio.* I find from my collation that it gives *ab illo* with the other MSS.

SHORT NOTICES

FOUR PLAYS OF MENANDER.

Four Plays of Menander. Edited by E. CAPPS, Professor of Classics in Princeton University. Pp. x. 329. Ginn and Co. 1910. Price 10/6.

To the literature of the new Menander fragments Prof. Capps has added a very serviceable edition with introductions, commentary, and critical notes. It wavers in some degree, as he himself acknowledges, between the wants of the junior and those of the senior student, but on the whole it is meant more for the former, who will find in it a good deal that is useful. For such a reader perhaps further points of Greek might have been noticed, *e.g.* in the earlier part of the *Epitrepontes* line 8 the form *σχολάσαις*, line 11 and elsewhere the

New Comedy λαλῶ=λέγω, 128 πρὸ πολλοῦ *some time before*, 136 the plural in εὔκριτ' ἐστί. On small but not unimportant points in Menander's use of the comic trimeter there are a good many useful notes, founded on Prof. J. W. White's valuable paper in *Classical Philology*, vol. iv. The introductions are full, interesting, and good, dealing with the conjectural restoration of the plots, the characterisation, matters of technique, etc. The argument for introducing into the *Epitrepontes* fragment 2 A of the St. Petersburg find is acute and persuasive. More admiration is expressed for the poet's 'inimitable dialogue and monologue' than most readers will feel, but enthusiasm is no bad quality in an editor. A better way has been found of indicating letters and words inserted conjecturally than the unsightly and exasperating brackets so familiar in papyrus texts. An index to the notes and introductions would have been welcome. The only misprint I notice is an awkward εὕρησις for εὕρεσις in *Epitr.* 102.

The critical notes give a good many of the restorations proposed by various scholars at the time of the first publication and since, including a fair number of Prof. Capps' own, and he has of course printed many of them in his text. At the beginning of the *Epitr.* I cannot follow his argument for reading δίκαια δὲ πάσχω as a question, and in 116 I do not see why οἱ πρίν should be turned into οἱ τότε, unless all words or uses whatever unusual in prose (*e.g.* θηρᾶν for θηρεύειν in 107, ἐρρύσατο in 125) are to be rejected in Menander. *Samia* 404 (Körte etc. 261) παῖδας πολὺ πράττεται, 'he makes a good deal of boys' (*sic*), is surely an impossible expression. *Epitr.* 153 οὐκ ἂν ᾠόμην is much best given to Davus, meaning that he never thought to receive such treatment. The name Περικειρομένη should not be translated as though it were a perfect participle. The present tense rather expresses an act, like *The Rape of the Lock*.

Considering the very fragmentary nature of the remains, amounting in the case of the *Hero* to less than 100 lines, the title of this volume is a little misleading. The uninstructed reader would naturally expect to find four plays complete or nearly so.

H. Richards.

THE DAWN OF MEDITERRANEAN CIVILISATION.

The Dawn of Mediterranean Civilisation. By Angelo Mosso. With 203 illustrations. Translated by M. C. Harrison. Fisher Unwin, 1910.

Mosso was an enthusiast, but he took up archaeology without the necessary training. Hence his theories will not always commend themselves to scholars. Thus he seems to identify commerce with civilisation (p. 12). His statements are often vague, as: 'A uniform culture existed in the whole basin of the Mediterranean, and lasted several thousand years' (2). This book, like the author's last, is rather a notebook than a treatise. Its value lies in the illustrations, which are excellent: many of them are inaccessible otherwise to most people—for instance, a sacrificial scene from the painted sarcophagus of Hagia Triadha (frontispiece), the inscribed disc, a transcription of part of it.

One chapter contains a number of notes on the origin of writing. Mosso follows Pernier in regarding the signs scratched on the walls at Cnossos and Phaistos not as marks of consecration, but in some way literary. The next chapter contains notes on early Egypt; in this appears a Minoan soldier from a steatite vase (Fig. 23) 'with a boomerang.' The author did not notice that he is wearing the same soft top-boots which the Cretans have always worn ever since. Then come notes on Minoan vases, neolithic weapons, the copper age in Crete, more pottery, the sacred axe. 'The first offerings made to the mysterious power which rules the world were weapons,' says Mosso: he figures a number of stone axes, but why he calls them 'votive' does not appear. This leads us up to the bipennis=πέλεκυς (*bipennae*, he calls them, p. 143, or is it his translator?). A chapter on fat women follows: Mosso thinks the Mother Goddess was represented both in a thin form and a fat form, and con-

nects this with the negro taste in female beauty. Perhaps the prehistoric artist did his best. It would not be useful to go through the whole book in detail; its subjects are too many, and its method too discursive. But one or two more may be specified. One chapter deals with 'tumuli or dolmens,' which Mosso uses as synonyms. He makes the remark, as if it needed only to be said, that 'the dolmens mark the path of prehistoric commerce' (p. 220). He names two or three, and then gives several pages to the broken pottery which he found in one of them: after which he describes, with photographs, several dolmens of South Italy. Another section gives *pintaderas* from various parts of Europe: these were used to impress painted patterns upon the human skin. Among them he includes what other people have called seals. Primitive ships, primitive commerce, the distribution of forests, early copper mines, agriculture, and the Mediterranean race, all come in for consideration: and the author has no sooner touched on one, than he is away to something else. All through the book are scattered those generalisations that tantalise us so: one or two we have mentioned, and another is, that 'the destruction of the forests was the cause of malaria.'

We close the book perplexed and pleased at once. It is full of matter, full of interest, but without order or settled aim: a notebook, which the reader will be glad to possess.

W. H. D. R.

Walter Headlam: Life and Poems. By Cecil Headlam Duckworth. 1910.

It is difficult to write in a critical temper of this book: and it must be enough to recommend it to those who knew Headlam, and those who not knowing him have the love of things good in their hearts. The life was uneventful: its story is told simply. It will interest all to learn that he was descended from the great Richard Bentley. His literary genius was joined to a bright and humorous talent, which makes the tale of his daily round pleasant even for strangers to read. He wrote Greek verse like a Greek; some new specimens are given here in a light vein. The original English poems at the end will come as a surprise to many. The biographer may be right or wrong in his high estimate of what might have been; but no one will fail to see that there is real poetry in these scanty remains. Headlam's translations into English verse seem often to be hampered by something; they do not always satisfy a critical ear: but the original verse is quite free from that suspicion, and much of it is beautiful. It seems as though the gods have a grudge against the Greek language: *Requiescat in Pace.*

X.

CORRESPONDENCE

To the Editor of The Classical Review.

Dear Mr. Editor,—I should be glad if you would allow me to comment briefly upon a point in the review of Professor Wilkinson's 'Hannibal's March.'

The statement on p. 116 of the June number of the *Classical Review* of the supposed discrepancy between Livy and Polybius as to the point of Hannibal's arrival in Italy gives fresh currency to an old blunder (I believe of Mommsen's) which has injured English text-books of Roman history for a whole generation, though it has been exposed in recent years; e.g., Mr. F. E. A. Trayes, in his excellent edition of *Livy XXI.*, p. 197 (Bell and Sons, 1901), states clearly what Polybius really does say on this point. It is quite true that in III. 56. 3 Polybius states of Hannibal in the sentence so often quoted *κατῆρε τολμηρῶς εἰς τὰ περὶ τὸν Πάδον πεδία καὶ τὸ τῶν Ἰνσόμβρων ἔθνος.* He then breaks off into two or three pages of digression about the way in which 'modern' readers should judge ancient historians, who, as he wisely remarks, would have 'taken full advantage of our modern advantages' (*τῶν νῦν καιρῶν ἐπιλαβόμενοι*, c. 58. 5) had they been accessible to them. This digression has been too much for many of Polybius' readers, and diverted their attention from the fact that when he resumes his narrative (c. 60) he makes a much more definite statement as to the point at which Hannibal reached Italy, which precisely confirms Livy instead of raising doubts.

C. 60, § 1. *τὸ μὲν οὖν πλῆθος τῆς δυνάμεως ὅσον ἔχων Ἀννίβας ἐνέβαλεν εἰς Ἰταλίαν, ἤδη δεδηλώκαμεν. μετὰ δὲ τὴν εἰσβολὴν καταστρατοπεδεύσας ὑπ' αὐτὴν τὴν παρώρειαν τῶν Ἄλπεων τὰς μὲν ἀρχὰς ἀνελάμβανε τὰς δυνάμεις. . . .* [Then follows an explanation of the physical sufferings caused to the army by the passage of the Alps. In section 8 he then continues:] *μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, προσανειληφυίας ἤδη τῆς δυνάμεως, τῶν Ταυρίνων οἱ τυγχάνουσι πρὸς τῇ παρωρείᾳ κατοικοῦντες στασιαζόντων μὲν πρὸς τοὺς Ἰνσόμβρας ἀπιστούντων δὲ τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον αὐτοὺς εἰς φιλίαν προὐκαλεῖτο καὶ συμμαχίαν· οὐχ ὑπακουόντων δέ, περιστρατοπεδεύσας τὴν βαρυτάτην πόλιν ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις ἐξεπολιόρκησε.* By the repeated use of this word *παρώρεια*, and by his repeated reference to the period of rest and refreshment given by Hannibal to his army, Polybius makes it clear to demonstration that the point at which Hannibal touched the plains was in the territory of the Taurini. This point was made by Mr. Marindin twelve years ago in the *Classical Review* (xiii., p. 248), so that perhaps it is too much to hope that the blunder will even yet die out. Readers of this year's *Classical Review* at least should know that on this point Professor Wilkinson (p. 6, footnote) is a safer guide than Mommsen's *Roman History*, vol. ii., p. 106.—Yours very faithfully,

R. S. CONWAY.

VERSION

TO DIANA.

COME, my Diana, let us make
A garden very trim and fair;
And you shall walk as mistress there,
And I will toil with spade and rake.
And there, for our entire delight,
A thousand blossoms shall unfold,
The pansy and the marigold,
The crimson pink and lily white.
There not a thorn shall mar the rose,
And every sugar'd fruit that grows
Shall ripen when the flowers are done:
Betwixt us we'll divide the rent:—
Your share shall all be pure content,
The tears, the labour mine alone.

D'AUBIGNÉ.

AD PHYLLIDA

I MECUM, mea Phyllis, atque amoenum
omni munditia paremus hortum;
illic tu domina ambulabis, illic
exercebo ego sarculi labores:
illic milia multa flosculorum,
rubri si quid honoris est uel albi,
nostras delicias, repandet aestas,—
albam parthenicen, rosamque rubram,
spinis liuidulis rosam carentem;
et post floriferum rubebit annum
pomorum quod ubique suauiorumst.
mercedem unde rogas? uterque partem:
nam tu laetitiam meram rependes,
sudores ego lacrimasque solus.

H. RACKHAM.

(Translated by H. C. MACDOWALL.)

NOTES AND NEWS

CONGREGATION at Oxford passed in May by a substantial majority the preamble of a statute intended to exempt candidates for mathematical and scientific honours from offering Greek in Responsions; and as amendments have been rejected, the statute will next term come before the University for its final ratification. It may still of course be thrown out either by Congregation or by Convocation; but failing a late repentance on the part of some of its supporters, or an unwonted activity among non-resident Masters of Arts, the Bill will probably pass.

This abandonment of the principle (hitherto maintained, and still probably true) that a modicum of Greek is essential to the best education will clearly have a far-reaching effect on schools and Universities. In many schools Greek teaching will undoubtedly disappear altogether—a result which many advocates of 'Reform' contem-

plate with equanimity; while, as it is the expressed wish of the promoters of the statute to extend its operation to candidates for honours other than scientific and mathematical, it must soon be possible at Oxford, and presumably at Cambridge too, to obtain any honours degree without knowledge of Greek. Strangely enough, the majority of academic residents seem to consider that this inevitable result is not disastrous either to the candidates or to Greek scholarship.

The Bedford College players gave Sophocles' *Trachiniae* at the Royal Court Theatre, Sloane Square, on July 6, 7 and 8. The performance was a success, and it deserves notice for several reasons. The music, specially written by Mr. H. O. Anderton, was very pleasing; it did not drown the text, as has been the case too often at Cambridge, but the words of the chorus were very generally audible. The dances were graceful, the singing beautifully clear. The actors did not gabble—another fault of the Cambridge plays—but spoke their words distinctly. They used the reformed pronunciation, which again kept the words from sounding like echoes of English. It is a pity that all the accents were ignored: may we hope that the next time this may be changed? We can promise the hearers a new pleasure if it is.

We hope next month to offer a few remarks on the dramatic effect of the play, which was not what might be expected from the comments of learned scholiasts.

Attention may be called to a paper in *Classical Philology* for July. Mr. D. R. Stuart examines the prenuptial rite in the new Callimachus; and concludes that it was not what scholars have assumed. He adduces parallels to show that before the marriage the bride took to her bed a boy of tender years, and that this was a rite to ensure fertility: sympathetic magic.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Publishers and Authors forwarding books for review are asked to send at the same time a note of the price.

*** *Excerpts and Extracts from Periodicals and Collections are not included in these Lists unless stated to be separately published.*

Adam (J.) The Vitality of Platonism and other Essays. 9″ × 5½″. Pp. viii + 242. Cambridge: University Press, 1911. Cloth, 7s. 6d. net.

Aeschylus. Agamemnon. The Greek Text with English Translation Parallel. By the Sixth Form boys of Bradfield College. 7″ × 5″. Pp. viii + 60. Oxford: University Press, 1911. 1s. 6d.

Ante Limen. Compiled, under the guidance of Professors Walters and Conway, by R. H. Rees. 7½″ × 5″. Pp. 128. London: John Murray, 1911. Cloth, 1s. 6d.

Αρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς, 1910. *περίοδος τρίτη.* Vols. iii. and iv., with 9 plates and 97 illustrations in the text. 12½″ × 9½″. Pp. 177-432. Athens: Archaeological Society, 1911.

Aristophanes. Clouds. With Introduction, English Prose Translation, Critical Notes, etc., by W. J. M. Starkie. 9″ × 5½″. Pp. lxxxviii + 370. London: Macmillan and Co., 1911. Cloth, 12s.

Aristotle. De Arte Poetica. Second Edition. By I. Bywater. Bibliotheca Oxoniensis. 7½″ × 5″. Oxford: University Press, 1911. Cloth, 2s.

Berthold (O.) Die Unverwundbarkeit in Sage und Aberglauben der Griechen. Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten. Band xi, Heft 1. 9″ × 6″. Pp. 72. Giessen: A. Töpelmann, 1911. M. 2.60.

Bonhöffer (A.) Epiktet und das neue Testament. (Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten. Band x.) 9″ + 6″. Pp. xii + 412. Giessen: A. Töpelmann, 1911. M. 15.

Bury (J. B.) Romances of Chivalry on Greek Soil. Romanes Lecture for 1911. 9″ × 6″. Pp. 24. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911. 2s. net.

Cantarelli (L.) La Serie dei Prefetti di Egitto: II. Da Diocletiano alla morte di Teodosio I. (A.D. 284-395). 11½″ × 8½″. Pp. 50. Roma: Tipografia della R. Acc. dei Lincei, 1911.

Cauer (P.) Das Altertum im Leben der Gegenwart. (Aus Natur- und Geisteswelt, 356 Bändchen.) 7¼″ × 5″. Pp. viii + 122. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1911. Cloth, M. 1.25.

Cézard (E.) Métrique Sacrée des Grecs et des Romains. 6¾″ × 4½″. Pp. 538. Paris: C. Klincksieck, 1911. Cloth, fr. 8.

Cicero. Paradoxa Stoicorum Academicorum Reliquiae cum Lucullo: Timaeus: de Natura Deorum: De Divinatione: De Fato. By O. Plasberg. Fasc. II. 9½″×6½″. Pp. 199-399. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1911. M. 8.

Cippolini (A.) Roma-Carmen. Nel MMDCLXIV. Natale di Roma. 9½″×6¾″. Pp. 34. Milan: A. De Mohr, 1911. L. 1.

Classical Philology, July, 1911, vol. vi., No. 3. 9½″×6¾″. Pp. 255-384. Chicago: University Press. Subscription $2.50, foreign $2.75.

Cosenza (M. E.) Petrarch's Letters to Classical Authors. Translated from the Latin, with a Commentary. 7½″×5″. Pp. xiv+208. Cambridge: University Press, 1911. Cloth, 4s. net.

Florilegium Latinum. Heft I, Drama; II, Erzählende Prosa. Teubner's Classical Library. 6¾″×4½″. Pp. 72 and 77. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1911. M. 0.60 each.

Ford (H. G.) and *Caudwell* (L. V.) An Elementary Latin Exercise-Book. 7½″×5″. Pp. xiii+229. London: Methuen and Co., 1911. Cloth, 2s. 6d.

Fowler (W. W.) The Religious Experience of the Roman People. 9″×5½″. Pp. xviii+504. London: Macmillan and Co., 1911. Cloth, 12s. net.

Holder (A.) Alt-Celtischer Sprachschatz. Twentieth Lieferung. 10½″×7″. Pp. 770 to 1023.

Holmes (T. R.) Caesar's Conquest of Gaul. Second Edition. 9″×6″. Pp. xxxix+872. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911. Cloth, 21s. net.

Hönn (K.) Quellenuntersuchungen zu den Viten des Heliogabalus und des Severus Alexander—im corpus der Scriptores Historiae Augustae. 9″×6″. Pp. vi+252. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1911. M. 8.

Jones (E. E. C.) A New Law of Thought and its Logical Bearings. Girton College Studies, No. IV. 7½″×5″. Pp. vii+75. Cambridge: University Press, 1911. Cloth, 2s. net.

Kleine Texte für theologische und philologische Vorlesungen und Übungen. 8″×5″. Herausgegeben von Hans Lietzmann. (Griechische Papyri, ausgewählt und erklärt von Prof. D. Hans Lietzmann. 2. Aufl. 32 S. M. 0.80. Antike Fluchtafeln, ausgewählt und erklärt von Prof. Dr. Richard Wünsch. 28 S. M. 0.60. Lateinische christliche Inschriften mit einem Anhang jüdischer Inschriften, ausgewählt und erklärt von Prof. Dr. Ernst Diehl. 48 S. M. 1.20. Res gestae divi Augusti, herausgegeben und erklärt von Prof. Dr. Ernst Diehl. 2. Aufl. 40 S. M. 1.20. Supplementum Lyricum, neue Bruchstücke von Archilochus Alcaeus Sappho Corinna Pindar, ausgewählt und erklärt von Prof. Dr. Ernst Diehl. 2. Aufl. 44 S. M. 1.20. Altlateinische Inschriften von Prof. Dr. Ernst Diehl. 64 S. M. 1.80. Fasti Consulares Imperii Romani von 30 v. Chr. bis 565 n. Chr. mit Kaiserliste und Anhang bearbeitet von Willy Liebenam. 128 S. M. 3, gbd. M. 3.40. Menandri reliquiae nuper repertae, herausgeg. von Prof. Dr. Siegfried Sudhaus. 65 S. M. 1.80, gbd. M. 2.20. Pompeianische Wandinschriften und Verwandtes, ausgewählt von Prof. Dr. Ernst Diehl. 60 S. M. 1.80. Altitalische Inschriften, herausgegeben von H. Jacobsohn. 32 S. M. 0.80. Vulgärlateinische Inschriften, herausgeg. von Prof. Dr. Ernst Diehl. 180 S. Brosch. M. 4.50, geb. M. 5. Aus der antiken Schule. Sammlung griechischer Texte auf Papyrus Holztafeln Ostraka, ausgewählt und erklärt von Dr. Erich Ziebarth. 23 S. M. 0.60. Aristophanes Frösche, mit ausgewählten antiken Scholien herausgeg. von Dr. Wilhelm Süss. 90 S. Brosch. M. 2, geb. M. 2.40. Poetarum veterum Romanorum Reliquiae selegit Ernestus Diehl. 165 S. Brosch. M. 2.50, geb. M. 3. Cicero pro Milone mit dem Commentar des Asconius und den Scholia Bobbiensia, herausg. von Dr. Paul Wessner. M. 1.20. Die Vitae Vergilianae und ihre antiken Quellen, herausgeg. von Prof. Dr. Ernst Diehl. 60 S. M. 1.50. Bonn: A. Marcus und E. Weber.)

Kornitzer (A.) Lateinisches Übungsbuch für Obergymnasien. 8½″×6″. Pp. 256. Vienna: F. Tempsky, 1910. M. 3.

Lieben (E.) Zur Biographie Martials. 9″×6¼″. Pp. 28. Prague: Rohlieck and Sievers, 1911.

Livy. Camillus and other Stories. By G. M. Edwards. Pitt Press Series. 6¾″×4½″. Pp. xvi+124. Cambridge: University Press, 1911. Cloth, 1s. 6d.

Mahaffy (J. P.) The Silver Age of the Greek World. 7½″×5¼″. Pp. 482. Cambridge: University Press, 1911. Cloth, 6s. net.

Man's Greatest Discovery. By the Swami Vallinayakam. 7″×5″ Pp. 42. Madras: The Authors' and Publishers' Agency, 1911. 8d.

Mantuanus: The Eclogues of Baptista. Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by Wilfred P. Mustard, Ph.D., Collegiate Professor of Latin in the Johns Hopkins University. 7½″×5″. Pp. 156. Oxford: Parker and Son. Cloth, 6s. 6d. net, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, $1.50.

Martin (V.) Les Epistratèges (Contribution à l'Étude des Institutions de l'Égypte Gréco-Romaine). 10″×6½″. Pp. xvi+203. Geneva: Georg and Co., 1911. Fr. 10.

Martini (E.) Textgeschichte der Bibliothek des Patriarchen Photios von Konstantinopel. I. Teil. Die Handschriften, Ausgaben, und Übertragungen. 11½″×8″. Pp. 133. Mit 8 Tafeln in Lichtdruck. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1911. M. 7.

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Murray (G.) The Rise of the Greek Epic. Second Edition, revised and enlarged. 9″ × 6″. Pp. 368. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911. Cloth, 7s. 6d. net.

Neher (R.) Der Anonymus de Rebus Bellicis. 9″ × 6¼″. Pp. x+74. Tübingen: J. J. Heckenhauer, 1911.

Nelz (C. F.) De Faciendi Verborum usu Platonico. 8½″ × 5½″. Pp. 92. Bonn: C. George, 1911.

Papyri Graecae Berolinenses collegit Gulielmus Schubart. 50 Tafeln in Lichtdruck. Auswahl von Urkunden und litterarischen Papyri des Berliner Museums. Tabulae in Usum Scholarum, 2. 11¾″ × 8¼″. Bonn: A. Marcus und E. Webers, 1911. Geb. in Leinenband M. 6. In ganz Pergament M. 12.

Pauly—Wissowa—Kroll. Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft. Vol. vii. 1. Fornax—Glykon. 10″ × 6½″. Pp. 1471. Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 1910. M. 15.

Preussische Jahrbücher. By H. Delbrück. Band 144. 9″ × 6″. Pp. 381-572. Berlin: G. Stilke, 1911. M. 2.50.

Proceedings of the Classical Association, January, 1911. Vol. viii. 8¼″ × 5½″. Pp. 266. London: John Murray, 1911. 2s. 6d. net.

Psichari (M. J.) Cassia et la Pomme d'Or. (Extrait de l'Annuaire de l'École pratique des Hautes-Études.) 9″ × 5½″. Pp. 54. Paris: J. Gamber, 1911. Fr. 1.50.

Ptolemäische Homerfragmente, herausg. u. erklärt von Dr. G. A. Gerhard. Griechisch-Literarische Papyri: Heidelberger Papyrus-Sammlung, IV. 1. 13″ × 10″. Pp. x+120, 6 plates. Heidelberg: Winter, 1911. Boards, M. 16.

Richardson (R. B.) A History of Greek Sculpture. (Greek Series for Colleges and Schools.) 7½″ × 5″. Pp. 291. New York: American Book Co., 1911. Cloth.

Robin (L.) Les 'Mémorables' de Xénophon, et notre connaissance de la philosophie de Socrates. 8½″ × 5¼″. Pp. 48. Paris: Félix Alcan, 1911.

Rouse (W. H. D.) The New Renaissance: An Answer to Sir E. Ray Lankester (*Nineteenth Century*, March, 1911). 7¼″ × 4¾″. Pp. 15. Cambridge: Heffer and Sons, 1911. 3d.

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Sophocles. Philoctetes. By F. W. Schneidewin and A. Nauck. 8″ × 5″. Pp. 159. Berlin: Weidmann, 1911. M. 1.60.

Steele (R.) Opera hactenus inedita Rogeri Baconi, Fasc. III. Liber Primus Communium Naturalium Fratris Rogeri, Partes Tertia et Quarta. 8½″ × 5¾″. Pp. vi and 137-308. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911. 10s. 6d. net.

Syria: Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expeditions to. Division II.: Ancient Architecture in Syria, by H. C. Butler. Division III.: Greek and Latin Inscriptions in Syria, by E. Littmann, D. Magie, and D. R. Stuart. Section A: Southern Syria. Part 2: Southern Haurân. 12¼″ × 10″. Pp. 150+xxvi+132+xxviii. Maps, plates, and illustrations. Leyden: E. J. Brill, 1910. M. 23.50.

Thieling (W.) Der Hellenismus in Kleinafrika. Der Griechische Kultureinfluss in den Römischen Provinzen Nordwestafrikas. Mit einer Karte. 9″ × 6″. Pp. xii+216. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1911. M. 8.

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Vahlen (J.) Gesammelte Philologische Schriften. Erster Teil: Schriften der Wiener Zeit., 1858-1874. 9″ × 6″. Pp. vii+658. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1911. M. 14.

Voci Amiche. Rivista Femminile Mensile. June, 1911. 10″ × 7″. Pp. 40. Anno I., Num. 6. Milan, 1911. Un numero separato. L. 50.

Weinreich (O.) Der Trug des Nektarebos. Wandlungen eines Novellenstoffs. 9¼″ × 6″. Pp. x+164. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1911. M. 4.

The Classical Review

SEPTEMBER 1911

ORIGINAL CONTRIBUTIONS

A MISUNDERSTOOD PASSAGE IN THE *OEDIPUS TYRANNUS* (227-235).

THE mending of this passage is so easy, as it seems to me, that the wonder is the source of the trouble was not divined long ago. The text, as it stands, is indefensible; but a simple change in a single word makes the whole sentence not only as clear as a Greek could desire, but also as clear as Oedipus himself was obliged to be in making a proclamation to his subjects, who, in such an important matter, were expected to grasp the meaning of every word.

The whole difficulty revolves round *ὑπεξελών* in 227. All the attempts to explain this participle satisfactorily have resulted in failure. Elmsley's 'extenuating,' Matthiae's and Hermann's and Dindorf's 'subripiens' (*subterfugiens*), Schneidewin's 'because he will have revealed,' Campbell's 'having withdrawn' (*taking the guilt away with him*), and Kennedy's and White's 'having suppressed,' all fall far short of an elucidation that satisfies the soul. Nor do Blaydes' *τοὐπίκλημ' ὑπεξελεῖν*, 'draw forth from the recesses of his own mind,' Halm's *ὑπεξελεῖν*, and Jebb's *ὑπεξελεῖν αὐτὸν καθ' αὑτοῦ* (*take the peril of the charge out of his path by speaking against himself*) really improve the situation. Hartung's emendation *ἐπεξίτω* is merely a substitute for *ὑπεξελών*, which happens to fit into the end of the trimeter with no apparent justification for the substitution.

To vouch this is no proof.

Without more certain and more overt test Dindorf wrote in 1869: 'Post hunc versum (227) versus unus excidisse videtur.' Earle also assumes a lacuna after *καθ' αὑτοῦ*, and, adopting *ὑπεξελεῖν*, considers the meaning to be 'take out of concealment' (=*σημῆναι, μηνῦσαι*), and regards *ἐπίκλημα* (on this basis) as 'crime,' rather than 'charge.' He adds: 'To suppose the aposiopesis to be made eloquent by a reassuring gesture will hardly do.'

But there is no aposiopesis: the sentence has not stopped at *καθ' αὑτοῦ*—the current of thought has merely been interrupted by the parenthetical *πείσεται . . . ἀβλαβής*, only to continue in the next verse at *εἰ δ' αὖ τις*, where it reappears, and flows on smoothly and uninterruptedly on the surface again, after its temporary subterranean course of a verse and a half, out into the placid lake of *μὴ σιωπάτω*, the true apodosis, the only apodosis of *κεἰ μὲν φοβεῖται* in 227. All the efforts of scholars to discover a conclusion to the conditional clause in such words as the expressed *ὑπεξελών* (changed to the infinitive for the convenience of the theory), or to an understood *σημαίνειν, μὴ φοβείσθω, σημαινέτω, ἀπελθέτω, ὑπεξέλοι*, or even an understood *μὴ σιωπάτω* (Kennedy), have been utterly futile.

But, one may ask, '*εἰ μὴ ἔστι τοῦτο, τί ποτ' ἐστὶ καὶ τί ὑμεῖς αὐτό φατε εἶναι;*' '*Εγὼ ὑμῖν ἐρῶ.*

If we restore *ἐπεγκαλῶν*, which has been dislodged by *ὑπεξελών* at the end of the trimeter, all the difficulties vanish, and the sentence becomes so clear that an elucidation seems superfluous—one feels like offering an excuse for offering an explanation. Even the scholiast, in spite of the fact that he had *ὑπεξελών* before him, had this conception of the passage: *εἰ μὲν αὐτὸς εἴη <ὁ> πράξας καὶ φοβεῖται λέγειν αὐτὸς καθ' αὑτοῦ.*

Oedipus says in 226 *τοῦτον κελεύω πάντα σημαίνειν ἐμοί*, and then adds:

κεἰ μὲν φοβεῖται τοὐπίκλημ' ἐπεγκαλῶν
αὐτὸς καθ' αὑτοῦ—πείσεται γὰρ ἄλλο μὲν
ἀστεργὲς οὐδέν, γῆς δ' ἄπεισιν ἀβλαβής—
εἰ δ' αὖ τις ἄλλον οἶδεν ἐξ ἄλλης χθονὸς
τὸν αὐτόχειρα, μὴ σιωπάτω.

The king addresses himself (after the general introduction of *πάντα σημαίνειν*) to two groups, or classes, of individuals: (1) the murderer himself (*κεἰ μέν*), and (2) others who may know about the deed (*εἰ δ' αὖ*), and, as a conclusion, he commands, and *immediately*, *μὴ σιωπάτω*—a mandate to be understood as applying to both *ὁ εἰδώς* and *ὁ δεδρακώς*. Then again in 233 (after the reward has been proclaimed) the other side, the alternative, is given for both—*εἰ δ' αὖ σιωπήσεσθε*. The two groups are also kept distinct in the declaration of what the punishment will be, if they refuse to obey his behest: *καί τις ἢ φίλου δείσας ἀπώσει τοὔπος ἢ χαὐτοῦ τόδε* (=*εἴ τις φοβεῖται . . . αὐτὸς καθ' αὑτοῦ* in 227), and *εἰ δ' αὖ τις ἄλλον οἶδεν* in 230.

The substantive *ἐπίκλημα* is rare (only one example outside of Sophocles in classical Greek poetry), the term usually employed being *ἔγκλημα*, which signified a legal complaint lodged against the accused in the presence of witnesses before a trial. Sophocles uses *ἐπίκλημα* twice (verses 227 and 529 of this play), and Euripides once (*Or.* 570, *ἐπίκλημ' ἐχούσαις*). In prose the word occurs in Xen. *Oec.* 11. 4, a passage which shows both forms of the substantive, and, in addition, the simple form of the verb (*καλοῦμαι* = *ἐγκαλοῦμαι* = *ἐπεγκαλοῦμαι*): *ἔγκλημα πένης καλοῦμαι. καὶ πάνυ μέντἄν . . . ἦν ἐν πολλῇ ἀθυμίᾳ τῷ ἐπικλήματι τούτῳ.* But the phrase *ἔγκλημα ἐγκαλοῦμαι* is equivalent to *ἔγκλημα* (= *ἐπίκλημα*) *κατηγοροῦμαι*, which is found in verse 529 of the *Oedipus Tyrannus*: *κατηγορεῖτο τοὐπίκλημα τοὖτ' ἐμοῦ.* This form of the technical Greek word for 'complaint' doubtless had something to do with the unusual form of the verb employed in 227 (*ἐπεγκαλῶν*). The expressions in common use were *ἐγκαλεῖν* (119 times in Demosthenes alone; *ἔγκλημα* 67 times), and *ἔγκλημα ἐγκαλεῖν*, instead of *ἐπίκλημα ἐπικαλεῖν*, or *ἐπεγκαλεῖν*. Now, as *ἐπίκλημα* is rare, so also is the compound verb *ἐπεγκαλεῖν* very uncommon. I have been able to find but one example: Lys. 8. 1, *πάρεστι μὲν γὰρ οἷς ἐπεγκαλῶ, πάρεισι δὲ ὧν ἐναντίον ἐπιθυμῶ μέμψασθαι τοῖς ἀδικοῦσιν ἐμέ.* This fact (that *ἐπεγκαλῶν* was an unfamiliar form to the scribes) doubtless contributed to the confusion at the end of the trimeter, and conduced to the substitution of a more familiar participle, not unlike *ἐπεγκαλῶν* in external appearance. And the copyist was practically limited to a *second aorist* (since the substitution of a present participle in *-έλλων* for *-καλῶν* was out of the question, and as there is no *ἐπεξελών*, the form *ὑπεξελών* at once suggested itself. The stages may have been *ἐπεγκαλῶν*, *ἐπεξελθών*, *ἐπεξελών*, *ὑπεξελών*. We have an echo of the second stage in one Milan MS. of the fourteenth century, which reads *ὑπεξελθών*. In fact, Hartung's *ἐπεξίτω* (which Jebb justly characterises as an emendation more brilliant than probable) is precisely the word, in my opinion, that the scribe mistook for *ἐπεγκαλῶν*—the second aorist participle of *ἐπεξιέναι* for the strange form of the present participle of *ἐπεγκαλεῖν*, changed *metri gratia* to *ἐπεξελών*, which impossible form, again, was promptly transformed into the familiar *ὑπεξελών*.

That the construction *τοὐπίκλημ' ἐπεγκαλῶν αὐτὸς καθ' αὑτοῦ* is a legitimate one is apparent from the following passages: Soph. *Phil.* 328 *χόλον κατ' αὐτῶν ἐγκαλῶν ἐλήλυθας*, *El.* 778 *ἐγκαλῶν δέ μοι φόνους*, Hypereides 2. 14 *ἔγκλημα ἐνεκάλεσεν*, 4. 34 *ἐγκλήματα πεποίηται* (cf. Isoc. 4. 68) . . . *οὐ προσήκοντα αὐτὴν ἐγκλήματα τῇ πόλει ἐγκαλοῦσαν.* The verb *ἐπικαλεῖν*, in the sense of *ἐγκαλεῖν* (though the substantive is so extremely rare), occurs not

unfrequently. Sophocles used the older word, which struggled with ἔγκλημα, ἐγκαλεῖν for supremacy for a time perhaps, was worsted in the conflict, and was finally supplanted. Neither verb nor substantive occurs in Homer, in the lyric poets, nor in Aeschylus. Hence the first appearance of this technical ἐπίκλημα is in the passage we are discussing.

The noun ἔγκλημα Sophocles also uses twice (*Phil.* 323, *Tr.* 361). The verb occurs three times (*O. T.* 702, *Phil.* 328, *El.* 778). Euripides uses ἐπίκλημα once (*Or.* 570), ἔγκλημα once (*Or.* 766); ἐγκαλεῖν is found in *Heracl.* 252, *Rhes.* 878. In Aristophanes neither form of the substantive appears; but ἐγκαλεῖν once (*Lysistr.* 611) and ἐπικαλεῖν once (*Pax* 663). Plato does not use ἐπίκλημα and ἐπικαλεῖν. But the oldest orator employed the verb regularly in cases where the compound with ἐν would have been used by Demosthenes (who never employs ἐπίκλημα, and ἐπικαλεῖν only once, 52. 17). Antiphon does use ἐγκαλεῖν twice (4β7 and 4β2), and always ἔγκλημα—but ἐγκαλοῦσιν in 4β7 is followed in the next breath by ἐπικαλοῦντες. Andocides has a single form, ἐγκαλεῖν (4. 17). Lysias uses ἐγκαλεῖν eight, ἐπικαλεῖν three times (8. 4; 19. 60; 27. 4), and ἐπεγκαλ ῖν once (8. 1). The noun ἔγκλημα appears twelve times. With Isocrates ἐπικαλεῖν seems to be dying out (three times, although the bulk of this orator is more than twice that of Lysias), whereas ἐγκαλεῖν occurs thirty-two, and ἐγκλημα eighteen times. In Lycurgus none of the forms appears, except ἐπικαλεῖν, but always in the sense of *invocare*. So Aeschines, but only in the phrase ὁ δίκαιος ἐπικαλούμενος (=ἐπονομαζόμενος), which occurs twice (1. 25; 2. 23); though ἔγκλημα is found three times. Dinarchus uses only ἐγκαλεῖν (1. 113; 2. 15). Thucydides, like Antiphon, is fond of ἐπικαλεῖν (seven examples), whereas ἐγκαλεῖν occurs only in 1. 72; 4. 123; 5. 46; 6. 53. Cf. especially 4. 23 ἐγκλήματα ἔχοντες . . . ἀδίκημα ἐπικαλέσαντες. The middle ἐπικαλεῖσθαι (=*invocare*) appears frequently. Singularly enough, Thucydides makes large use of the substantive ἔγκλημα (just a score of examples): in the historian, who affects the archaic speech, in the struggle for supremacy ἔγκλημα seems to have won in the case of the nouns, ἐπικαλεῖν in the case of the verbs, whereas in Sophocles the conflict has only begun, and in our passage the battle is on in earnest—one noun has gained the mastery, but the verbs have clinched, and both are still standing. Later ἐγκαλεῖν became the formal court term, and crowded out the more general ἐπικαλεῖν. In Herodotus the latter is used in the sense of *invocare*: θεοὺς ἐπικαλέων (3. 65). Menander uses the form in vogue: *Perikeiromene* 377 ἐγκαλεῖν, 380 ἔγκλημα. The other form, however, was revived later: Appian, *Mithridates* 56 ὃ γὰρ δὴ μάλιστ' ἄν τις ὑμῶν, ὦ Ῥωμαῖοι, τοῖς πλείοσιν ἐπικαλέσειεν, ἐστὶν ἡ φιλοκερδία, Aelian, *Var. Hist.* 3. 15 προσειλήφασι κἀκεῖνο τὸ ἐπίκλημα, ὅτι ἐφεῖται τοῖς . . . ξένοις προπίνειν ταῖς γυναιξίν.

Now, as our own great dramatist uses many words, expressions, and constructions that are distinctively Shakesperean, so also has Sophocles a stamp of his own; his vocabulary, as well as his case-register, is different from the other tragedians; even the same words and phrases are often employed in a slightly different sense; and some words occur but once in his extant plays. But ἐπεγκαλῶν is not only a rare word; it is also a rare form, so to speak, of a common word (which makes it characteristically Sophoclean), yet a form which, by reason of its singularity, a scribe could easily mistake, in such a connection, for ἐπεξελθών, to which it bears a close resemblance both in meaning and in external appearance.

NOTE ON PLATO'S *PROTAGORAS* 355 D.

ἦ γελοῖον λέγετε πράγμα, εἰ πράττει τις κακά, γιγνώσκων ὅτι κακά ἐστιν, οὐ δέον αὐτὸν πράττειν, ἡττώμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγαθῶν. ἆρα, φήσει, οὐκ ἀξίων ὄντων νικᾶν ἐν ὑμῖν τῶν ἀγαθῶν τὰ κακά, ἢ ἀξίων; φήσομεν δῆλον ὅτι ἀποκρινόμενοι ὅτι οὐκ ἀξίων ὄντων· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐξημάρτανεν ὃν φαμεν ἥττω εἶναι τῶν ἡδονῶν. κατὰ τί δέ, φήσει ἴσως, ἀνάξιά ἐστι τἀγαθὰ τῶν κακῶν, ἢ τὰ κακὰ τῶν ἀγαθῶν; ἢ κατ' ἄλλο τι ἢ ὅταν τὰ μὲν μείζω, τὰ δὲ σμικρότερα ᾖ; ἢ πλείω, τὰ δὲ ἐλάττω ᾖ;—οὐχ ἕξομεν εἰπεῖν ἄλλο ἢ τοῦτο. δῆλον ἄρα, φήσει, ὅτι τὸ ἡττᾶσθαι τοῦτο λέγετε, ἀντὶ ἐλαττόνων ἀγαθῶν μείζω κακὰ λαμβάνειν.

I have seen no satisfactory interpretation of this passage. Jowett gives a correct translation, and Grote's paraphrase is sound as far as it goes, though avoiding difficulties of detail. Müller's translation, on the other hand, and the notes of Kroschel, Sauppe (followed by Towle), Turner, Wayte, and the Cambridge editors (J. and A. M. Adam), all seem to me extremely misleading.

According to Sauppe's note on *ἀνάξια, τὸ ἀγαθόν* is *ἀνάξιον τοῦ κακοῦ* 'wenn es nicht verdient *für ein anderes Schlechte gewählt zu werden*,'[1] while *κακόν τι* is *ἄξιον ἀγαθοῦ* 'wenn es *statt des Guten gewählt zu werden*[1] verdient.' Similarly Kroschel: 'Bona malis pretio et dignitate cedunt, nec bona prae malis sunt eligenda,' and Wayte: 'In what respect are good things unworthy of being preferred to evil?'

In the first place this explanation commits Socrates to the extraordinary doctrine that a lesser good is not preferable to a greater evil—a doctrine also implied in Turner's explanation: "In what respect are good things *inferior in value*[1] to bad things?' Secondly, the whole argument is thereby reduced to confusion.

A man, says Socrates, is 'overcome by good'—*οὐκ ἀξίων ὄντων νικᾶν ἐν ὑμῖν τῶν ἀγαθῶν τὰ κακά*, or, to put it briefly, when *τἀγαθά* are *ἀνάξια τῶν κακῶν*. (These two expressions must apply to the same case, otherwise the question *κατὰ τί δέ κ.τ.λ.* becomes entirely irrelevant.) This means, according to Sauppe, that a man is overcome by good 'when the good is unworthy to be chosen in preference to the evil.' It follows that the man who is overcome by good *chooses* the good which is unworthy to be chosen, for otherwise he would not be in error. It is now explained that good is *ἀνάξιον τοῦ κακοῦ* when there is less of it. Hence it must follow that a man is overcome by good when he chooses a lesser good in preference to a greater evil. But this is not the conclusion drawn by Socrates. To be overcome by good is, according to him, 'to take greater evil *ἀντί* lesser good.' Now, if *ἀντί* means 'instead of,' 'in place of,' as it is apparently taken by the Cambridge editors (p. 182, and cf. p. 185, note on *εἰ γάρ τις λέγοι*—see, however, p. 183, quoted below) and Müller (das grössere Übel dem kleinen Guten vorziehen), the conclusion drawn by Socrates is the exact opposite of that which logically follows from the premisses as understood by Sauppe; and, moreover, it entails an impossible freak of language—how can a man who *rejects* a good, however small, in favour of an evil, however great, be described as 'overcome by good'? If, on the other hand, with Jowett, we take *ἀντί* to mean 'in exchange for,' we are still involved in a *non sequitur*, for there has so far been no question of exchange (in any sense) between good and evil, but only of choice.

The interpretation of the whole passage given by the Cambridge editors introduces fresh difficulties, and must be quoted at length. In a note on *ἐν ὑμῖν* they say: Not 'before your tribunal,' but 'in you'—i.e., inside you, in your souls. The idea is of a conflict between the good and evil in the soul before you do the evil. . . . The subtle reasoning which follows may be put thus: We do evil, knowing it to be evil, because *we* are overcome by good. But, since that which we do is evil, the good which overcomes is less worthy than the *evil in us* which it overcomes.

[1] Italics mine.

'Less worthy' (to overcome) means that 'there is less of it': to be overcome by good is, therefore, to choose less good than evil.[1] The argument is extraordinarily ingenious, but hardly sound—the flaw lies in substituting the 'evil in us' for 'us': it was not 'the evil in us,' but 'we,' who were overcome by good. . . . The usual way of taking ἐν ὑμῖν as 'before your tribunal,' or the like, makes the false step much more serious, since it substitutes not 'the evil in us,' but simply 'the evil' for 'us.'

On this interpretation surely the argument not merely contains a flaw, but is absolutely incoherent. For while '*the evil in us*' is substituted for '*us*,' in the conclusion we hear no more of the 'evil *in us*,' but only of the evil *which we choose*. Similarly the good *in us*, which is described as vanquishing the evil in us, has no further place in the argument at all. Again, in what sense is 'the good which overcomes' '*less worthy* than the evil in us which it overcomes'? It is true that ἄξιος is explained in a subsequent note (p. 184) as denoting not 'moral, but rather physical strength or value.' But though ἀξία is shown to depend merely upon quantity, it must in itself have some sort of moral significance. Otherwise what is the meaning of οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐξημάρτανεν κ.τ.λ.?

From this it appears that there can be no reference in our passage to a struggle between the good and evil *in the soul*. Equally unsatisfactory results have followed from supposing a reference to a struggle between good and evil *as to which shall be chosen*. Some other solution is necessary.

The ἀγαθά and κακά of which Socrates speaks in the context are pleasures and their painful consequences. Let us assume, therefore, that the struggle here referred to is one between pleasures (good) and painful consequences (evil). The struggle is in some sense for the mastery over man.

Now, in such a struggle the good may be said to 'overcome' both *the evil* and *us* when it outweighs the evil in our calculations; that is to say, when the desirability of the good influences us more strongly than the undesirability of the evil, so that the good is taken in spite of the evil consequences to follow. The good is unworthy to predominate over the evil when there is less of it; for then the evil should predominate—i.e., the undesirability of the evil should lead us to reject it, even at the cost of rejecting a (lesser) good. To put it briefly, the good in such a case is *not worth* the evil. Since, then, to be mastered by the good implies error, it must mean to allow a lesser good to predominate in our calculations over a greater evil—i.e., to choose a good in spite of the greater evil it entails, or, in other words, to take greater evil *in exchange for*, or *as the price of*, lesser good.

This explanation does not, I think, put an undue strain on any expression in the Greek, while it provides an argument that is perfectly valid.

In conclusion, I would emphasise the following points:

1. The 'good' and 'evil' referred to are pleasures and their painful consequences.

2. ἐν ὑμῖν does mean 'in your souls' rather than 'before your tribunal,' but must be taken closely with νικᾶν. The good and evil are external, but the scene of their conflict is the soul.

3. 'The evil' *is* substituted for 'us,' but the substitution is perfectly legitimate, and does not in any way vitiate the argument.

4. ἀνάξια τῶν κακῶν means 'not worth the evil consequences.'

5. ἀντί means, not 'instead of,' 'in place of,' but in 'exchange for' in the sense of 'in payment of,' 'in requital for,' the pain suffered being regarded as the price of the pleasure enjoyed.

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[1] But *vide supra*.

WHY MORE THAN ONE HOLE THROUGH THE MOON?

In Plutarch's fragmentary and very imperfectly preserved dialogue, *De Facie in Orbe Lunae*, one of his characters, Sylla, speaks of two perforations from the earthward side of the moon to its opposite surface. According to the translation given by Prof. Goodwin, they are two 'long passages, through which the soul must go, sometimes to that part of the moon which is towards heaven, and sometimes to that which is towards earth. Now that part of the moon which is towards heaven is called the Elysian Fields; and that which is towards the earth, the Field of Proserpina that is opposite to the earth' (vol. v. 289).

Are we to think of these two holes through the body of the moon as equidistant from the centre of the 'orb,' or otherwise? Are they straight through from surface to surface, or are they too crooked for the stars to look through? Are they parallel, or divergent, or convergent, or mutually transverse, or some way convoluted, or simply nondescript? Above all, why are there 'two' passages, when one would equally well give to the ghost, from the one end, the complete earthward aspect and prospect; and, from the other, a complete survey of everything on the opposite side and in the opposite direction? Has any commentator ever given us the needed light on these questions? The present writer knows of none. Adler, in his dissertation, *Quibus ex Fontibus*, 1910, cites the perplexing words of Sylla, but gives no interpretation. Ebner's *Geographische Hinweise*, 1906, has many points of value, but here affords no help. Roscher's *Selene*, p. 91 *n.* and Gruppe, p. 1,036 *n.* only leave us more than ever tantalised.

In our perplexity, may it not be well to step back into the universe in which Plato and Aristotle and their successors lived? It consists of an immovable earth, enclosed in eight solid concentric and geocentric spheres, all in diversely speeded yet euphonious revolution. The nearest of the eight is called the 'lunar sphere'; and, firmly attached to its solid equatorial surface at a certain point is the luminary visible to us as the waxing and waning moon (Sir G. C. Lewis, *Astronomy of the Ancients*, p. 165). Moreover, we are to conceive of an orifice, not only at each pole of this lunar sphere, but also at each pole of each of the concentric spheres above and beyond the lunar. The intermundane highway or 'path' on which the gods and human spirits normally pass from one whirling sphere to another runs straight through these permanent and never displaced polar openings (J. A. Stewart, *Myths of Plato*, p. 351 ff.). In the 'lunar sphere,' therefore, conceived of according to ancient cosmological ideas, *two* openings, one at either pole, are precisely what we should look for and expect to find. In Sylla's 'orb' we find the two. And how perfectly their locations are indicated by the regions to which they respectively give access. Coming up through the lower or south-polar orifice, a soul would find itself directly under the under-hemisphere of the earth, the southern, in the Hades of Homeric cosmology, here designated by the equivalent term, the 'Field of Proserpina.' Passing on through the second, or north-polar passage, the same soul would find itself standing upon the upper, or heavenward, surface of the same geocentric sphere, in 'Fields Elysian,' all sublunary cares and ills completely left behind.[1]

If Sylla had conceived of the two ghost-passages as being in the visible moon, consistency would have com-

[1] For fuller light on the Greek world-view, see J. L. E. Dreyer, *Planetary Systems from Thales to Copernicus*; on the location of Homer's Hades, Warren, *Earliest Cosmologies*, pp. 157-177; on the Upanishad conception of the *due North*, 'Path of the Devas,' and the *due South*, 'Path of the Pitris,' *each conducting the newly disembodied soul to the interior surface of the Lunar Sphere*, *Ibid.*, pp. 118, 119: on the bi-polar openings in the concentric spheres, *Ibid.*, pp. 75, 117 f., 211. A Greek recognition of the polar 'path' from sphere to sphere is found in Apollonius, *Argonautica* iii. 158, noticed in *The Nation*, N.Y., for June 23, 1910. A distinguished scholar of Oxford says of it: 'The fact is clear, now that it is once pointed out.'

pelled him to picture to himself the Elysian Fields as in outer darkness at every return of the full moon, for all parties in the dialogue seem to understand perfectly well that the illumination of the surface of the waxing and waning *selene* proceeds solely from the sun, and that the surface opposite to the sun is necessarily without light. On the other hand, if the bi-perforated 'orb' of our text is the earth-enclosing lunar sphere of ancient cosmology, and the Elysian Fields are its heavenward surface, those Fields are ever overarched by the yet higher, ever luminous, geocentric heaven of the 'solar sphere,' and hence are, as they should be, in the world of celestial light where life is Elysian and unending.

This brief communication asserts nothing; it only raises the interesting question whether possibly this ampler interpretation of the lunar 'orb' may not, in this text, be truer to the thought of Sylla than is the ordinary one, and whether it may not give us the exact reason why two passage-ways for souls are spoken of, instead of one. If the suggestion is found correct, it will also make plain a troublesome passage in an earlier section of the dialogue, the passage translated by Goodwin as follows: 'The earth, as you have maintained, has but the proportion of a point, if compared to the sphere of the moon.' That various other passages obviously refer to the visible, rather than to the invisible lunar orb, may, I think, be admitted without prejudice to the questions above propounded. In any case, whatever the result of their consideration in the mind of the reader, I feel confident that he will find the study one of self-rewarding interest.

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HOMERICA.

CERTAIN points in the interpretation of Homer are raised in the May number of *The Classical Review*; on these perhaps I may be allowed to write as briefly as possible. Far be it from me to enter into polemics with F. M. S., the kind reviewer of my *World of Homer*, but when that critic asks (p. 76) 'Where indeed is the *ἁμάρτημα* of Patroclus,' and 'where is the *ἁμάρτημα* of Priam?' one can answer. The error of Priam is connivance at the abduction of Helen with the portable property of her husband; to this is added, as Diomede and Hector alike proclaim, the breach by Pandarus of the Oaths of Truce.

As to the error of Patroclus, it is an example of a very widely diffused idea and *motif* in early superstition and early romantic fiction. We have the explanation of the error of Patroclus, as soon as we have read the words of Achilles to that hero (*Iliad* XVI. 86-96). Achilles has laid, in the phrase of the ancient Irish epical romances, a *gessa*, a kind of personal tabu, on Patroclus, and has sanctioned it by a premonition which is fulfilled. When Achilles says 'Do thou obey my commandment, . . . when thou hast driven the Trojans from the ships, return! Lead not on to Ilios! Beware Apollo!' every child who is familiar with folk-tales knows that Patroclus will infallibly disobey the commandment, will not return, will lead on toward Ilios, will encounter Apollo, and will fall. Patroclus infringes the prohibition—he drives on against Ilios, and that is the *ἁμάρτημα* of Patroclus. This kind of prohibition, with the automatic consequence of total disaster when it is infringed, is so common that I find it in a manuscript copy of a *Märchen* of the Gold Coast which has to-day come into my hands. Ananzi has wandered from a world of famine into a rich delightful fairyland. The *gessa* laid on him is not to dance *thrice* round the dancing ground. He dances twice . . . he dances thrice, he hears no applause, he finds himself back in his own land of famine. Psyche may not see Cupid, she infringes the prohibition, and so on endlessly. Achilles has sent Patroclus into no peril, as long as Patroclus obeys his command. The whole affair is not only intelligible but

necessary: however, to see the necessity we must know the conventions of early romance. Odysseus, in *Od.* V. does obey the *gessa* of the sea-goddess.

As regards 'the different character given to Odysseus by Homer and later poets,' from the *Cypria* onwards, I may mention an analogy not known to me when I wrote my book. Odysseus is a cur in the *Cypria;* is the murderer of the stainless Palamedes, an idea carried out, as I showed, in Athenian and Roman perversions of Homer; and so on, through the Middle Ages. To Palamedes are attributed by the Ionian *Cypria* and its successors, more than the virtues of the Homeric Odysseus, while Odysseus is 'much of a cur.' The parallel is found in Blind Harry's *Wallace* (*circa* 1490), in which the exploits of Bruce, done after Wallace's death, are assigned to Wallace; and, as in the Cyclics, new social and other institutions, and plenty of ghosts, unknown in *The Brus* of Barbour (1370), are freely introduced. *The Brus* is historical, and no more mentions Wallace than the *Iliad* mentions Palamedes, for the excellent reason that Wallace was dead before Barbour begins his epic-rhymed chronicle of Bruce. In the same way Palamedes in the *Cypria* is dead before the Wrath of Achilles begins. But Palamedes, I think I proved, is a culture-hero planted by the Ionians, by non-Homeric poets at all events, among the Achaean warriors; and he has all the merits of the best of them, as Harry makes Wallace absorb all the exploits of Bruce except Bannockburn.

Harry and the Cyclics represent a new age, new notions and institutions, a new *couche sociale;* Homer and Barbour are of an older time, Homer is manifestly of another people and age than those of the Cyclic poets. He has a different idea of the future life; has no worship of the dead; no purification of the homicide; never tells an Attic or Ionian legend; ignores Attic heroes; never assigns an exploit to an Attic warrior; ignores even their pedigrees, and only once mentions the Ionian name. How then can he be an Ionian? Meanwhile the Ionians bring the Attic heroes, the Theseids, into the Trojan leaguer.

The case is clear; Homer is no more a Ionian than Crummles was a Prussian. It is a historic certainty; but the false Ionian claim to Homer poisons the well of criticism. I have not yet read Dr. Rothe's *Die Ilias als Dichtung*, reviewed by Mr. Shewan (*C.R.* pp. 80-82). I therefore do not know why Dr. Rothe says 'Homer is an Ionian.' If so, Homer 'dissembles his love' of the Ionians almost to the proverbial extent of kicking them downstairs. He 'bars' everything Ionian, as I think I showed in *The World of Homer*. We shall never understand Homer while we allow an Ionian to have any part or lot in the stuff of his Epics: as to the language, the philologists may 'keep on fighting.' I leave to scholars 'the much debated linguistic phenomena.' As to the stuff of the Epics—religion, rites, legends, heroes, armour—it is consistently non-Ionic.

A. LANG.

HORACE, *OD.* I. 20: *TU BIBES.*

THE difficulties to which the closing words of this ode have given rise are too well known to need lengthy repetition. Commentators fall into three main groups:

1. Emendations of the verb-tense.
   (*a*) *Tu bibas:* 'Though you drink' (Keller; who has, however, altered his views more than once).
   (*b*) *Bibīs:* 'You are accustomed to' (Keller, *Rh. Mus.* 18. 273).
2. Emendations of the pronoun.
   (*a*) *Tum bibes* (Page, Palmer, Wickham, and others. Keller changed to this. Orelli adapted it in the 4th edition. It is found in the best MSS. of the Scholia on *Satire* II. 2. 48).
   (*b*) *Non bibes* (Schwenk).

3. Radical alterations.
   (*a*) *Potabo* (Schütz).
   (*b*) *Vides* (Munro, *Journ. Philol.* III. 349).
   (*c*) *Liques* (Krüger, *Rh. Mus.* XXV. 633).
   (*d*) *Invides* (Verrall, *Studies in Odes of Horace*, pp. 146 ff.)

Let the reader himself decide on the merit of these various interpretations. To my mind Verrall's is the only fruitful one.

Horace understood thoroughly the meaning of the artistic point, the neat climax. The flaw in most interpretations is that just this climax fails.

Any interpretation which makes Horace promise Maecenas better wines must have this flaw inherent. Other interpretations (*tum bibes*) which refer *bibes* to what Maecenas shall drink when he goes home, split the unity of a trifle which depends on a simple unity for effect. The invitation is to Horace's farm. Any drinking referred to will take place there. Schütz has the right of it here.

In offering an explanation, then, I am endeavouring to show that the last words only emphasise 'vile.' It is the final chuckle in a neat piece of teasing.

In the first place, what should we expect Horace to say? Something like this, perhaps: 'You may (must, can, would, etc., as the various interpretations go) drink C. and C.; but I haven't got such rich wines.' He goes on, however: 'But I don't possess F. or F.' There seems no sense in such a conclusion.

If, however, he said: 'Do you think you are going to drink C. and C.? Why, I haven't even F. or F.,' the conclusion would assume point if F. and F. were commoner wines than C. and C.

Suppose, however, he went further and said: 'You are a convalescent, Maecenas. Do you expect to drink light invalid wines, good for the stomach? Why, I haven't even the coarser sorts that a sound man only may drink.'

The point would seem to lie in a combination of these two views.

Page, Palmer, and Wickham *ad loc.* say 'Caecubum, etc., see *Dict. Antiq.* They were all expensive and luxurious wines.' This is to mention and ignore the difficulty at once.

Keller (*Rh. Mus.*) is bold and sarcastic: 'Was für ein anderer interessanter Unterschied zwischen diesen Weinclassen besteht als dass die Erste mit C. die Zweite mit F. anfängt weiss ich nicht.'

This is at least to tackle the difficulty by calling attention to it.

It was Keller, too, who said (*Rh. Mus.*) in opposing 'Tum bibes': 'The only supposition on which this reading is correct is that Horace supposed C. and C. below F. and F.' Although he scoffed at the notion he was suggestive. The reverse is the case.

If we turn to Pliny (*N. H.* XIV. 8 ff.), he divides wines into four main classes. To the first class belonged the Caecuban. This, he says, held the palm for quality. Augustus ranked Setinum first, but Caecuban held the pride of place till then. That it was a highly valued wine in Horace's time is seen from I. 37. 5, where it is used at a supplicatio. For more about this wine see Verrall (*Studies, loc. cit.*).

Next Falernian. Pliny puts it high in the second class. Though there were three sorts of this wine, the dark seems to have been the most characteristic. Martial (II. 40) speaks of 'fusca Falerna,' and Pliny (XXIII. 22) says that the 'nigrum' wine is bad for the stomach. True, it builds up the body. (Hence Horace's recommendation, *Sat.* II. 2. 15); but a wine whose habitual epithets were 'ardens' (*Od.* II. xi. 19), 'forte' (*Sat.* II. 4. 24), 'severum' (*Od.* I. 27. 9), could scarcely suit convalescents and invalids. For further remarks on this see Verrall.

Sat. II. 8. 16 might seem to contradict the notion of an appreciable difference between Caecuban and Falernian. This depends on how the joke is understood. I take it thus, that the parvenu does not know which wine to put on with which course. He brings along Caecuban. Then, seeing a sly look pass between Maecenas and Horace (no doubt at the pompous Hydaspes), he says to himself: 'Great Heavens! The wrong thing again! I should have brought on Falernian first!' Or the joke may lie in the vulgar display of the resources of his wine-cellar. The words 'divitias miseras' may imply it.

Formianum. According to Smith's *Dict. Antiq.* it is a third-class wine. The authority for the statement is not quoted, nor could I find it. Some reader may kindly fill the gap. But what made Orelli write 'et Formiana omnium nobilissima eadem fortissima et acerrima' is hard to say. He quotes no authority for the statement. Probably he felt that a sense of climax demanded it. The opposite would seem to be the case.

The Calenian has been reserved as offering some difficulty. Pliny distinctly places it in the third class. 'But,' he adds, 'formerly it held a higher place.' This should be read in conjunction with his opening remarks on the subject of wine-classification. 'Vineyards as well as states have their periods of rise of glory and of fall.' That it was a famous wine in Horace's day seems likely from the fact that Strabo mentions the Campanian and Latian as the very best of Italian wines. The Calenian seems to have been the most representative of Campanian wines. Moreover, Horace, *Od.* I. 31. 9, mentions it in connexion with a prosperous lot. Keller on this passage translates Calena by 'echt Champagner.' Smith (*Dict. Antiq.*) says this wine was κοῦφος, and better for the stomach than Falernian. It would therefore suit a convalescent man, and one who at no time of his life was strong.

The result, then, would be that C. and C. are first-class wines, one being peculiarly suited to a convalescent; that Falernian is a second-class wine, harmful for a convalescent; and that Formianum is third-class, probably a very poor wine.

All that is left to do is to turn *tu bibes* into a question. Such a question can clearly expect a negative answer. Cf. Virgil, *Aen.* VI. 374:

> Tu Stygias inhumatus aquas amnemque severum
> Eumenidum aspicies, ripamve iniussus adibis?

Or, since there seem grounds for *tum*, we might read *tun'*. Cf. Propertius, I. 8. 1:

> Tun' igitur demens? nec te mea cura moratur?

The ode, then, is a piece of sustained banter. 'Aha! my Maecenas, you who are not too proud to be an eques, if you come and dine with the freedman's son, you'll live the simple life with a vengeance. Do you think you're going to pet your stomach with champagne or invalid port? Oh, dear no! You'll not even get the coarser sorts from me. Down you sit to vin ordinaire.' And with all the banter is delicately blent a tenderness and thankfulness for a friend's recovery.

The patient reader will forgive many words on a small thing if he regards them as an attempt to show that Horace knew how to couch his tiniest lyrics in artistic form.

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NOTES

EUR. *MEDEA* 608 καὶ σοῖς ἀραία γε.

ΙΑ. αὐτὴ τάδ' εἵλου· μηδέν' ἄλλον αἰτιῶ.
ΜΗ. τί δρῶσα, μῶν γαμοῦσα καὶ προδοῦσά σε;
ΙΑ. ἀρὰς τυράννοις ἀνοσίους ἀρωμένη.
ΜΗ. καὶ σοῖς ἀραία γ' οὖσα τυγχάνω δόμοις. 608.
ΙΑ. ὡς οὐ κρινοῦμαι τῶνδέ σοι τὰ πλείονα. . . .

The accepted rendering, *e.g.*, Prof. Murray's 'On thy house also, as chance falls, I am a living curse,' makes this a typical καί x γε, i.e. a *bona fide* remark. Apart from the question of lack of dramatic force (a serious one to judge from notes), it may be asked:

1. What other cases of καί xy γε are there in any way parallel to this? I can find none.[1]

[1] A fair search gave, among many cases of καί x γε, the following of καί xy γε: Soph. *Ai.* 1123; Eurip. *Ion* 1415, *Elec.* 986, *Rhesus* 481, *Herac.* 683, *Andr.* 244, *Bacch.* 488. 937, *Phoen.* 601, *Orest.* 784, *I.A.* 894, *Cyc.* 573. 684; Aristoph.

2. Does not the above rendering make *καὶ σοῖς ἀραία γε* = *καὶ σοῖς γ' ἀραία*, metri gratia?

3. Is this equation possible? Would the Greek ear feel that *ἀραία* which, as merely taken over from 607, is by hypothesis quite weak, remains weak when followed by *γε*?

4. For in cases of *καί x γε* and *καί xy γε* is not the actual word which *γε* follows, or the phrase in which *γε* is embedded, the strongest in the line, and enforced by the enclisis of *γε*? *e.g. Med.* 688. 704. 1361; *Phoen.* 601; *Cyc.* 684.

So that, if this is a typical *καί xy γε*, it should mean

'Yes, and I *am* a curse to you and yours,'

where *σοῖς* is quite unemphatic, and merely = *τυράννοις*, which is surely impossible.

Then as to the dramatic:

1. Why, after the tense sarcasm of 606, should Medea suddenly turn flat? Surely 607 should rouse the same mood further.

2. Why, if the line is particularly low in key, should Jason apply the guillotine just here?

I suggest, then, that this is not a typical *καί xy γε*, and not *bona fide*. Medea, as in 606, pinning him down to *their* relation (her fixed idea), first catches up *τυράννοις*, and is going to ask 'And *your* house did I curse?', sees in a flash the irony of one historical act to strangers nullifying his lifelong obligation to her, and converts to the continuous (cf. *I. T.* 778 :)

'And to *your* house have I always been a curse?'

but turns question to sarcasm where *ἀραία* naturally takes *γε* (cf. *Ant.* 739, Jebb's note on adj. and *γε*).

'And *your* house—a curse to that I have always been, no doubt!'

If she wished to mark the collocation *σοῖς ἀραία* as absurd, could she do it better? Then Jason, fearing a return to the dangerous theme of 465-575, characteristically applies the closure *ὡς οὐ. . . .*

Punctuating

καὶ σοῖς ἀραία γ' οὖσα τυγχάνω δόμοις;

'And to *your* house a *curse* have I always been?'

is simpler and more in line with 606, but perhaps less dramatic. The double point is an actor's problem rather than a translator's, who can hardly hope to represent it.

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NOTE ON CAESAR *B.G.* IV. 3.

† et paulo quam sunt eiusdem generis et ceteris humaniores. †

The note on above in the May number of *C.R.* proposes to omit the second *et* and take *quam* as indefinite = 'rather,' quoting in support Cic. *Att.* i. 11^3, *QF.* ii. 4^5, *Fam.* xi. 13^3. But in all these passages *quam* is an intensive particle = *very, exceedingly*, as also in Cic. *Leg.* ii. 23; *Fam.* iv. 5^1, viii. 1^2, *ib.* 4^2, xi. 13^4, and in six passages of Plautus (three passages in Terence are probably exclamatory). There is one possible passage in Caesar *B.G.* vi. 26, ab eius summo sicut palmae rami quam late diffunduntur, as read in some MSS. This intensive meaning of *quam* would in *loc. cit.* make no sense, and I therefore suggest that the possible reading is 'et paulo quam sunt eiusdem generis ceteri humaniores,' the corruption *ceteris* easily arising from its proximity to *humaniores* and its separation from *quam sunt.*

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AIMA TAΥΡΟΥ.

Num Themistocles et Psammeticus, rex Aegypti, *αἷμα ταύρου πιόντες* sunt absumpti? Aiunt historici, negant medici; recentem enim tauri sanguinem homini haud esse letalem. Ambigi igitur posset utrum hi viri corruptum bibissent sanguinem an quoddam

Eq. 422. 716. 942, *Nub.* 1068, *Vesp.* 201. 1003. 1139, *Pax* 625. 913. 979, *Av.* 949, *Lysistr.* 88. 516. 572, *Ran.* 70. 80. 695, *Eccl.* 54. 445. Of these some are simply not to the point: *καί* = 'both,' 'even,' etc. In very many the two words are one, *e.g. καὶ μὴ-μετασχεῖν γε.* I omit cases of Aristophanic *καὶ νὴ Δία. . . .* In all cases where *καί . . . γε* is not accidental, I submit that 4. *infra* holds good.

ταύρου nomine praetextum. Quid enim Lexicon? '*ταῦρος· αἰδοῖον, κοχώνη* (*κοχάνη, -α*).' Ergo nescio an *αἷμα ταύρου* in muliebre illud innuat quod—vulgo *menses*, *menstrua* nominatum—*τοξικὸν* in philtris a sagis, Canidiae sororibus, usurpetur. Aegyptiae certe uxores hodie etiam maritos, nova conubia affectantes, aqua hoc cruore corrupta in ollamque fictilem versa solent interdum necare.

Ad Themistoclem et Psammeticum (? Psammenitum) accedit pater Iasonis, et ille, auctore Diodoro Siculo, l. iv., sanguine *ταύρου* absumptus.

Et Plutarchus et Aristophanes—Aegypto oriundus, si Athenaeo credendum—de Themistoclis morte sunt auctores; *e.g.*

βέλτιστον ἡμῖν αἷμα ταύρειον πιεῖν·
ὁ Θεμιστοκλέους γὰρ θάνατος
αἱρετώτερος.

Arist. *Eq.* 83.

Vide sis Plin. xi. 38, xxviii. 9; Herod. iii. 15 *αἷμα ταύρου πιὼν ἀπέθανε παραχρῆμα.*

HUGO JOHNSON.

D. Memphide Aegyptiaca,
a. d. X Kal. Jun. A.S. MDCCCCXI.

A DRAMA 'FULL OF ARES.'

ΔΙ. *καὶ τί σὺ δράσας οὕτως αὐτοὺς*
γενναίους ἐξεδίδαξας;
Αἰσχύλε, λέξον, μηδ' αὐθάδως σεμ-
νυνόμενος χαλέπαινε.
ΑΙΣ. *δρᾶμα ποιήσας Ἄρεως μεστόν.*

Aristoph. *Frogs*, 1021.

THE explanation of the last line is, of course, given by Aeschylus himself in his next words, '*ὃ θεασάμενος πᾶς ἄν τις ἀνὴρ ἠράσθη δάϊος εἶναι*,' but perhaps we may also see in the words '*Ἄρεως μεστόν*' a jesting allusion to the 'Septem.' Within ninety lines of that play the name *Ἄρης* occurs six times (in 45, 53, 64, 105, 115 and 135), with *ἀρείων ὅπλων* in 121; in the two hundred and fifty-three lines from 244 to 497 it is found six times more (in 244, 344, 412, 414, 469 and 497); and it appears again in lines 910 and 945. Is it not likely that so frequent a repetition of the same name, in verses so strikingly grouped, had aroused enough comment among the Athenians to enable Aristophanes to jest upon it in this way?

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OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRUS 1085.

THIS is a scrap of an *ouvrage couronné* on a lion fight of Hadrian and Antinous. Like others of its class, it owes its interest more to subject than treatment. Still a few suggestions for its improvement may be welcome.

2 [*ῥηιδί*]*ως*, to be taken with *ἐξεσάωσε*, will not exceed the space as I learn from Dr. Hunt. 23 [*φρισσο*]*μένη* best fits the space and the sense, and the middle voice is used by Polyaenus. So Pancrates may have used it too. It is less strange anyhow than his *χαλκήρεον* (*ἔγχος*) v. 6. It is possible that it should be regarded as a passive, seeing that *φρίσσω* is often active as in *Od.* 19. 446 *φρίξας εὖ λοφιήν*, of a wild boar in a hunt.

28 *ῥῆξεν μὲν στόμαχον* would be well followed by *θε*[*μέθλων δ' ἔκ κόψ*]*ε τένοντας* if this can be got into the space. W.-M.'s *τένοντας* seems certain.

The lion seemingly gives his last roar in 32. But he takes as long to die as a prima donna and in 33 sqq. apparently he kills a horse. In 34 Dr. Hunt prints *προπετῶς*. But I do not know how he reconciles this with the metre. I have suggested (*Athenaeum*, July 29, 1911, where these conjectures appeared first) that *ἐν κονίῃσι πέσεν* (perhaps *πεσών*) should be followed by *προπετέσσ*[*ι γένυσσι*]. In the next line I proposed [*ἄσθμασι δ' ἱ*]*ππείοισι βάλεν πλατὺ ν*[*ῶτον* ⏑ – –, and Dr. Hunt tells me that *πλατὺ ν*[*ῶτον* is consistent with the indications of the papyrus. *ἄσθμασι* just fits the space required. In 36 [*δυσθνήσκων θ'*] *ὁπλαῖσιν ἑαῖς κατέτυπ*[*τε κονίην*] will give the situation, as I conceive it.

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REVIEWS

CODICES E VATICANIS SELECTI PHOTOTYPICE EXPRESSI, VOLUMEN XI.

Codices e Vaticanis selecti phototypice expressi iussu Pii X consilio et opera curatorum Bybliothecae Vaticanae, Volumen xi. Il libro di GIULIANO DA SANGALLO (codice Vaticano Barberiniano Latino, 4424), con introduzione e note di Cristiano Hülsen. One vol. text folio, pp. lx+104, 17 plates; and one vol. facsimiles elephant folio, 69 plates. Leipzig: O. Harrassowitz, 1910. M. 320.

IT has already been pointed out in this *Review* (p. 83) that the Papal authorities are rendering a great service to the learned world by the publication of two series of sumptuous works—one consisting of catalogues of the contents of the Museums in their keeping, the other of facsimiles of the most important MSS. in the Vatican Library. The volumes before us represent the last contribution to the latter series; and the manuscript is certainly worthy of the splendid method of publication which has fallen to its lot.

It is the well-known book of Giuliano da Sangallo, the famous Florentine architect, in which he had collected the specimens of architecture, ancient and modern, which appeared most interesting to him—a volume of seventy-five parchment leaves, originally divided into five parts, but bound up in 1514-16 (the latter the year of Giuliano's death), the leaves of the first part having been enlarged by the addition of lateral strips, and those of the second slightly cut down, to make them uniform in size with the rest.

Most of the drawings are not sketches, but careful drawings executed at home, and some of them are taken from earlier originals by other artists, notably Francesco di Giorgio Martini of Siena; while this manuscript itself served in some cases as the actual original of the drawings in the Codex Escurialensis; in others both depend on common originals—drawings, as Egger has proved, of Domenico Ghirlandaio (*C. Q.* iii. (1909) 147). The Siena sketch-book, on the other hand, contains drawings less carefully finished. The dates of these drawings seem to range from 1485 to 1514. Giuliano's son Francesco made various additions to the Codex, though without increasing the number of leaves.

Other artists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries copied them direct—among these Giorgio Vasari the younger, and two unknown draughtsmen, the work of one of whom is preserved in a MS. of the Destailleur collection, now in the Kunstgewerbemuseum at Berlin; while the other was employed by Cassiano dal Pozzo, his drawings being now preserved at Windsor; the latter is the 'second hand' of the so-called Coner sketch-book in the Soane Museum (Papers of the British School at Rome, vol. ii.—my dating of him on p. 10 of that volume is therefore erroneous).[1] The volume passed from the hands of the architect's family into the library of the Sacchetti not later than the middle of the seventeenth century, and shortly afterwards into the Barberini Library, where it remained until the whole library passed to the Vatican in 1902.

Its contents were already known in some measure to scholars, from various publications on points of detail, and from the careful description of Cornel von Fabriczy (*Die Handzeichnungen Giuliano's da Sangallo*, Stuttgart, 1902), but the present edition is no less than its due, considering the exceptional importance and beauty of the book, for there are hardly any drawings dealing with the monuments of Rome which are so early in date and so careful in execution.'

[1] I may add two corrections in points of detail: (1) The exact year of the discovery of the obelisk of Augustus in the Campus Martius (cf. p. lvi) is given by Coner (f. 69) as 1512, so that Giuliano cannot have copied the inscription as early as 1510. (2) The volume at Windsor containing the majority of the copies of the

The introduction contains a description of the MS. itself, of its formation, subsequent history, etc.: while the commentary deals in full detail with each drawing individually. Both of these parts of Professor Hülsen's work display the patience and knowledge which mark his work; while some of his identifications are the fruit, not only of careful research, but of sure intuition.

For the topography and archaeology of Rome we gain much: thus Sangallo is almost the only one who preserves to us (f. 1^{v}, 2) drawings of a portico connected with, or, at any rate, near, the Theatre of Marcellus, which has now entirely disappeared, having, it would seem, been destroyed under Paul II. We note that the keystones of the arcades of the upper story of this theatre were decorated with masks of marble (?) affixed to the travertine blocks by clamps (f. 4). There is an interesting discussion as to the Caryatid drawn on f. 10^{v}, which may have belonged to the decoration either of the Forum of Augustus or the Forum of Trajan. Paribeni (*Boll' d'Arte*, 1910, 313) adds an important observation—that the representation of the hair of the Caryatid in the drawing of the Kunstgewerbemuseum, in small masses which cross like the strands of a basket, is probably taken from a head of a Canephoros in which a *κάλαθος* was actually present, and was misunderstood and carelessly copied (either by the draughtsman or in antiquity).

We have a drawing (f. 13^{v}) of the so-called Torre di Boezio at Pavia, a many-sided brick structure, of which we have no other record, except an engraving in a rare book on Pavia of 1602, which is reproduced in the text. It seems to have been twelve-sided at the least: the upper part had two decorative orders, the lower with atlantes, the upper with caryatides. It can hardly be classical, but its complete disappearance is most curious.

The drawings of capitals, cornices and bases are many, and Professor Hülsen has been remarkably successful in the difficult task of identifying them. I may add that another example of the curious Doric pilaster capital (f. 14^{v}, m) exists in the ground-floor of Prince Borghese's house at the Abbey of Fossanuova; the measurements agree with those of Coner, and the material is Numidian marble (giallo antico).

We have (f. 25^{v}) a very interesting drawing, the only one known, of the Arch of Gallienus, near the Church of S. Vito on the Esquiline, with the two lateral arches which it originally possessed, destroyed apparently late in the fifteenth century.

Folios 28 and 29 are copied from a lost MS. of Cyriacus of Ancona, relating to his travels in Greece, and the commentary is of considerable interest.

The drawings also throw considerable light on some of the now destroyed early Christian decorations of Rome—those of the Lateran Baptistery, of the Oratorium Sanctae Crucis, constructed on the north-west of it by Pope Hilarius (461-468), and destroyed by Urban VIII. early in the twelfth century, and also those of the Pagan Basilica of Junius Bassus, converted into a church about A.D. 470.

It is interesting to notice that the plan on f. 32, though said to be of a temple of Apollo at Athens, is in reality, as Professor Hülsen has seen, simply an adaptation to the circular form of the rectangular plan of the so-called Crypta Balbi, more probably to be identified with the Porticus Minucia Frumentaria at Rome.

It is even more curious to find that the views of Rome on f. 34^{v} and 35 are copied from an original by Domenico Ghirlandaio (as are those in the Codex Escurialensis), although Giuliano was so much in Rome.

On f. 62, 62^{v}, 71 we have drawings of machines for lifting heavy weights, probably invented by Francesco di Giorgio Martini—certainly not by Giuliano himself.

The plan of the temple of Serapis in the Quirinal (f. 65^{v}) is of especial

drawings from this MS. bears the older number p. 239 *a*. 2, and has since been numbered A. 17, and still more recently vol. 190 (Inventory nos. 10780 *sqq.*) (XXVI. of Michaelis' list in *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*, p. 720); and the numbers of the leaves on which are the drawings of the hemi-cycle of the Forum of Trajan reproduced by Boni are 5*a* and 38.

importance; with regard to this and other points we are promised special monographs.

As to Giuliano's accuracy in general, it is worthy of note that Giuliano often did not copy the inscriptions directly, even from such well-known and accessible monuments of Rome as the Porta Maggiore, the Column of Trajan, and the Arch of Constantine, but took them directly, or most probably indirectly, from copies already made by Signorili, as is manifest from errors in the text (see f. 18^{v}, 19^{v} *b*). On the other hand, the inscription on the arch at Ancona (f. 21) was apparently taken from the original; and we know that Giuliano went there: and the same is the case with the Arch of Severus (f. 21^{v}). We find, too, that we cannot treat Giuliano as an absolutely trustworthy witness as to the state of buildings which have since disappeared; and we must mention that many of the reconstructions are arbitrary in important details—*e.g.* those of the Arch of Septimius Severus, of the Basilica Aemilia, of the Round Temple in the Forum Boarium, of the arch with four openings at Madlborghetto on the Via Flaminia, the Theatre and Arch of Orange, etc.

The full value of this work will not appear at a first or even at a second reading. It will be in the course of constant use and reference that one will learn to appreciate entirely the great service that Professor Hülsen has done to students in giving them such rich material for comparison, and for the understanding of drawings in other collections; and now that photographic processes are so cheap and successful, there is every reason why many more such publications should be made. One result will certainly be that we shall find that many of the drawings widely scattered over the libraries of the world are identical with others, or derived from a common archetype; and it is only by such researches as these that we shall be able to arrive at a determination of what these archetypes were—an investigation of paramount importance for the history and understanding of Renaissance architecture.

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LE GRAND PALAIS DE CONSTANTINOPLE.

Le Grand Palais de Constantinople et le Livre des Cérémonies. By J. EBERSOLT. Paris: E. Leroux, 1910.

Sainte-Sophie de Constantinople. Étude topographique d'après les Cérémonies. By J. EBERSOLT. Paris: E. Leroux, 1910.

A NEW attempt to reconstruct the Imperial Palace of Constantinople, based on an independent and intelligent examination of the evidence, is welcome. For although, as the evidence is purely literary and is controlled by very few topographical data (the positions of the Hippodrome and St. Sophia, and the line of the coast), reconstructions must be in their details conjectural, yet if the site of the Palace ever comes to be excavated, the labours of all the students who have tried to elucidate the topography will be invaluable for the interpretation of the archaeological discoveries.

M. Ebersolt has had four principal predecessors. Labarte, whose bold and brilliant pioneer work has for good or evil influenced all those who came after him, was followed by Paspates, whose book on the Palace, although he knew the ground well and Labarte did not, represents a distinct retrogression. Besides the fact that his method of using the literary evidence was deplorably unscientific, Paspates committed two fundamental mistakes, in identifying the Augusteum with the Forum of Constantine, and in placing the Augusteum between the Hippodrome and the Palace. The errors of Labarte, as well as of Paspates, were mercilessly exposed by Bieliaev, whose study of the Palace, excluding speculation and conjecture almost entirely, seeks to determine what exactly we can infer from the data in Constantine's Ceremonial-Book as to the mutual relations of the various palatial buildings and apartments. This invalu-

able work is analytical and critical, not reconstructive; Bieliaev declines to make a plan of his own. Reber's investigation is of less importance than the rest; it was only incidental to his study of the Carolingian palaces, and his plan is vitiated by a fundamental misconception.

M. Ebersolt's work is synthetic, and he has given us a plan of the Palace. So far as many details are concerned, we must take the plan as offered with every reserve, and intended as a guide to assist us in following his explanations; but it represents a new conception of the general arrangement of the buildings, to establish which is the main point of the work. To criticise usefully the general lines of this reconstruction would require far more space than is available here; but I hope to show elsewhere that in many points it is not compatible with the evidence. It may be added that one of the novelties and merits of the book is the chronological order of the exposition. The buildings, beginning with the Constantinian, are discussed in the order of their erection, so far as it can be determined.

While the main source for the topography is the Ceremonial-Book—illuminated occasionally by stray passages in the Greek chroniclers—two new documents bearing on the subject have in recent years become available. One of these (a text of Nikolaos Mesarites, of which we owe the publication to Professor Heisenberg) has been used, and used well, by the author; to the other he does not refer.

A special chapter is judiciously devoted to the difficult question of the various entrances to the Palace. I wonder that the Spatharikion is not located on the plan, for its approximate position is much clearer than many of the buildings which appear. In regard to the Ivory Gate, which is mentioned in a few places, the account of the murder of Leo V may have a bearing on its position. M. Ebersolt accepts the statement of Nicetas, in the *Vita Ignatii*, that he was slain in the Church of the Virgin of the Pharos; but he should have noticed the divergent statement in the *Acta SS. Davidis Simeonis et Georgii* (ed. Boll. 229)—the scene was the Church of St. Stephen in Daphne. If this were true, it would support the view, which seems otherwise probable, that this gate led into the Hippodrome near Daphne. Bieliaev is certainly right in supposing that it was a small gate, never used on ceremonial occasions.

M. Ebersolt has well described the arrangements of the Trikonchos and the Sigma, but he has, I think, fallen into error in identifying the stairs (*βάθρα*) which led down from the upper storey of the Sigma into its hexaeron, known as the Mystic Phiale, with the *ἀναβάθραι* or *ἀναβαθμοί* of the Phiale (*Cont. Theoph.* 141). The *ἀναβάθραι* on which *ὁ δῆμος ἅπας* was stationed (*ib.* 142) during the ceremonies, were obviously tiers either round the Phiale (except at the eastern end), or on the west side of the space; and this appears from *Cont. Theoph.* 143_4 *πλησίον δὴ τῶν εἰρημένων ἀναβαθμῶν κατὰ τὸ προς δυσμὰς μέρος τοῦ Σίγμα*, where *Σίγμα* is evidently used in a wide sense to include its hexaeron, as in Constantine, *De Cer.* 600_8 *εἰσέρχονται τὰ μέρη τὰ δύο εἰς τὸ Σίγμα μετὰ φατλία*, where the Phiale must be meant. So too we must clearly explain *Cont. Theoph.* 141_{20} *παρὰ τὴν πλευρὰν τοῦ πρὸς τὸ εὖρος Σίγμα* (for *τὸ εὖρος* must here stand for *τὸν εὖρον* = *τὴν ἀνατολήν*, in spite of Bieliaev): the lions were on the eastern side of the Phiale.

I cannot agree with M. Ebersolt in regard to the arrangement of the buildings of Theophilos in the neighbourhood of the Trikonchos. But I must reserve criticism for another occasion. I may point out here that his Pearl-chamber need not have been built as early as A.D. 830 (see p. 115, note 1); for the mention of it in the story of the bride-show is an anachronism, inasmuch as Theophilus was married to Theodora in A.D. 821.

I am sure that M. Ebersolt is wrong in distinguishing two Pentapyrgia, one in the Magnaura, and one in the Chrysotriklinos. There was only one. It stood regularly in the Magnaura, but on special occasions (*e.g.* at Easter) it was transferred to the Chrysotriklinos. That the Pentapyrgion in the Chrysotriklinos was only there for the occasion is clear from

De Cer. 580, ὁ δὲ χρ. ἐξωπλίσθη καθὼς εἴωθεν τὸ πάσχα ἐξοπλίζεσθαι ἤγουν διὰ τοῦ πενταπυργίου κ.τ.λ., and note that *ib.* 70 ἵσταται 'is placed' (not ἔστηκε) is used.

The bath called Πιθήκιον is an invention of M. Ebersolt, who curiously misinterprets (p. 75) a passage of Genesios. This writer states that Leo V ordered some of his guards to seize Michael the Amorian and take him to 'the bath of the palace,' πιθήκιόν τε δεσμῆσαι ἐνεῖραί τε πρὸς κοντὸν καὶ τῷ καμιναίῳ πυρὶ παρατιθέναι ἀνάλωμα. That is, an ape was to be tied to him and to share his fate.

Bieliaev identified the μακρῶν of the Candidates with the Triklinos of the Candidates. M. Ebersolt (p. 34) explains the μακρῶν as the portico of the Triklinos, but he does not prove it, or discuss Bieliaev's arguments. The emendation κονσιστορίου for χρυσοστορίου in Philotheos (*De Cer.* 710), which he proposes, had already been made by Bieliaev. He distinguishes (p. 151) the Palace of Hormisdas from that of Bucoleon, referring to Mr. van Millingen's *Byzantine Constantinople* 277. But Mr. van Millingen has there shown that the Palace and Harbour of Bucoleon were the Palace and Harbour of Hormisdas under a new name. The name Bucoleon seems to have been in vogue in the ninth century, though we first meet it in writers of the tenth, who, however, were probably quoting from older sources (see *e.g.* Genesios, p. 10).

A final chapter is devoted to the discussion of the chronology of some parts of Constantine's treatise *De Cerimoniis*. This is a valuable contribution, and I gladly submit to several of M. Ebersolt's criticisms on my own study of the subject.

The brief topographical description of St. Sophia, with special reference to the data of the *De Cerimoniis*, will prove distinctly useful, and its conciseness is a recommendation. I may note that the author identifies the round building, which still stands near the north-east corner of the mosque, with the ancient Skeuophylakion, and not with the Great Baptistery, which, he thinks, was situated on the north side, and has disappeared.

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POWELL'S *EURIPIDES' PHOENISSAE*.

The Phoenissae of Euripides. Edited, with Introduction and Commentary, by John U. Powell, M.A., Fellow, Tutor, and Classical Lecturer of St. John's College, Oxford. Pp. 229. 8vo., London: Constable and Co., Ltd., 1911. 8s. 6d. net.

The publication of Mr. Powell's *Phoenissae* testifies to the continuance of the interest in Euripides which has been characteristic of recent years. So far as this country is concerned, the revival has been largely due to Dr. Verrall. There must be many to whom, as to the present writer, his edition of the *Medea* revealed a fresh method of testing the tradition; and his subsequent writings afford a good instance of the way in which independent criticism may give an impetus to the progress of discovery, altogether apart from the actual conclusions which it advocates. Nevertheless, it is still true that the plays of Euripides, considered as a field for minute and searching investigation, have received far less attention than those of Aeschylus and Sophocles; and Mr. Powell is amply justified in his remark that a study of Euripides' language is a piece of work which is greatly needed. As a preliminary to this, a young scholar might do worse than to prepare a revision of Beck's incomplete and consequently misleading index.

The importance of Mr. Powell's contributions to the study of the *Phoenissae* lies at least as much in the Introduction as in the Commentary. The former, which extends over more than 80 pages, discusses two main topics—the history of the text and chiefly its interpolation, and the literary sources of the Theban legends. It is well known that the

question of interpolation has claimed a large share of critics' attention; and it is satisfactory to find that some measure of agreement tends to emerge from their discussions. Almost everyone now admits that the conclusion of the play (1582—end) has been tampered with, and this not by Byzantine imitators, but in consequence of a stage redaction which may be as early as the fourth century B.C. Mr. Powell sides with those who believe that a complete episode was added. He has also given reasons for questioning the authenticity of 1104-1140 and 1221-1258, with a particular discussion of the suspected details; but I am glad to find that he upholds the Euripidean authorship of the τειχοσκοπία. In the other passages cause enough has been shown to make us suspect interpolation, but not enough, I think, to support the contention that Euripides had no share in their composition. It is obvious, however, that, if our MSS. are ultimately derived from an actors' version, many incongruities might be explained. Thus, it might be suggested that the extraordinary disfigurement of the ode which begins at 784 may be connected with the musical innovations of the new dithyrambic school.

I have no space to discuss Mr. Powell's treatment of the mythical sources, although there is much that invites remark. After all, we are obliged to admit that the evidence is insufficient to enable us to distinguish (see p. 78) the literary antecedents from which Euripides drew the various elements of his story. But of the materials which exist for the determination of the questions involved this is the best account available.

The Commentary, which contains all the critical and exegetical notes, with the exception of such arguments as bear on the question of interpolation, is printed at the end of the volume. Probably most readers would have preferred to find it at the foot of the text rather than after it; but that is a small matter. Mr. Powell's text is constituted on sound lines. Without introducing much that is novel, he seldom obelises; but he shows a scholarly sense of the possible limits of Greek idiom, and, by a judicious selection of probable emendations, rarely adopts a reading for which a good case cannot be made. I find the less room for criticism, inasmuch as on many of the debatable issues we have arrived at the same conclusion; and I am gratified to find that some of the solutions which I had proposed, such as ἀπαντῶ (312), πώλων μεταφρένοις (178), πρόσθεν (473), and στεγνά (1397), have commended themselves to Mr. Powell. But the adoption of Grotius' εἰ μέν for οἱ μέν in 999 cannot be approved: the article is indispensable, and the fact that a subordinate εἰ-clause occurs in the examples which I quoted is immaterial to the asyndeton. A prose writer might have said: αἰσχρὸν γάρ· οἱ μὲν πολλοί, ἐὰν θ. ἑλ. ὦσιν κτέ. In 1151 ἐκνενευκότας is a change for the worse, and destroys the irony of 'tumblers — already dead.' ἐς οὐδας goes with the verbal noun.

I subjoin a list of the more important cases in which I am unable to agree with the editor's interpretations. 204. The objections to the view that Carthage rather than Tyre is meant are the similarity of language in 6, and the recurring references to the Agenoridae (217, 281). But the question is too complex for argument here. 234. The comma after ἱερόν is removed and placed before γενοίμαν. But why should the vague reference to a chorus of Artemis be linked to the *natural* wonders of Delphi? 344. The note does not explain the function of the *bridegroom's* mother: see Wecklein on *Med.* 1027. 583. I do not understand how τῶνδέ τ' ἐν μέσῳ πεσεῖν can be explained 'in the hour of success you will fail': surely the schol. is right. 789 ff. Having discussed this passage elsewhere, perhaps at inordinate length, I will only say (1) that the sense given to ἐπιπνεύσας is unexampled, and (2) that θίασον ought to refer to the Argives. 820. It is misleading to speak of the order as 'unusual': see, *e.g.*, Kuehner-Gerth, I. p. 622. 1020. Echidna, not Chimaera, is the mother of Φίξ in Hesiod. 1136. Is this line taken to be an addition to an addition? But without it the allusion to the Hydra would be obscurely set forth. 1255. The interpretation given of ὑγρότητα in this position, and without a copula, can

hardly be right. 1384f. I am not moved by this criticism. Surely the sharp shooters in 1166 did not wish to hit the tower. And Mr. Powell does not explain how 1384 is consistent with his view of *κεγχρώμασιν*. The whole thing seems to me clear enough: if either tried to get a look over his shield, the other aimed at him, but never in time; each was too cunning for that (*εὖ*). 1411. '*γαστρός*, i.e. of his foe.' But what of *εὐλαβούμενος*? The ordinary view should not be disturbed. 1751. '*ἵνα τε* is Epic.' But *τε* seems to link *Βρόμιος* with *σηκός*. 1762. *ἀλλὰ γάρ*. The note proceeds on insufficient induction. It is not so much a question of origin as whether the Greeks were conscious of an ellipse: see the exhaustive discussion by Mr. E. S. Thompson in his edition of Plato's *Meno*, pp. 264-269. In several passages a further explanation of the views advocated would have been welcome: see nn. on 94 (*φαῦλος*), 306 (zeugma), 851, 892f., 1201, 1229. Among printer's errors are p. 4, l. 31, 412 for 413 (?); the text of 519 f. has gone wrong; n. on 210, *ἀμεμφὲς ἰὸν*; n. on 1255, *Or.* for *Oed.*

I trust it will not be thought that in making these comments I have unduly emphasized points of dissent. It is much to be hoped that Mr. Powell will continue his researches and contribute yet further to the elucidation of Euripides.

A. C. Pearson.

THE OLD TESTAMENT MANUSCRIPTS IN THE FREER COLLECTION.

The Old Testament Manuscripts in the Freer Collection. Part I., The Washington MS. of Deuteronomy and Joshua. Edited by Henry A. Sanders, University of Michigan. (University of Michigan Studies, VIII.) Pp. 104. New York: Macmillan and Co., 1910.

We have in this scholarly and well-printed volume a first instalment of the Biblical MS. which Mr. Charles L. Freer was fortunate enough to secure from an Arab dealer near Cairo four or five years ago. We need not grudge our cousins across the water the possession of what has proved a treasure of first-rate importance, though we may indulge surprise that the report of Drs. Grenfell and Hunt, backed up by Mr. Hogarth, failed to persuade the British Museum authorities to be first in the field. Biblical scholars are waiting with great interest for the publication of the N. T. MS., which promises to give us plenty to discuss. Meanwhile the present new uncial of two books of the LXX contains quite enough to whet our appetite. Mr. Sanders suggests that he has had insufficient time to pursue inquiries in various directions which he would have liked to make before publishing his collation and prolegomena. We are grateful to him for giving us what he has, which is quite good enough to stand alone. Three excellent facsimile plates enable us to see the beauty of the MS., which if Mr. Sanders is right will be about coaeval with Codex Alexandrinus, and a century later than the Sinaiticus and the Vaticanus. The text is presented in the form of a complete collation with Swete's Manual Edition as basis. It is very fortunate that the MS. has appeared before Messrs. Brooke and M'Lean have reached Deuteronomy in the great Cambridge Septuagint. Mr. Sanders seems to have made out his case that this MS., which is to be called Θ, has a very valuable text. He examines statistically its singular readings and those it shares with the other great uncials severally, and so exhibits its affinities with these and with two outstanding cursives. Into his elaborate palaeographical account of the MS. I must not enter, noting only his argument that it was copied from a papyrus original. He describes what is clearly an interesting system of lections in the margins. One or two linguistic points I may note in closing. Mr. Sanders seems to be a little surprised at word-divisions like *ου|κεσται*,

ε|παυτη, ε|ξαυτου (p. 7), occurring in a MS. whose care in properly dividing words he has just remarked. But when we remember that prepositions and other proclitics were literally part of the following word, this is not 'odd' at all. Westcott and Hort print ἐ|π' αὐτῇ and the like, and the division is frequent in papyri: I might refer to some notes of mine in *C.R.* xv. 31. On p. 17 Mr. Sanders collects some features for the accidence of Θ, which include several instances of the normalising of 'incorrect' forms. Thus ἦλθοσαν, ἴδοσαν, ἐλάβοσαν, etc., are generally replaced by the forms in *ον*, which are regular in the N.T.; οὐθείς gives way to οὐδείς, which was alone used in the age from which Θ comes. The preference for λήψεται might possibly be an original trait, lost in the other great uncials; for when the LXX of the Pentateuch was written, λήμψεται had not yet obtained exclusive hold. (See Thackeray, *LXX Grammar*, 180 f.) The dat. Ἰησοῦ (not Ἰησοῖ) might even be due to N.T. influence, for here Θ stands markedly in opposition to the other uncials of the two Books (Thackeray, 165). Finally, I note with satisfaction the appearance of a form which I have urgently claimed for the N.T. (*Grammar of N.T. Greek*, 194): οὐ γὰρ μὴ δωη, the reading of Θ in Deut. ii. 5, is obviously the parent alike of δῷ in B and F, and δώσω in A, and it must of course be δώῃ subjunctive. Mr. Sanders quotes it rightly from Deut. xiii. 17 F, which Mr. Thackeray and I have overlooked; but in Deut. xxviii. 24, 25 he has not seen that the syntax demands δῴη optative. We shall all wish Mr. Sanders abundant leisure to give us speedily with equal success the more interesting parts of this great find.

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VOLLMER'S *APPENDIX VERGILIANA*.[1]

THIS volume is prefaced by a sufficiently generous tribute to Baehrens. For the task which he undertook in his *Poetae Latini Minores* Baehrens had two important qualifications. He possessed a superabundant industry. And he knew by instinct a good MS. from a bad. If he had possessed also some gift of self-criticism, his five volumes might have been an enduring work of scholarship. For he had a mind of singular vigour and acuteness.

As it is, his work has to be done over again. And it is going to be done by Prof. F. Vollmer. There is to be no nonsense this time. We are to have an editor who is the least like Baehrens of anybody in the world. He is to have plenty of respectable MSS., and he shall comport himself among them with decorum. There shall be no *cacoethes emendandi*, and no bother about mere inelegance of diction. We want nothing showy or speculative. But let everything be done decently and in middle-class fashion, and let it leave upon the reader very much the same impression as a Nonconformist funeral.

The kind of faults, however, which the reader is likely to find in this volume he knows beforehand. They are not the worst faults, though they are the most depressing. I will note a few of them with gentleness, and will speak then only of that part of Vollmer's work which I can bless without reserve.

A good deal of the text of the *Culex* is not meant to look like Latin. It is simply meant to construe, save for a number of passages (*e.g.* 3, 35, 51, 57, 170, 288), where it is meant *not* to construe.

Vollmer, again, is not an accomplished metrist, or he would not at *Culex* 67 scan *Boethi* as a spondee, nor, at *Priapea*, ii. 14 scan *tenera* as an iambus. Occasionally he does not know an interpolated MS. reading from an uninterpolated—as when, at *Culex* 93, he strangely prefers *leuet* to *liget*. More often he fails to recognise a true emendation when he sees it. He prints

[1] *Poetae Latini Minores: Post Aemilium Baehrens Iterum Recensuit Fridericus Vollmer.* Vol. i., Appendix Vergiliana. Pp. 42+166. Leipzig: Teubner, 1910.

lurida gramina at *Culex* 47, without thinking F. Jacobs' *florida* worth a note. Nor at 141 (*manent*) does he so much as mention Sillig's *monent*. Yet he apparently thinks his own conjecture *taedende* at 133 plausible. In assigning emendations to their first authors, he is more accurate than previous editors. Yet at *Culex* 269 'Orpheus *Ribbeck*' will not do for a correction given already in Heyne; and at 219 'pone (pone est *iam Peerlkamp*) *Haupt*' would be more exact.

Criticisms of this sort could easily be multiplied. But I prefer to speak of the solid merits of this book; for it marks a real advance upon its predecessors. It embodies the results of the most elaborate survey which has yet been made of the MSS. of the *Appendix*. I shall perhaps be doing the best service that I can, both to Prof. Vollmer and to the readers of the *C.R.*, if I explain what this new text of the *Appendix* adds to the text of Ellis.

On pp. 37-42 Vollmer gives a complete list of the known MSS. of any part of the *Pseudo-Vergiliana*—107 MSS. in all, of which 16 (7 of them in England) are still unexamined. Of these 107 Vollmer employs in his *Apparatus* rather less than 30. (Pp. 3-30 give some account of the *codices* upon which he relies, but the reader is mostly referred to articles in learned periodicals, and the MSS. are left to speak for themselves in the *Apparatus Criticus*. Eleven pages of introduction, however, are given to a vindication, in *Aetna*, of the merits of the Gyraldinus.) To the criticism of *Ciris*, *Catalepton*, *Aetna*, Vollmer brings no new MS. material of any account. But in *Culex*, *Dirae* and *Lydia*, *Copa* and *Moretum*, he has introduced much that is new and important. In the *Culex* Ellis had relied primarily upon five MSS., which he designated Ω. One of these—*Bodleianus*—a mere copy of the Bembine, Vollmer rightly leaves out of account, adding to the other four a MS. of saec. ix.-x., which he calls *W*. This family of five (for practical purposes Ellis Ω) he designates *L*, assigning to it, however, a far lower value than Ellis gives to Ω, or than most editors have given to *B*. (Vollmer's change of notations is irritating and mostly unnecessary. Besides *L* = *W*, I note *A* for Ellis' *P*, *F* for Ellis' *M*.) Of the eleven other MSS. used by Ellis for the *Culex* Vollmer dismisses all save five—*V*, *S*, *Cors.*, *Cant.*, and *F* (= *M*); and those thus dismissed we are, I think, well rid of. (The interesting *Vossianus*, so highly valued by Baehrens, is pronounced to be a copy of *V*.) After this clearance Vollmer introduces (for 58-100, with some stray fragments) five MSS., which he calls *Excc.*—MSS., for the most part, neglected by Ellis (though Ellis occasionally cites *e*, and at 146 cites both *η* and *p*), to which, however, Vollmer assigns a paramount authority. I can find in *Excc.* no new reading which is also true—*leuet* at 93 is the most obvious interpolation; and if I were to give a summary opinion upon Vollmer's work in the *Culex* I should say that he had greatly overestimated *Excc*, that he had somewhat undervalued *L*, that he had done a real service by throwing overboard some of Ellis' late MSS., and that what emerged after his searching labours was that *V*, *Cors.*, *B* contain between them nearly all that is of value in the MS. tradition.

It is in *Dirae* and *Lydia*, *Copa* and *Moretum* that Vollmer has changed most effectively the *Apparatus Criticus*, achieving results which will, I conjecture, not be disordered by subsequent criticism. In all four poems he sweeps away all Ellis' thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth century MSS., and, retaining the earlier ones, brings to the text two excellent Munich MSS. (classed as *M*), one of them already used by Ellis, adding for *Moretum* a Paris MS., *D*, of saec. x. and a Vienna MS., *R*, of saec. xi. The Munich MSS. are employed also for the *Maecenas*, and the text of these smaller poems is put upon a firmer basis.

That Vollmer's edition of the *Appendix Vergiliana* is the definitive edition it would be idle to pretend. Yet it is one of those books which may fairly be called indispensable. Vollmer has spent immense labour upon the examination of MSS., and among a very miscellaneous collection he has known how to choose the good and refuse the evil. His collations, where he uses MSS. used before, differ a great deal from those of previous

editors; and, since he has worked with photographs in front of him, his testimony to this or that reading must be regarded as decisive. But his great merit is to have broken with the tradition of Sillig. Baehrens broke with it. But Baehrens was not sufficiently equipped to meet the consequences. Vollmer has collected and sifted a vast and intractable material, and he will deserve the gratitude of the next editor of the *Appendix*.

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TWO BOOKS ON STOICISM.

Marcus Aurelius and the Later Stoics ('The World's Epoch-makers' Series). By F. W. BUSSELL, D.D. Cr. 8vo. Pp. xi + 302. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1910. 3s.

Roman Stoicism: being Lectures on the History of the Stoic Philosophy, with special reference to its development within the Roman Empire. By E. VERNON ARNOLD, Litt.D., Professor of Latin in the University College of North Wales, and formerly Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. 8vo. Pp. ix + 468. Cambridge University Press, 1911.

WE have read Dr. Bussell's book with unmixed disappointment. Its appearance in a series devoted to 'The World's Epoch-makers' seemed to promise a portrayal of Marcus Aurelius and his forerunners as representatives of a philosophy that was a prime moving force in the regeneration of the Roman world, left its impress on Christian theology, and still has a message for 'sunk, self-weary man.' These aspects of Stoicism are finding tardy recognition among scholars—we shall notice their prominence in Prof. Arnold's work—and a popular presentation of them would be of real service to all who, without special knowledge of philosophy, are yet interested in the history of ethical and religious thought. But to Dr. Bussell Stoicism appears simply as 'an untenable creed,' 'a phase of thought that can never recur'; he rejects almost contemptuously Renan's and Matthew Arnold's appreciations of Marcus Aurelius, and his present study of him is intended 'to disclose the lurking antinomies in any monistic hypothesis.' Accordingly, this professedly popular work has been made the vehicle for an indictment of Monism, which no one need hope to follow who is not familiar with the history and terminology of philosophy—we must add, who cannot read Seneca, Epictetus and Aurelius in the original, for the examination of all three is conducted by means of extensive verbal quotation. The excerpts from Seneca are not translated at all; those from Aurelius occasionally; of those from Epictetus translations are given in an appendix, reference to which is not by consecutive numbers, but by *the pages of Teubner's edition*. What is worse, in the case of both Greek authors citation and running comment are jumbled together on the page in a way that must be seen to be believed; 30 out of 44 pages on Epictetus and 80 out of 150 on Marcus are unreadable by anyone not accustomed to deciphering classical lecture-notes. The general arrangement of subject-matter is chaotic; the book's special aim is not announced until the 'General Conclusion' (more than half of which is an appreciation of Dr. Rendall's *Marcus Aurelius*). The reader will look in vain for any biographical notice of Seneca or Epictetus, or any account of the origin and history of the Stoic school.

If we have dwelt on these faults of method, it is because a popular handbook must be judged first and foremost by its serviceableness to those for whom it is ostensibly designed. But we must further point out that they appear largely responsible for the confusion between what are, and what are not, genuine Stoic elements in the eclecticism of Seneca and Aurelius, and the intellectualised Cynism of Epictetus, which pervades Dr. Bussell's whole inquiry. For want of a thorough-going analysis,

quietism, individualism, and pessimism are set down as essential features of Stoic Ethics; for want of a survey of the evidence, the historical character of the school is, we submit, entirely misapprehended. On p. 28 we read with surprise: 'No practical efforts marked the earlier founders, whose sole business was to weld into a solid and coherent body . . . a certain theory of the world. Only when domiciled in Rome did the School mix in actual life, and become not a sect but a religion. The practical bent of the Roman mind transformed the Stoa from a mere house of dogmatic paradox into a temple of a devout though despairing Theism.' It is further insisted that passivity and 'abstentionism' are the keynotes of Stoic teaching: 'None preached more assiduously than the Stoics the futility of human effort.' Is not all this contradicted by the plain facts of history? The aims and outlook of Zeno himself were as distinctly practical as those of Socrates, his chosen model; the public usefulness of his life and teaching were acknowledged by a well-known decree of the Athenians. Three of his personal disciples held office at the courts of kings. Cleanthes was especially zealous in proselytising the unlearned many. Again, as Prof. Arnold well remarks, the rapid diffusion of Stoicism to such centres as Pergamus, Seleucia, Tarsus, Sidon, and even Alexandria, indicates the growth of the School into a 'sect,' in the sense of a society recruited from different races and classes united by common beliefs and a common sentiment of brotherhood. How could this come about unless Stoicism, like Christianity, was from the outset a 'way of life'? Once more, was it not because the School *exalted* 'human effort' and claimed to regulate it, that it appealed to the Roman temperament as none of its rivals did? And how, if it preached 'abstentionism,' are we to account for the leading part played by Roman Stoics in public affairs, not only under the Republic, but under the Principate and amid the growing distaste for political life?

Similar confusion meets us when we arrive at the study of Aurelius himself. It is one thing to prove that Stoic Monism involves antinomies; another, to show that an admittedly heterodox Stoic expresses beliefs incompatible with Monism. In endeavouring to do both at once, Dr. Bussell not infrequently seems to lose sight of the difference. But the fact is, the attempt here made to extract a definite 'Creed' of the Emperor from his desultory reflections in order to demolish the Stoic position is foredoomed to failure. As well base a polemic against Calvinism on the *Pilgrim's Progress*, or against Catholic dogma on the *De Imitatione*. We look to Stoicism for an explanation of the thought of Marcus Aurelius; we cannot look to him for an explanation of Stoic first principles.

Wholly different is the view of Stoicism presented in Prof. Arnold's full and learned work—viz., that it forms 'the bridge between ancient and modern philosophical thought.' There again the title is somewhat misleading, for the writer takes as his province the entire history and substance of Stoicism. Admirable alike in general execution, wealth of information, and clearness of style, the book inevitably suffers from the vastness of its programme. Disproportionate space seems allotted to introductory chapters, and the historical sketch of Greek thinkers from Hesiod onwards was surely unnecessary. On the other hand, room might have been made for more adequate treatment of Heraclitus; we miss especially discussion of those important *cruces*, what he meant by Λόγος, and whether he taught the ἐκπύρωσις. As regards the former, Dr. Adam's interpretation is tentatively accepted (§ 39); the ἐκπύρωσις is described (§ 109) as 'an essential part' of H.'s physical theory, without notice of the fact (recognised by Zeller) that it is incompatible therewith, or of the strong case made out by Prof. Burnet (following Lassalle) for holding that the Stoics imported the doctrine from some non-Heraclitean source. Chapter I., on 'the World Religions,' among which Stoicism is ranked, contains several interesting theses imperfectly worked out. The alleged immense influence of Zoroastrianism, or, as Prof. Arnold prefers to call it, Persism, on the Greco-Roman world needs fuller demonstration than is given here; while the epithet

'Persian' bestowed *passim* on the doctrines of immortality, future rewards and punishments, and 'the body a prison,' is question-begging. In this connection the influence of Orphism and Pythagoreanism seems unaccountably ignored. For the startling assertion that the Persian invasions of Greece were 'a religious crusade' no more cogent proof is adduced than the destruction of the Athenian temples, due, it is argued, to iconoclastic zeal. Yet the same 'image-breakers,' we remember, treated Delos as inviolably sacred and burned incense on Apollo's altar! On the whole, however, Prof. Arnold is at his best in dealing with the historical side of his subject, and the chapters on the 'Preaching of Stoicism,' 'The Stoic Sect in Rome,' and 'Stoicism in Roman History and Literature,' excellently depict the School's development into a great intellectual and social force.

In consonance with the book's general plan, we have throughout exposition rather than investigation of the Stoic philosophy. It would not be fair to expect the problem of the criterion to be thoroughly grappled with in the chapter devoted to Dialectic, but the Stoics' failure to do so seems too easily condoned. The practical bearing of their theory of knowledge on conduct and education is well brought out, but the hollowness of its foundation hardly sufficiently emphasised. The unwieldy division of 'Physics' is conveniently broken up into separate chapters on metaphysics, physics proper, the ultimate problems, theology, and psychology. Under the division of Ethics follow chapters on the 'Law for Humanity,' 'Daily Duties' (an unsatisfactory rendering of *τὰ καθήκοντα*), 'Sin and Weakness,' and 'Counsels of Perfection,' as Prof. Arnold oddly terms the *praecepta* of the School. It is impossible within the limits of a review to criticise this exhaustive survey in detail; we can only briefly notice the following points of interest:

As against Zeller and others, Prof. Arnold maintains with clearness and force that the Stoic system is neither materialistic in the sense in which that term holds good of Epicureanism, nor pantheistic, if by pantheism is meant the even diffusion of the Deity through all things. The former contention is supported by an examination of the pivotal conception of 'Body' as the one ultimate element—a conception further shown to surmount the apparent dualisms of soul and body, matter and force, to be met with in all the Stoic writers. But it is admitted that in the end the Stoics are forced to grant a quasi-existence to *ἀσώματα*, and to bolster up the monistic principle by including 'bodies' and 'things not bodily' in the supreme class of *τὸ ὄν*. The weakness of their manifold attempts to 'justify the ways of God to men' and account for the existence of evil in the best of all possible universes, is duly recognised; but where so much is set down to their credit more stress might have been laid upon the spiritual insight which redeemed their worst philosophical shortcomings. Whatever other difficulties they shirked, when faced with the alternative of denying either the omnipotence or the goodness of the Deity, the School spoke from first to last with no uncertain voice; they had the boldness to limit the power and knowledge of God rather than leave doubtful His moral perfection.

We wish more space had been accorded to the theory, and less to the content, of Stoic Ethics. That its central aim was not, as currently held, 'to erect a shelter for the individual,' we agree; on the other hand, to assert that it 'was based on the demands of the supreme Law' is to overlook its real starting-point. That, surely, as with all the post-Aristotelian schools, was Aristotle's conception of the *τέλος* as not an End external to the organism, but the complete realisation of its own *φύσις*. It seems not doubtful that this idea is implicit in Polemo's definition of the Chief Good as 'life in conformity with nature' (*τῇ φύσει*), which Zeno set out from, and that neither had in view 'the nature of the universe.' It was only when the older sense of *φύσις* was obscured that Chrysippus had to reinterpret the definition; and in doing so he introduced an *ἀπορία* which the School never successfully resolved. 'How,' their opponents loved to ask,

'can you make the initial End of Action the acquirement of the *πρῶτα κατὰ φύσιν* and yet make Virtue, which by your definition is not one of these, the Supreme End?' But Chrysippus' 'conformity with the Universal Law' is still distant from the idea of obedience to a paramount authority, which, we suggest, was the contribution of the Roman genius. Does not the whole contrast between the Greek and the Roman conception of Law come out in two passages cited together by Prof. Arnold, where Chrysippus speaks of *ὁ νόμος πάντων* as the *criterion* of right and wrong; Cicero, of 'lex . . . *quae iubet . . . prohibetque*'? We question, again, whether the idea of the Universe as a 'World-State' was fully developed until Imperial times, and whether the 'Cosmopolis' of the Cynics and earlier Stoics was more than a picturesque embodiment of the new sense of human brotherhood. In any case, it should not be identified with Zeno's ideal 'Republic,' which was as essentially a *City* State as Plato's. Prof. Arnold is sound but hardly illuminating on the subject of *προηγμένα* and *ἀποπροηγμένα*; these and the other principal parts of Stoic doctrine are clearly stated, but their inter-relation is left vague.

The book concludes with an interesting chapter on 'The Stoic Strain in Christianity'; we hope that a companion one on Stoic influence in modern philosophy and literature, which has been crowded out, will appear elsewhere. Students will value the full bibliography appended and the mine of references supplied by the footnotes. Their convenience has been consulted by giving references in general to von Arnim's 'Stoicorum veterum fragmenta.'

W. M. L. Hutchinson.

TRICHOTOMY IN ROMAN LAW.

Trichotomy in Roman Law. By Henry Goudy, D.C.L., Regius Professor of Civil Law in the University of Oxford. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1910.

The mystery of the number three, in spite of much labour spent on the problem, has never been successfully explained, as we may gather from the first few pages of this volume. But whatever be the explanation, we can all illustrate the reverence paid to this number even from our own reading and experience. To divide a subject (as formerly the sermon-text) into three parts is more pleasing to the mind than to divide it into two or four. I looked up the Church Catechism just now, and found three examples before turning a page. Only yesterday I was told of an eminent artist who always took three portmanteaus with him on a journey, even if he had to leave one of them empty.

This last example will exactly serve to explain the thesis of Dr. Goudy's very curious and interesting little book. He shows, on the whole quite successfully, that the great Roman lawyers, and especially Ulpian, being in respect of the number three the slaves of literary or philosophical tradition, liked, in dividing a subject for presentation, to put it (so to speak) into three portmanteaus, even though one or even two of them might be more or less empty. The emptiness they seem to have ignored, or to have shut their eyes to it; a strange item in the history of human delusion. Thus they left behind them a legacy of confusion where all might have been made clear, and have wasted the time of legal commentators during nineteen centuries. It is consoling to think that if Dr. Goudy be right in the main line of his argument, there should be no further vexation of legal minds about these puzzling divisions.

I will give two examples of delusive trichotomy, one from each of Dr. Goudy's two lists; of which lists the first is taken from the primary divisions of law in Gaius, Justinian, and Ulpian, and the second from the departments of the law relating to things and actions.

Gaius divided the subject-matter of private law into persons, things, and actions. This, as Dr. Goudy points

out, is quite illogical, and has given rise to no end of learned disputation. The law of actions properly stands as *adjective* only to the law of persons and things. 'The author of the division, whether Gaius or another, wanted a tripartita, and the doctrines had to be fitted into it somehow.' One of the three portmanteaus, if not exactly empty, was superfluous. This division, which seems to have wasted a great deal of time, Dr. Goudy is inclined to attribute primarily to the Stoics.

Secondly, the frequent trichotomy of *actio, petitio, persecutio*, in the texts, is meaningless, and has wasted much valuable time and thought. Dr. Goudy shows that in spite of the efforts of Ulpian and Papinian to explain the terms to suit the trichotomy, there is no real distinction between *actio* and *petitio*—nay, there is no satisfactory distinction between any of the three terms. It is a clear case of 'persistent tendency to trichotomy.'

These two examples may be enough to induce both students and professors to turn their attention to a book which seems likely to rid them of much vexation of spirit. The mere examination and criticism of Dr. Goudy's examples will be useful to a student, whatever view he may take of them. He will not be able to set the old divisions aside at once as nonsense; he will have to know how they came to be divisions at all, but he will be saved the trouble of having to search for recondite and ingeniously futile explanations of them. Not less interesting to him will be the latter part of the book, which gives some examples of the same curious traditional tendency in authors like Cicero, Seneca, and Apuleius; and this part of the subject may be followed out at leisure by the curious inquirer. Meanwhile, we are under a real obligation to Dr. Goudy for a most original contribution, not only to legal science, but to literary history, and even in a sense to anthropology.

W. W. F.

THE ROMAN CONSTITUTION.

Le Droit Public Romain. Par P. Willems, Professeur à l'Université de Louvain. Septième Édition, publiée par J. Willems, Professeur à l'Université de Liége. 1 vol. Post 8vo. Pp. lii + 682. Louvain: Charles Peeters, 1910. 12 fr.

It is certainly not on account of any balance or symmetry of its parts that the Roman Constitution has excited the admiration of the ages. From such a point of view it presents a glaring contrast with the balanced proportions of the Athenian constitutions, which sprang, like their patron goddess, in full panoply and splendour from an overmastering brain. The edifice of Roman political organisation could boast no such symmetrical inspiration. Rather is it the most striking example of a development significant of an unceasing struggle between human intelligence and human circumstances. Viewed in its ultimate aspect, the Constitution of Rome is seen to be an inelegant series of contradictions. Each part of the social scheme stands out in vital opposition to the other elements. It would be difficult in the light of legal theory alone to understand how such a system could be productive of anything but an unbroken succession of legislative deadlocks. Consuls and tribunes, patricians and plebs are exhibited as a series of such vitally opposed entities that, were not the light of history able to guide us to an opposite conclusion, we could only decide that the system was an unworkable absurdity. It would never have stood the test of parchment. Yet we know that, with the single exception of the equally self-contradictory English Constitution, the Roman state system was the most perfect instrument of government that the human genius has ever produced.

The key to the system's success is only to be found in the light of its history. The explanation must be sought in a study of Origins. Professor Willems supports the now generally

accepted theory that the infant Republic of Rome took its rise in a confederacy which, originally sharing the nature of such an institution as the Latin League, found for itself a local habitation and a name in a prescribed centre. 'Il semble qu'à une époque reculée trois tribus, trois peuplades occupèrent le territoire de la ville de Rome et y établirent trois bourgs, trois *civitates* indépendantes.' In course of time the three communities united in one city, and from such union the Roman Republic derived its being. It is obvious that the acceptance of such a theory compels us to jettison many customary ideas with regard to Roman origins. In particular the accounts of the Asylum of Romulus must be rejected, and Professor Willems hints at his belief that the birth of the legend must be sought in the early assimilation of Greek traditions. As he justly observes, 'Les anciens attribuent à Romulus toutes les institutions dont ils ignorent l'origine.' It may at any rate be fairly observed that with the acceptance of the theory of a confederacy as bringing about the origin of the Roman state, much that is otherwise difficult to explain in the constitution as it is known to us becomes promptly explicable. The *patricii* are obviously the descendants of the original *gentes* composing the three coalescing tribes. Such an institution as the *clientela* becomes a matter of common-sense. Here we certainly have the nucleus of an organisation which contained in it many of the germs of the Feudal System of mediaeval times. It would be a profitable study to investigate the causes which prevented such a system from development in Rome. Probably the main explanation is to be found in the fact that the idea of the subordination of one class to another in an ever narrowing and ascending series is an impossibility in a sytem of government which bears more resemblance to a *δυναστεία* than to a monarchy such as modern times have known. There was never in the early days of Rome such a conception as that of a royal family or a dynasty of kings. 'La royauté romaine peut être comparée à une royauté constitutionnelle, en ce sens que le pouvoir du roi est limité par les pouvoirs respectifs du *paterfamilias*, de la *gens*, du sénat et du *populus*.' The Roman monarchy was indeed little more than an experiment, was comparatively short-lived, and never gained a real hold on the state.

The *plebs*, like the *clientes*, originated in alien immigration. Indeed Professor Willems states, 'La plèbe dérive de la clientèle,' and commits himself to the theory that the plebeians were merely clients the *gentes* of whose *patroni* had become extinct. *Patricii* and *plebs* together constituted the *populus*. But the society so formed was far from making a consistent whole. The observances of religion made the only common bond recognised in ancient times, and it was impossible to regard those who were not participants in the *sacra* of the original families as strictly forming a part of the state. Thus in theory Rome contained in the patricians and plebeians within its walls what were in reality two completely separate states, and the capacity of participation in the *sacra* was the test until the latest times. This is the vital difference between the position of the patrician magistrates and that of those officials of the *plebs* whom a growing population rendered necessary to the state. 'Le droit de consulter la volonté divine sur des actes publics (*jus auspiciorum*) n'appartient qu'aux magistratures patriciennes; à défaut de celles-ci le *jus auspiciorum* fait retour aux *patres*.' Even in the latest times the original religious basis of Roman society was not lost from sight, for Gaius declares that the functions of the *rex sacrorum* and the three greater *flamines* could only be performed by patricians, and, as Professor Willems states, 'Le privilège du patriciat consiste dans l'admissibilité à certaines fonctions sacerdotales.' This dual conception of the state hardly became extinct until the Empire was firmly established. Indeed until the latest times the fiction of a state within a state was preserved, for as Professor Willems observes, 'Quand, plus tard, des plebéiens furent élevés au trône impérial, le sénat leur conféra le patriciat.'

One could have wished that Professor Willems had applied the products of his vast research to the elucidation of

the historical case which such an aspect of affairs presents. Instead of so doing he has rather left his conclusions to be inferred. The arrangement of his work is chronological rather than historical, and it is impossible to avoid the feeling that the work suffers in some degree from the scheme of its conception. If one wishes for information on a particular branch of Roman administration an exhaustive index at the back of the book will point one to a page where the results of the author's wide learning and research are shortly and succinctly stated. But such an encyclopaedic method of compilation possesses its faults, and such are not solely in respect of the interest which the reader can find in the work. We should like to have from the author more light on the historical development of the institutions of which he treats, for only in this light can their true significance be apprehended as a series of causes and effects. It cannot but be regarded as a defect that the book omits all mention of the Gracchi and the highly important parts that their tribunates played in the constitutional development of Rome. Professor Willems hints that the Empire had its origin in the system of extraordinary military commands, but such a theme would well have borne considerable elaboration from so learned a writer. The author is surely mistaken in his apparent opinion (v. p. 410) that the early imperial title was derived from the position of Augustus as *princeps senatus*.

It may of course be urged that a historical inquiry is in no sense the object of the work, but it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that a book on such a subject should be written on a historical basis if it is to be distinguished from a dictionary. Professor Willems is indeed compelled in some degree to adopt such a scheme, and his book takes the reader through the various stages of progress from the sacerdotal aristocracy of earlier days to the later Principate, when the expiring Empire gave birth to the system of Mediaevalism in its *comites ordinis primi, secundi, tertii*, its *viri inlustres* and *spectabiles* and all the customary paraphernalia of a modern court.

The work is a perfect mine of information for the student and historian. It displays vast research and erudition, and its conclusions are forcefully and logically drawn. Perhaps especially commendable are the accounts that it contains of the meetings of the *comitia* and of the judicial system at various epochs.

J. S. Blake Reed.

Manchester.

ANTIQUARIES OF SCOTLAND.

When the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland decided to explore the Romano-British site at Newstead and requested Mr. James Curle to superintend the excavations, they were doubly fortunate. Not only did the site selected yield unexpectedly rich results, but Mr. Curle's method, energy, and scholarship have given those results their full significance. His report on the excavations, a large and handsome volume with illustrations of a quality unusual in archaeological publications, will be welcomed alike by archaeologists and by all who appreciate the value of the additions which archaeology is making to our scanty knowledge of Roman Britain. Not only did the excavations give us the complete plan of a frontier-fort and its defences, but in interpreting the traces of the several successive occupations which the spade revealed Mr. Curle has been led to historical conclusions of unusual interest. Situated as it is at the point where the Roman road from York to the Lowlands crosses the Tweed, Newstead was occupied as an important military post, both by Agricola, who first utilised this route, and by Lollius Urbicus, the general of Antoninus Pius, who reopened it sixty years later. There are, moreover, clear traces that the first occupation was prolonged for some

years after Agricola's recall, and it may even have lasted until the military disasters which closed the reign of Trajan, a fact which makes the indictment of Domitian's frontier policy which Tacitus embodied in the well-known phrase 'perdomita Britannia et statim missa,' appear more sweeping than accurate.

Nor are these historical conclusions the only results achieved; systematic exploration not only of the fort itself but of the annexes, which are a feature of this, as of other Roman outposts in Scotland, and of more than a hundred rubbish-pits, brought to light an extraordinary variety of finds, among them two beautiful metal vizor-masks which may be matched against any other specimens of Roman armour found in this country. The section on pottery also illustrates, perhaps more than any other part of the book, the extent to which Mr. Curle has mastered and utilised the results of recent research in the field of Roman provincial archaeology. His conclusions, together with the numerous pages of excellent drawings and photographs by which they are accompanied, should be very suggestive to workers on other North British sites.

We trust that this book will prove but the prelude to a serious attempt to deal with the many problems connected with the history of the Roman frontier, which only await the application of similar methods and energy for their solution.

The Manchester branch of the Classical Association had not, like Mr. Curle, the advantage of an unencumbered site as a field for their labours. The Roman fort at Manchester has all but disappeared beneath the modern city, and the most that could be done was to explore at the eleventh hour the small section still available for examination, and combine the results with as full an account as possible of previous discoveries on the site. The sum total is somewhat disappointing, but the effort was worth making, and Mr. Bruton and his colleagues have spared no pains to include every detail worth preserving. We trust that their next venture will prove more fruitful.

G. L. Cheesman.

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SOME SCHOOL BOOKS.

Clari Romani: Camillus, by C. H. Broadbent. *Metellus and Marius, the Jugurthine War*, by A. J. Schooling (Murray, 1s. 6d.). *Julius Caesar*, by H. J. Dakers. *Terence: Phormio* simplified, by H. R. Fairclough and L. J. Richardson (Sanborn, N.Y.). *Caesar in Britain*, by W. D. Lowe (Clarendon Press, illustrated, 1s.). *Eclogae Poetarum Latinorum*, by S. Brandt (Teubner, M. 1.20 cloth). *C. Plini Secundi Epistolae Selectae*, by R. C. Kukula, ed. minor (Vienna, Graeser). *Plato's Apology and Meno*, by J. Burnet (Clarendon Press, 2s.). *Inscriptiones Graecae ad illustrandas dialectos selectae*, by F. Solmsen (Teubner). *Principiorum Liber*, by R. J. Cholmeley (Arnold, 2s. 6d.). *Selections from the Latin Literature of the Early Empire*, by A. C. B. Brown (Clarendon Press, 2s. 6d. each part, 4s. 6d. together). *Hellas: Griechisches Lesebuch*, by S. Haupt (Leipzig, Freytag; Vienna, Tempsky, M. 2.50 each part). *Lateinisches Lesebuch*, pieces from easy prose authors, by K. Prinz (same, M. 1.50 each part). *Lesebuch aus Platon*, by G. Schneider (same, M. 1.80 each part). *Arrian's Anabasis in Auswahl*, by G. Heidrich (same, M. 1.75 and 1.50). *Auswahl aus Plutarch*, by H. Schickinger (same, M. 2.50 and 1.50). *Schulwörterbuch zu Caesar's B.G.*, by A. Polaschek (same, M. 2). *Lucretius V.*, a selection from the Fifth Book, 1-782, 783-end, by W. D. Lowe (Clarendon Press). *An Easy Selection from Cicero's Letters*, by F. D. Duff (same, 1s. 6d.). *M. Minucii Felicis Octavius*, by L. Valmaggi (Rome and Milan: Paravia and Co.). *Aristophanes Peace*, by C. E. Graves (Pitt Press, 3s. 6d.). *Tacitus, Der Rednerdialog*, by H. Röhl (Freytag, Tempsky, 75 pf. each part). *Livy IX.*, by T. Nicklin (Clarendon Press, 2s. 6d. or 3s.). *Terence, Heauton Timorumenos*, by F. G. Ballentine (Sanborn). *Outlines of Latin Phonetics*, by M. Niedermann; edited by H. A. Strong and H. Stewart (Routledge, 2s. 6d. net). *Bilder aus dem altrömischen Leben*, von K. Schirmer (Weidmann, illustrated, M. 2.50).

What we want most of all in schools are easy texts, the more the better: and our budget contains one or two. The simplified texts of the *Clari Romani*, of which three numbers are before us, supply this want well; but they are not part of a complete plan, and hence their apparatus is not all it might be. Notes and

exercises are satisfactory; but the vocabulary is complete, and like any other vocabulary. Now the vocabulary of the second year ought to take the first year's for granted; it may omit the first year's, or it may repeat it with sentences to show the meaning, but without translation; or it may give Latin definitions. For new words, Latin definitions should, in my opinion, be given always if possible. The sources of the text should be clearly indicated. The simplified *Phormio* is an attempt to present Terence without all that is un-Ciceronian. The metrical form has been discarded, which is a pity, but perhaps it could not be helped; and the book deserves the attention of teachers. Many of the changes are unnecessary: as *eo* for *adeo*, *desine* for *desinas*, *mentis compos* for the pithy *apud me*, *rogas* for *rogitas*, *scelerate* for *carcer*, *noli negare* for *ne nega*, *clam* for *clanculum*. The vocabulary is open to the same objection as above: there are no exercises. A series of stage directions and excellent pictures of the actors deserve commendation. Mr. Lowe's selections from *Caesar* may be mentioned for those who believe in putting the text before his pupils in short sentences before they see it as it is.

Our next group, unfortunately small, contains plain texts. These are not suitable for beginners. Brandt's *Eclogae* has pieces from Ennius, Lucilius, Lucretius, Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius, Ovid, Valerius Maximus, and Juvenal: a good and instructive book. Kukula's *Pliny* has sixty letters, and plans of the Laurentinum and Tusci; admirably printed, a model of its kind. The same text is edited with German introduction, and notes in a second pamphlet. The Clarendon Press publish the *Apology and Meno* separately. Solmsen's *Inscriptiones* appear in a third edition: a useful book, but the transliteration is disagreeable.

There are several new books of selections from classical authors, with notes and sometimes vocabulary (V.) Mr. Cholmeley's *Principiorum Liber* (V.) is a very miscellaneous selection, without a guiding principle except that each piece should be attractive: Cicero, Livy, Pliny, Martial, Quintilian, Sallust, Virgil, Seneca, Tacitus, and Plautus are included. Mr. Brown's *Selections from the Early Empire* is in two parts: (1) Inner Life and (2) Outer Life, each subdivided into sections. This is a very attractive work, well arranged and well edited, with a unity of aim. The readers of Freytag and Tempsky (*Hellas* and *Lateinisches Lesebuch*) may offer some new items to students, but their print and get-up is ugly in the extreme, and bad for the reader's eyes. Each has the text in one part and the notes in the other. The Greek reader draws on Xenophon, Arrian, Plutarch, Dio Cassius, Procopius, Lucian, Polybius, besides the classical authors; the poets are Theognis, Babrius, Hesiod, Theocritus, Homer's hymns, Aeschylus, Sappho, Pindar, Bacchylides, and the Anacreontea. The Latin reader illustrates biography and culture. The same publishers have an illustrated lexicon to Caesar, selections from Plato, from Arrian, and from Plutarch. The texts, which are illustrated, can be used apart from the notes. Mr. Lowe's edition of the *Fifth Book of Lucretius* is certainly good of its kind: but the running analysis in English cannot be commended from the schoolmaster's standpoint, and the notes, as usual, tell far too much. It is printed in two parts, each half in one. Mr. Duff's *Easy Selection from Cicero's Letters* may be recommended.

We now come to a few full-dress editions of authors, of the usual type, that is, compiled without having a special aim in view. And first let me recommend Valmaggi's *Minucius Felix*. This work is read by nobody, and deserves to be read by everybody: as a religious document it is highly important, nor does it lack in dramatic and social interest. If the notes are in Italian, the reader who knows none will be able to understand a good deal nevertheless; if he cannot read them, there is the text. We have again the *Peace* edited by Mr. Graves with his usual thoroughness. Tacitus's *Dialogue on Oratory*, text and comment in two parts, is free from the difficulties of Tacitus's later style, and full of good matter. Mr. Nicklin's *Livy IX.* is published with and without vocabulary; an excellent edition of the full kind. An American edition of the *Heauton* is well printed and fully explained, but unfortunately without the pictures and stage directions that we found so useful in the smaller edition.

We may close our list with two excellent little books. A text-book of Latin phonetics has been long wanted; and Niedermann well supplies the want in about 100 pages. The book has been translated and revised by Prof. Strong and Mr. Stewart. Schirmer's little book (in German) gives a description of Rome; a sketch of life from cradle to grave; a Roman's day; games, war, and travel; all in 148 pages. The style of the book is not lively, but it does not crowd in too many facts, and the sixth-form boy would profit by a few hours spent with it.

W. H. D. R.

CORRESPONDENCE

To the Editor of THE CLASSICAL REVIEW.

SIR,—Having had occasion to investigate the mythological or religious character of Harpocrates, I have found certain defects in that most useful book of reference, Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology*, to which I would call attention. Under the word *Harpocrates* the reader is merely referred to *Horus*. Horus is said to have been compared with the Greek Apollo (so far good), and to be identified with Harpocrates, the last-born and weakly son of Osiris.

This is what is wrong. The genealogy of Horus is to be found (as Smith says) in Herodotus, Diodorus, and Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*. Neither Herodotus nor Diodorus mention Harpocrates. Herodotus no doubt makes Horus a child of Isis, and apparently of Osiris (ii. 156). Plutarch in one part of the *De Iside and Osiride* also makes Horus a child, the eldest child, of Isis and Osiris. In another part he speaks of Horus as child of Rhea and next brother to Osiris τῇ δὲ δευτέρᾳ τὸν Ἀρουήριν ὃν Ἀπολλῶνα ὃν καὶ πρεσβύτερον Ὧρον ἔνιοι καλοῦσι. But whichever *Horus* be, he is not *Harpocrates*, who, as Smith says, was the last-born and weakly son of Osiris, posthumous and premature, ἠλιτόμηνον.

There are mistakes in the references in the same article which I may as well correct, as one gave me and others much trouble. Artemidorus *Oneirocritica* is ii. 39, not ii. 36. Macrobius *Saturnal.* is i. 21, not i. 23. Smith's *Classical Dictionary*, ed. G. E. Marindin, 1899, repeats the mistake Horus=Harpocrates, and adds a reference to Pliny, also not quite correct. It should be *Hist. Nat.* lib. 33, c. 12, not c. 41.

I should be glad if any of your readers could furnish me with any other mention of Harpocrates in Greek or Roman literature. The two Smith's Dictionaries give, as I have said, Varro, Pliny, Plutarch, and Artemidorus, and add Ov. *Metam.* ix. 691, Ausonius, *Epist. ad Paulin.* xxv. 27, two quotations where he is probably mentioned by character, though not by name. I would add Catullus, lxxiv. 4 (name) and S. Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, lib. xviii. 5 (character), and, if we can reckon it, the late epigram, 'Est Rosa flos Veneris,' etc., in Lemaire, *Poet. Lat. Min.*, vol. vii., p. 125.

I am anxious to make out whether Harpocrates was really regarded as a god, at any rate as an executive god, having power to create silence (ἐχεμυθία) or punish for breach of it, or merely as an emblem or personification.

I have not been able to refer to two quotations in the larger Smith—*Porphyr. ap. Eusebium Praep. Evang.* v. 10 and Iamblich. *de Myster.* vii. 2—and do not know whether they refer to Harpocrates or to Horus.

Artemidorus no doubt classes Harpocrates with Serapis, Isis, and Anubis as θεός, and perhaps Ovid has the same idea. But Plutarch evidently did not regard him as a god, and I think the other writers whom I have mentioned treat him merely as a personification.

WALTER G. F. PHILLIMORE.

The Coppice, Henley-on-Thames,
August 4, 1911.

To the Editor of THE CLASSICAL REVIEW.

SIR,—In Mr. Bailey's excellent review of two books upon the *Bacchae* of Euripides, some sentences occur which appear to say that I take 'the traditional view' of the play; the said view being 'that it was written to show the divine power of Dionysus and the futility of human opposition.'

The notes to my translation and the few sentences on the play in my *Greek Literature* show that I am vehemently opposed to any such view, and I think it very likely that Mr. Bailey did not really mean to attribute it to me. Nor, of course, does Dr. Verrall. But various writers have recently done so, and you will perhaps allow me to correct them. I have not the books with me at present, but I certainly remember saying that Dionysus at the end was shown as a devil rather than a god. In general I agree almost exactly with Mr. Bailey's own view: 'Here is the ancient legend as it must have happened if it be true, and here are the results of the Bacchic enthusiasm.'

One might almost make a motto to the play out of Caliban's tragic words:

> 'What a thrice-double ass
> Was I, to take this drunkard for a god!'

remembering always that the Bacchanals of Euripides are drunk not with wine but with beauty and emotion. Where I have differed from some 'tendenziös' explanations of the play is in pointing out that in the *Bacchae* this drunkenness, this ecstasy, is so wonderfully and even lovingly expressed that in the end the fascination of it almost balances the horror. It is a matter of proportion. If the *Bacchae* were merely, or mainly, a criticism or a tract, if the poet's main motive were anti-bacchic propaganda, this balance would surely be utterly different. Of course, the poet had his beliefs, or at any rate his disbeliefs, about Dionysus; but surely in writing this play it was the subject that fascinated him, not the opportunity of expressing any particular theory about the subject. The point is of cardinal importance to criticism. He certainly did not write all those choruses merely because he disapproved of such things, and wanted to show how wicked they were.

I will not dwell on the two or three points

on which I have been criticised by my friend Mr. Bailey, much less attempt any full statement of my case against the subtle and sympathetic attack of Dr. Verrall. Naturally I have things to say, even apart from the general plea that my version of the *Bacchae* was more an attempt to recreate the effect of a great poem than to explain a text. But this is not the place for a long apologia.—Yours truly,

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BOOKS RECEIVED

Publishers and Authors forwarding books for review are asked to send at the same time a note of the price.

*** *Excerpts and Extracts from Periodicals and Collections are not included in these Lists unless stated to be separately published.*

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The Classical Review

NOVEMBER 1911

ORIGINAL CONTRIBUTIONS

THE ATHENIAN CAVALRY IN THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR AND AT AMPHIPOLIS.

An interesting feature of the Peloponnesian War as recorded by Thucydides, to which, as far as I know, attention has not been directed, is the treatment by the Athenians of their cavalry, especially in the Sicilian expedition.

Before the Sicilian expedition was resolved upon, Nicias informed the Athenians of their inferiority in cavalry (Thuc. VI. 20, 22). So well known was this weakness that in VI. 37 Athenagoras is represented as saying in Syracuse: 'I know that they will not bring cavalry with them, and they will find none here.' When the expedition did start, it comprised 5,100 hoplites and a single horse transport with 30 horsemen (VI. 43). During the siege of Syracuse, the Athenians were grievously harassed by the Syracusan cavalry, which amounted to 1,200 (VI. 66, 68, 70). At the end of 415 B.C. the generals sent home for money and cavalry (VI. 74, 93), and in 414 B.C. 250 horsemen arrived, expecting to procure horses on the spot (VI. 94). With local additions the Athenian cavalry now amounted to 650, but still these were too few against the Syracusans (VII. 4, 6, 13). Yet when further reinforcements of 5,000 hoplites and numerous light-armed troops were sent from Athens, no cavalry were added (VII. 20, 42). It is true that cavalry were needed to make descents upon Decelea (VII. 27). But even if it could be shown that the need of them to act against Decelea was greater than the need of them against Syracuse, why were cavalry not sent to Sicily at the outset, before danger from Decelea was apprehended? It was not because the Athenians were without means of training men or horses, for presumably they could not then have supported cavalry from 431 to 421, as they did.

These are the cavalry contingents as given by Thucydides up to the time of the Sicilian expedition: In 431 B.C. the Athenian forces numbered 13,000 hoplites for foreign service and 1,200 cavalry (II. 13). In 430 B.C. Pericles invaded the Peloponnesus with 4,000 hoplites and 300 cavalry (II. 56). In 429 Athens sent an expedition against the Chalcidians of Thrace, consisting of 2,000 hoplites and 200 cavalry (II. 79). In 425 against the Corinthians they employed 2,000 hoplites and 200 cavalry (IV. 42); in 424 against the Megarians, 4,000 hoplites and 600 cavalry (IV. 68); at Delium in the same year against the Boeotians, who had 7,000 hoplites, 10,000 light-armed, 1,000 cavalry, Athens had 7,000 hoplites and a large number of irregulars; 300 cavalry were protecting Delium, but perhaps the Athenians could spare none for the battle, in which their defeat was due to the Boeotian cavalry (IV. 93, 94). Excluding the forces of Cleon at Amphipolis, of which

I shall speak presently, we find that in 418 the Athenians sent a reinforcement to Argos of 1,000 hoplites and 300 cavalry (V. 61); in 416 they sent to Methone 'cavalry of their own' (VI. 7); in their last efforts in Sicily they lost 70 horse before Syracuse (VII. 51), and all the remainder at the Assinarus (VII. 75). In Book VIII. there seems to be no mention of any cavalry force (see ch. 25).

Consider now the exceptional case of Cleon's force at Amphipolis in 422. His forces showed unusual proportions: 1,200 Athenian hoplites, 300 Athenian cavalry, and numerous allies[1] (V. 2). Brasidas had 2,000 hoplites, more than 1,000 light-armed, and 300 Hellenic cavalry (V. 6). It will be noticed that no other force sent from Athens for distant operations had so many cavalry in proportion to foot. The fact that Brasidas also had 300 cavalry is in itself not sufficient to explain the phenomenon, for (1) in the previous year Nicias had acted without cavalry against Brasidas (IV. 129); (2) if the object of the expedition was the recovery of Amphipolis, cavalry were unsuitable for the country around and for a siege such as might be anticipated. But it may be that Athens expected trouble from Macedonian cavalry (cp. I. 60). Whatever the reason for the presence of so many aristocratically-inclined ἱππεῖς, it was disastrous. For while both generals hesitated to engage, 'Cleon was soon compelled to do what Brasidas expected' (V. 7). 'The soldiers, disgusted at their inaction, drew comparisons between the generals, reflecting how ignorant and cowardly Cleon was, how experienced and courageous his opponent. *They remembered how unwillingly they had followed Cleon from home.*' Here Thucydides quotes with obvious approval a most unfair and disloyal opinion. Cleon was justified in waiting for the reinforcements from native princes, which he had required of them in accordance with the terms of their alliance. To prove his ignorance and cowardice we have only the biassed statements of Thucydides and Aristophanes, which attribute to him such contradictory qualities as ignorance and astuteness, cowardice and recklessness.[2] The result of this insubordination is well known. According to Thucydides, Cleon noticed this murmuring, and in order to check the depression, went out 'to have a look at the place' (κατὰ θέαν); when he was so imprudent as to march past the gates of Amphipolis, Brasidas made a sortie and routed the Athenians, Cleon and he being killed.

Among other strange features of Thucydides' account, critics have pointed to the statement that the feet of many horses and men about to sally forth were visible under the gate. But no mention is made of either Lacedemonian or Athenian cavalry in the engagement. When Cleon determined to retreat, says Thucydides, he ordered his forces to retire slowly on the left wing. *They appeared to linger*,[3] whereupon he caused his own right wing to face round. When the unexpected attack came, the right wing on which Cleon and the hoplites had been stationed stood its ground; the left *broke off and instantly fled*.

Now it is almost certain that on the left wing was stationed the cavalry. It would have to be on one wing or the other. At Solygea in 425 the Athenian cavalry was on the left (IV. 43-4); at Mantinea the Athenians were on the left wing, and were supported by their cavalry; the Lacedemonian cavalry was placed on both wings (V. 67); the Boeotian cavalry also was placed on both wings at Delium (IV. 93).

[1] This force was packed into 30 ships, though Pericles' force of 4,000 hoplites and 300 cavalry went forth in 100 ships (II. 56). In IV. 42 we read of 2,000 hoplites and 200 horse in 80 ships; in VI. 43 of 5,000 hoplites and 1,300 light-armed in 134; in VII. 42 of 5,000 hoplites and numerous light-armed in 73; in VIII. 25 of 2,500 hoplites and 1,000 allies in 48 ships. Obviously the tightness of packing varied.

[2] If Thucydides had applied the same prejudice to the actions of Nicias, ὁ μελλονικιῶν (Aristoph. *Birds*, 640), how would Nicias' weakness have come out! Cleon is too often credited, by analogy with modern days, with ignorance and ill-breeding arising from want of a 'liberal education.' But we have no proof that Nicias or Alcibiades were better trained than Cleon. See on this point Holm's *History of Greece*, II. ch. ii. n. 1, ch. xxviii. n. 8.

[3] I read σχολῇ; cp. III. 46.

Two inferences may be drawn. First, that Thucydides got his account of the battle from one of the ἱππεῖς, who saved themselves disgracefully; his bias against Cleon kept him from moderating in a critical spirit the partisan account of his informant. Second, that the Athenian democracy, indignant at the insubordination and cowardice of the ἱππεῖς, avoided using them afterwards unless in operations very near Athens, as against Decelea, or in conjunction with a democracy such as Argos. To their political fears they sacrificed even great military advantage. This latter inference finds support in Aristophanes. In *Wasps* 288 (produced 422 B.C.), we read: 'There will come along a rich man, one of those who are betraying Chalcidice'; in l. 475 Bdelycleon, representative of young aristocratic Athens, is described as ξυνὼν Βρασίδᾳ; in the Peace (421 B.C.) l. 640 the charge is said to have been brought against any aristocrats among the allies ὡς φρονοῖ τὰ Βρασίδου.

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THE SIN OF OEDIPUS.

(A defence of Professor Murray's translation of Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannus*, ll. 1183-1185.)

ὦ φῶς, τελευταῖόν σε προσβλέψαιμι νῦν,
ὅστις πέφασμαι φύς τ' ἀφ' ὧν οὐ χρῆν,
σὺν οἷς τ'
οὐ χρῆν ὁμιλῶν, οὕς τέ μ' οὐκ ἔδει κτανών.

THE *Spectator* for May 13, 1911, contains a review of Professor Murray's new translation of the *Oedipus Tyrannus*,[1] in which exception is taken to his rendering of the above lines.

> 'Thou Light, never again
> May I behold thee, I in the eyes of men
> Made naked, how from sin my being grew,
> In sin I wedded and in sin I slew.'

'The attribution of sin to Oedipus,' says the reviewer, 'destroys at once the entire interest of the drama. The idea of "sin" essentially involves that of moral guilt, and from moral guilt he is throughout absolutely free. The fact of his freedom is the very thing that makes his fate so tragic, and to put into his lips words which are an open confession of crime is to mar the whole effect of a great and almost stupendous work.'

This criticism makes somewhat lightly two large assumptions: (1) That Oedipus is 'absolutely free from moral guilt'; (2) that the idea of 'sin' is equivalent to that of 'crime.' In his first assumption the critic seems to have ignored the important allusion to the case of Oedipus in Aristotle's *Poetics*, c. xiii., where the philosopher discusses the character of the ideal tragic hero. We must not be presented with the spectacle of virtuous men (τοὺς ἐπιεικεῖς ἄνδρας) brought from prosperity to adversity, 'οὐ γὰρ φοβερὸν οὐδὲ ἐλεεινὸν τοῦτο ἀλλὰ μιαρόν ἐστιν.' In the view of Aristotle the character of the ideal tragic hero should lie between the two extremes of perfect uprightness and utter villainy:

ἔστι δὲ τοιοῦτος ὁ μήτε ἀρετῇ διαφέρων καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ μήτε διὰ κακίαν καὶ μοχθηρίαν μεταβάλλων εἰς τὴν δυστυχίαν ἀλλὰ δι' ἁμαρτίαν τινὰ τῶν ἐν μεγάλῃ δόξῃ καὶ εὐτυχίᾳ, οἷον Οἰδίπους. . . .

In an essay appended to his edition of the *Poetics*,[2] the late Professor Butcher has exhaustively discussed the possible range of meaning which the term ἁμαρτία, especially as used by Aristotle, can cover. He finds Aristotelian authority for the use of the term ἁμαρτία in four distinct senses. (1) An error due to unavoidable ignorance of circumstances. (2) An error due to ignorance of circumstances which might have been known, and therefore to some degree morally culpable. Both of these would be classed as cases of ἡ καθ' ἕκαστα

[1] *Oedipus, King of Thebes.* Translated by Gilbert Murray, D.Litt., LL.D. London: Geo. Allen and Sons.

[2] *Aristotle's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art.* By S. H. Butcher. Second edition, pp. 310-15.

ἄγνοια. (3) 'A fault or error where the act is conscious and intentional, but not deliberate. Such are acts committed in anger or passion.' A man acts thus *ἀγνοῶν*, but not *δι' ἄγνοιαν*. (4) 'A defect of character distinct, on the one hand, from an isolated error or fault, and, on the other, from the vice which has its seat in a depraved will . . . a flaw of character that is not tainted with a vicious purpose.' Now, all these different forms of *ἁμαρτία* can be attributed to Oedipus. (1) His ignorance was partially unavoidable, for he could not have known that the man whom he attacked at the crossways was his father. But (2) beyond that he might, had he not been too engrossed with his own ambition, have discovered his error and avoided the further complication of marrying his mother. (3) He launches an awful anathema upon the slayer of Laius regardless of the possibility that he himself, who had slain a man and was, according to prophecy, destined to slay his own father, might be the guilty person. In irritation at the reluctant revelation of Teiresias, he accuses Creon of the murder and denounces the prophet as an accomplice. (4) These errors spring from a naturally hasty and headstrong temper, which further lead him to an excited curiosity as to his true parentage. When the *dénouement* comes, the whole result of his hasty action and behaviour recoils with redoubled force on his own head. The punishment is, it is true, disproportionate to the offence. This, rather than the 'absolute freedom' of the hero 'from moral guilt,' is of the essence of tragedy. But the offence is increased and the resultant blow aggravated by that distinct defect of character which yet 'was not the determining factor in his fortunes.'[1]

It may of course be replied that, whatever may be the meaning of *ἁμαρτία*, it does not amount to 'moral guilt.' But the expression 'moral guilt' belongs, not to Professor Murray, but to his critic. It remains, therefore, to examine the second assumption, that sin and moral guilt are equivalent terms.

It is usually stated that the Greek *ἁμαρτία* has an intellectual significance which is foreign to the Hebrew conception of 'sin.' But, it is plain that the Hebrew conception included wrongdoing which was more or less unintentional, in so far as the doer was the victim of circumstance, or the agency of a higher power, or the doings of others. The Hebraic idea of the hardening of a man's heart by Jehovah lies at the root of this extended meaning of sin. The phrase which Sophocles with his well-known irony causes Oedipus to hurl at the blind seer, *τυφλὸς τά τ' ὦτα τόν τε νοῦν τά τ' ὄμματ' εἶ*, might equally well have been spoken by Moses to Pharaoh or Jesus to the Pharisees. Oedipus, like them, has been subject to the divine blinding which prevented him from seeing, lest he should understand and turn again and be healed.

Again, from Hebraism through Christianity we derive the notion of original sin which is frequently present to our minds even when we use the term 'sin' absolutely. Original sin is essentially the consciousness of guilt which we share with others. The sins of the fathers are visited on the children not only through their physical inheritance but through that part of their environment which is sometimes called their social inheritance; the acts of one generation produce a change in secular circumstance which reacts on the next. We do not, it is true, inherit sin in the strict sense, but tendencies to sin and the consequences of sin. Yet we describe these facts by declaring that we are 'born in sin and the children of wrath.' Though the fault is not ours individually but that of mankind, we share the common sin of humanity, and the human in us cries out with the feeling of common guilt. The Greeks adumbrated these same facts in their doctrine of Νέμεσις and Ἄτη; and the task of the greater Greek tragedians was to face them boldly, and justify the ways of God to men—to exhibit, like St. Paul, the *δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ*.

Thus Oedipus can say that Apollo is the author of his suffering,[2] and almost in the next breath that

κακός τ' ὢν κἀκ κακῶν εὑρίσκομαι.[3]

[1] *Aristotle's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art.* By S. H. Butcher. Second edition, p. 314.

[2] Soph., *Oedipus Tyrannus*, 1330.

[3] *Ib.*, l. 1397.

The deed is one and indivisible; he makes no attempt to distribute the responsibility between the god, his parents and himself; the prevailing cry is that he is altogether accursed; he is in more senses than one *φὺς ἀφ' ὧν οὐ χρῆν*. He was born in sin, though, at the time of birth, that sin which above all tainted his birth was not yet committed. If, then, the analysis which has been attempted here of the conception of sin and the associations of that term is correct, and the character of the Sophoclean Oedipus has not been misrepresented, the term would seem peculiarly well adapted to cover that blend of venial and culpable wrong-doing which we find in the Sophoclean Oedipus. We must conclude that, far from being wrong in his rendering of the passage at issue, Professor Murray has hit upon the one word which could adequately sum up the position. If he has departed from the original, it is only to make clear what Sophocles left vague; but the Hellenic mind would no doubt read into the *οὐ χρῆν* of the tragedian that conception of sin which Professor Murray, with his right apprehension of the import of the drama, has made explicit for the guidance of the English reader.

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NIC. ETH. IV. III. 15. 1123^{b} 31.

PROF. COOK WILSON'S article in the August number of this Review clears up certain confusions that had arisen regarding his interpretation of this passage, and especially of the words *φεύγειν παρασείσαντι*, given in a previous article (*Cl. Rev.*, August, 1910). He may be congratulated on having removed what seemed an almost comic incongruity in this notable piece of characterisation by finally establishing the following points: (1) That *παρασείειν* may stand for *παρασείειν τὰς χεῖρας*; (2) that what is denied of the *μεγαλόψυχος* is the whole content of the phrase quoted, *i.e.* it is not meant that, if he ran away, he would avoid swinging his arms like other people, but that he would not 'run away swinging his arms.' He is too dignified, and has too much contempt for danger, to do that. But this, again, does not not mean that he would not in any circumstances retreat. May I point out that there is a *locus classicus* showing how a 'great-souled' man (though not exactly a *μεγαλόψυχος* in the Aristotelian sense) did and should, according to the Greek conception, 'retreat' without 'running away'? It is the well-known description of Socrates' behaviour in the retreat from Delium *ap.* Plat. *Symp.* 221 *a* ff. Alcibiades, who gives the account, was serving in the cavalry, and Socrates as a hoplite (*ὅπλα ἔχων*). In the general rout Socrates was observed retiring (*ἀνεχώρει*) in company with Laches, and Alcibiades, who rode up to offer his assistance, had an excellent opportunity of watching him and noting his superior self-possession, as he marched along, in the familiar fashion, rolling his eyes from side to side, and 'making it clear to everyone, far or near, that whoso laid hands on him would meet with a stout resistance. The result was that both he and his companion escaped in safety. For it generally happens in war that, when men bear themselves so, the enemy take good care to leave them alone, and only pursue those who fly helter-skelter (*τοὺς προτροπάδην φεύγοντας*).' The advantage in respect of security gained by keeping cool in a retreat is not in Aristotle's mind, but the whole passage fairly illustrates his meaning, and the words just quoted from the Greek paraphrase the particular expression he uses. Further, it is clearly implied that Socrates kept his armour throughout the retreat. Now, although *παρασείειν* does not actually mean 'to throw away one's shield,' as has sometimes been supposed, it might in the given context be taken to imply it, thus bringing in the idea so constantly associated in the ancient mind with a disgraceful flight.

With regard to the use of the aorist participle there seems to be still some confusion. It is hardly possible to bring

in here (1) the inceptive use of the aorist, seen, *e.g.* in the example quoted from Soph. *Aj.* 207-8 *κεῖται . . . νοσήσας*. This would be overstrained in our context. It is better to fall back on (2) the use noted by Monro, *Homer. Gram.* § 77 (quoted in a footnote to the article referred to), according to which the aorist participle sometimes expresses exact coincidence with the action of the principal verb, especially in the case of verbs indicating the manner in which a thing is said or done. As Prof. Cook Wilson observes, the idiom is specially appropriate when rapid motion is concerned, as, *e.g.*, in the present passage and in the familiar Homeric *βῆ . . . ἀίξασα* and the like. The difficulty arising from the combination in our passage of such an aorist participle with a verb in the present tense vanishes when we consider that the infinitive *φεύγειν* indicates not strictly present, but general time, so as to cover any hypothetical instance where it might be said *ἔφυγε παρασείσας*. To say *ὅδε νῦν φεύγει παρασείσας* would be a different thing, and probably impossible.

There remains a further point, before discussing which the whole passage must for the sake of clearness be once more transcribed:

οὐδαμῶς τ' ἂν ἁρμόζοι μεγαλοψύχῳ φεύγειν παρασείσαντι, οὐδ' ἀδικεῖν, τίνος γὰρ ἕνεκα πράξει αἰσχρὰ ᾧ γ' οὐδὲν μέγα; καθ' ἕκαστα δ' ἐπισκοποῦντι πάμπαν γελοῖος φαίνοιτ' ἂν ὁ μεγαλόψυχος μὴ ἀγαθὸς ὤν.

Now what at once strikes the reader is that we have here, as Prof. Cook Wilson says, what seems 'a harsh and illogical co-ordination of a single undesirable act of a limited kind with the whole field of injustice (*ἀδικεῖν*).' What we expect is another instance of some mean and despicable offence, which could be placed on a level with disgraceful and undignified flight as an example of *αἰσχρόν* in a specific, not a general sense. For Prof. Cook Wilson's able defence, which it would be difficult to summarise without doing it injustice, the reader must be referred to his article. But a careful perusal of it fails to remove an obstinate objection. Though he succeeds in showing that the words *οὐδ' ἀδικεῖν κ.τ.λ.* yield a meaning which can be reconciled with the tenor of the whole passage from which the extract is taken, yet this is hardly enough to justify the extraordinary harshness, as regards *the expression of the particular sentence under consideration*, of the 'co-ordination' indicated above. The key to the difficulty seems to me to be this: *ἀδικία* here is *ἀδικία ἡ κατὰ μέρος*. This may have been Prof. Cook Wilson's meaning, or a part of it: *e.g.* such a view may be implied when he says 'the disgraceful gain of injustice would be nothing to a man of such a high standard.' But the point seems to me of such importance, that I venture here to emphasise it, and also to give in full the passage on which my conclusion is based (quoted here, for want of other available text, from Ritter and Preller's *Hist. Phil. Graec.*, p. 350):

Eth. Nic. V. iv. 1130[a] 14 *ζητοῦμεν δέ γε τὴν ἐν μέρει ἀρετῆς δικαιοσύνην· ἔστι γάρ τις, ὡς φαμέν. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ περὶ ἀδικίας τῆς κατὰ μέρος. σημεῖον δ' ὅτι ἔστιν· κατὰ μὲν γὰρ τὰς ἄλλας μοχθηρίας ὁ ἐνεργῶν ἀδικεῖ μέν, πλεονεκτεῖ δ' οὐδέν, οἷον ὁ ῥίψας τὴν ἀσπίδα διὰ δειλίαν ἢ κακῶς εἰπὼν διὰ χαλεπότητα ἢ οὐ βοηθήσας χρήμασι δι' ἀνελευθερίαν· ὅταν δὲ πλεονεκτῇ, πολλάκις κατ' οὐδεμίαν τῶν τοιούτων, ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ κατὰ πάσας, κατὰ πονηρίαν δέ γέ τινα (ψέγομεν γάρ) καὶ κατ' ἀδικίαν. ἔστιν ἄρα γε ἄλλη τις ἀδικία ὡς μέρος τῆς ὅλης, καὶ ἄδικόν τι ἐν μέρει τοῦ ὅλου ἀδίκου τοῦ παρὰ τὸν νόμον.* Here we see that injustice in the special sense, 'unfairness,' is classed with other *μοχθηρίαι*, among which is (happy coincidence!) the act of 'throwing away one's shield through cowardice,' under general injustice, but distinguished from them by the specific mark of *πλεονεξία*. This is just what we want. *Ἀδικεῖν* in our passage may be translated by 'over-reaching his neighbour,' and though we may without undue *χαλεπότης* complain of Aristotle for expressing his meaning so carelessly, his judgment and coherence of thought are thus vindicated at the expense of his style.

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NOTES ON LUCAN.

Bk. iv. l. 618.

Colla diu gravibus frustra tentata lacertis
Immotumque caput fixa cum fronte tenetur.

HASKINS translates the first of these lines in his commentary as follows: 'Long time in vain they tried the strength of each other's necks with strained arms.' He takes it to refer to the action of each of the wrestlers, but the second line seems to forbid this, because the heads of both could not be 'gripped tight with brow immovable.' It must refer to the attitude of either Hercules or Antaeus. Thus the first line probably refers to the other combatant, and the two together to the simultaneous movements of the pair. One strains with his arms to reach the other's neck, while his own head is 'in chancery' beneath his opponent's arm. We thus get a vivid picture of the contest. Hercules has Antaeus' head beneath his arm tightly wedged, while the giant ineffectually reaches upwards to attack his captor's throat and make him relax his grip. Lucan had probably seen some representation of the scene in art. It was apparently a common subject, as Juvenal describes another part of this same conflict in his third *Satire* in words that seem to suggest that he was thinking of some picture. 'Colla' is often used for the singular 'collum,' and the singular 'caput' seems to favour my interpretation.

Bk. v. l. 107.

Saepe dedit sedem totas mutantibus urbes
Ut Tyriis.

'Totas' is the reading adopted by Haskins and Weise. 'Notas' is preferred by Dr. Hosius. Neither seems to add very much to the sense. 'Notas' appears somewhat otiose, and 'totas,' besides being dull, is also inaccurate, as the Tyrians did not change their whole city, but merely sent out colonies. May not the true reading be 'motas tutantibus urbes'? The difference is but slight, as the initial letters might have very easily been interchanged, and the sense is enormously improved. 'Motas,' then, refers to the upheaval by earthquake which the Tyrians suffered, and we may translate 'to men who were trying to save their shaken city,' the generic plural being used, though the poet is thinking only of one, that is, Tyre. Diodorus Siculus xxv. 2, tells us about the earthquakes at Tyre and the means taken to put a stop to them. For 'motas' we may compare 'Tyros instabilis' in Lucan iii. 217.

Bk. v. l. 193.

Extremaeque sonant, domita iam virgine, voces.

Haskins and Weise both take 'Extremae' to mean 'at last,' equivalent to 'extremo.' It seems better to take it as 'from the distance' or 'from the end of the cave,' where the virgin was, by the sacred tripod. This adds something more to the line than the old way of taking it, as the 'iam' with 'domita' also means 'at last.' The dignity of the picture is enhanced if we imagine the voice coming from the depth of the cavern after the long interval of silence.

Bk. v. l. 287.

Nil actum est bellis si nondum comperit istas
Omnia posse manus.

All editors and MSS., I believe, read as above. With 'comperit,' according to Haskins, 'miles qui bellum gerit' has to be supplied as nominative, and 'istas' is to be translated as 'these hands of his.' There are two objections to this view. It is harsh to have to supply such a nominative from the sense, and 'istas' seems to be generally used referring to the second person, *i.e.* 'these of yours.' I suggest, therefore, that 'comperis istas' may be the true reading, the final 'is' having been confused with the following 'is' of 'istas.' We may translate 'Nought has been achieved by war, if you do not yet know that these soldiers of yours can do everything.' The sense seems as perfect as the old rendering, and not so hard to obtain.

Bk v. l. 620.

Monstriferos agit unda sinus.

'Monstriferos' is translated by Haskins and Weise as 'portentous, huge.' By derivation, the word means 'bearing

strange creatures,' and there seems no reason why it should not be thus translated in this passage. The wave from the end of the world would naturally bring strange sea creatures with it. If the sense of 'huge' is desired, 'monstrificos' might be read.

Bk. v. l. 663.

Iussa plebe tuli fasces per bella negatos.

'Iussa,' Haskins says in his commentary, is an equivalent for 'coacta.' I think, however, that there is something more than this underlying the use of the word. 'Iubeo' is the technical word for designating or appointing an official on the part of the people. There are instances of this use in Livy and Sallust. Lucan, I believe, wishes to emphasise that the usual process was reversed in Caesar's case—that instead of the people bidding him be consul, he bade them elect him. This adds considerable point to the arrogance of Caesar's boast.

Bk vi. l. 217.

Ille moras ferri nervorum et vincula rumpit.

'He breaks the steel that hinders him and with it the ligaments of the nerves.' So Haskins and similarly Weise. Surely it is better to take 'moras ferri' as 'all that holds the spear's course,' *i.e.* the eye itself, as explained in the next line, 'adfixam vellens oculo pendente sagittam.' To taking it with Haskins and Weise there are two objections. In the first place Scaeva could not break the steel very easily, and secondly, if they take 'rumpere moras' together as equivalent to 'he does away with the delay,' the zeugma of 'rumpit' used in two senses seems very harsh. On the other hand, the eye with its tendons could easily be broken.

Bk. vi. l. 428.

Quis prodat aves . . . .

'He does not care to find out who interprets the birds.' Haskins takes 'prodat' thus. Probably Lucan means a little more than this, *i.e.* 'who betrays the secrets of the birds,' using 'prodat' in its full sense, and regarding the birds as endowed with the foreknowledge of the future, which the haruspex steals from them and tells to men.

Bk. vi. l. 432-3.

Noverat et tristes sacris feralibus aras,
Umbrarum Ditisque fidem.

'Fidem' is in apposition to 'aras,' as Haskins says. He translates 'which procure credit for the shades and Dis.' May it not mean 'where the shades and Dis reveal the truth,' taking 'fides' in a slightly different sense. Sextus had had experience of the altars where the dead gave oracular response.

Bk. vi. l. 451.

Abducit superos alienis Thessalis aris.

The two lines previous have said that 'though Persian Babylon and Egypt open all their shrines,' yet the Thessalian witch draws the gods away from their altars. Weise seems to take 'alienis' as merely equivalent to 'aliis.' It is surely better to give 'alienis' a fuller meaning, 'foreign' or 'outside the gods' province, where they have no right to be.' The witches regard the gods as their own private property, and call them back when they think that their monopoly is being infringed.

Bk. vi. l. 563.

Illa comam laeva morienti abscidit ephebo.

Haskins on this line merely says that the left hand was used in magic rites. I think the whole line has a deeper significance than this. At the end of the fourth Aeneid, we see that it was considered usual for Proserpina to cut off a lock of hair from the head of anyone who was doomed to die. So Virgil says of Dido, 'nondum illi flavum Proserpina vertice crinem Abstulerat Stygioque caput damnaverat Orco.' We also see that it was customary to do this with the right hand, for Iris, when sent down from heaven by Juno, 'dextra crinem secat.' Lucan, I believe, uses 'laeva' in this passage, because the whole line is a travesty of what the authorised goddess of death would do. Therefore, instead of the right hand, which would be natural, the witch, usurping a task not hers, uses the left, thus marking the difference between the rite as practised by the powers of evil and the powers of good.

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EXCERPTA FROM THE VOCABULARY OF THE GRAMMARIAN VIRGILIUS MARO.

THE following list of words is taken from Huemer's edition of *Virgilius Maro Grammaticus* (Lipsiae, 1886), and the numbers to the left indicate the page of this edition. The words marked with an asterisk are apparently used by this grammarian alone; the rest are used in senses different from their use in classical Latinity. Some of these words do not appear in the Lexicons, and some will be of interest to students of the Romance languages. The list may possibly be of use to students desirous of reading this strange work. On p. 26 of the edition from which these words are taken appear the words, 'De nomine breviariam epitomam edicturus erogare prius debeo quaerimonantibus, qua divitia nomen omnibus partibus latinitatis praelatum sit, cum in *Hi † bonorum* (sic) elocutione et compositione primatum estimatur verbum.' 'As I am going to give a brief account of the noun, it is my duty to begin by explaining to inquirers the claims in deference to which the noun, in Latin, takes precedence of all the parts of speech, when alike in the rhetoric and in the written composition of the *Irish* (lege *Hibernorum*) the highest importance is attached to the verb.' This seems obviously the right reading, and it confirms what has been said in a previous article on the connexion of Virgilius Maro with Ireland.

Huemer

Page 3 connumeratio, an account or description.
contractus, the amassing (pecuniae).
ratiocinari, to aim at.
sectae, the philosophical schools.
*tellea, earthy.
*internare, to penetrate.
*pada, a path (*πάτος*).

,, 4 *scalatim, by regular degrees.
*perfendio, to arrive at.
*moda, order (*cf.* Fr. la mode).
*decelsior, the lower.
*parilla = par, similar.
*affla = afflatus.

Huemer

Page 4 *canitus, in olden times.
*omnimodatim, in every way.
*accitare, to endeavour.
*construmentum, construction.
*emulis, useful.
*minula, a section or an ingredient (dim. of mina).
*audatum = audacia.
*sapido = sapientia.
oratorium, the language.

,, 5 retroacta, long past (divissio linguarum).
usurpo, to come into use.
*transedere, to translate.
*offendire, to find.
*caraxare, to describe (caracterizare).
scriptur*as* nom. = scriptur*ae*.
atramentare, to write down.

,, 7 *quassus, syllable (?), casus (?).
*directare, to direct.
*gammula, a measure or sentence (see Ducange s.v. gamma).
*congluten, a link.

,, 8 *soffare = souffler; O.Fr. sofler.
intimatius (aliquid) of greater importance.
*suffunta, propped or supported.
*spirido = spiritus.
*clefare, to tell of (klapfen).
proscriptivus, used in the beginning of a word.

,, 9 ars = *ἄρθρον*, a word.
*forciosus, strong.
*ganna = canna.
*goela, a lecher. Goth. galjan; *cf.* Mod. Germ. geil.
*amminiculatio, support.
valere, to have a meaning.

,, 10 testimonium, a word.
motatio, the composition of a word.
*computum, a numerical meaning.
trienta = triginta.

,, 11 *aliquidatio, a fusing of two letters in a diphthong.
forint = fuerint.

,, 12 *compotaris, the possessor.
*persanatio, the examination or scrutiny.

Huemer

Page 12 *taxari, to be arranged (*τάσσω*).
,, 13 *pensatura, scansion.
*medietas, half, *cf.* O. Fr. métié, Mod. Fr. moitié.
*fonum, a word.
*disparare, to separate.
*pupla = publica.
,, 14 *modilus, tuneful.
trea = tria.
*fiditas, fides.
,, 15 vienti, viginti.
pensare, to examine.
,, 16 *confussibilitas = confusio.
calcare, to depress (of the voice).
*leporici, wits, especially used of writers of ornate prose.
,, 17 *illectus, delight.
*sepiter = saepe.
*cantatellae, short poems.
gande, apparently = German *Wende*, used for a turning-point.
*infire, to begin.
soma = *σῶμα*.
*arctura, the pressure.
*mentiuncula, mention.
intentio, the aim or object.
*sapificare, to become wise.
grama, orthography.
praetendere curiositatem, to aim at satisfying a thirst for knowledge.
,, 18 *praepalare, to effect (palare, to prop up).
*deffendentia, the scope.

Huemer

Page 18 gurgones, see Ducange s.v.
*tornores logii, the choppers of logic.
*festim = confestim.
*preciti = citissimi.
locuplex = locuples.
*facia = facies.
pugitare, to hesitate.
,, 19 dialecta, verbal criticism.
pictura, a written treatise.
avidare (variant of invidere), to look enviously.
,, 20 *immorosus—lengthy or sustained (of eloquence).
*cupire = cupere.
*deundare, to ebb (of the tide).
,, 21 *clefia, words, *cf.* clefare, supra, p. 8.
,, 22 *sapidiosus = sapidus, savoury.
mazaron, Grecised Hebrew = *μαζουρώθ*, the signs of the Zodiac.
*uxorari, to be married.
*infatua, silly, half-witted.
sensatus (vir), intelligent.
,, 23 praesulare, to preside over.
sapire = sapere.
,, 24 *quadammoda, in some ways.
*mititudo, gentleness.
plania = planitia, level ground.
hiatus, desires.
turbinosus = turbatus, troubled.

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NOTE ON LUCRETIUS, V. 311, 312.

denique non monumenta uirum dilapsa uidemus
quaerere proporro sibi cumque senescere credas.

This is part of a demonstration that nothing can abide. Stones (*lapides*) are overcome by time; towers fall, and *saxa* (used exceptionally of the blocks of which the towers are built) rot away; the shrines of the deities and even their statues wear down; the memorials of heroes decay, and *silices* are torn off from mountain-sides. Heroic remedies have often been proposed for V. 311, among them the one set forth by Mr. Mooney in the May number of the *C.R.* The great divergences between the emendations of different scholars led Bernays to excise the verse, and Brieger to declare the corruption incurable. Munro's conjecture, *sibi sene senescere*, was so attractive from a palaeographical point of view that he was led to overlook the difficulty of its interpretation. To say nothing of the extraordinary selection by the copyist of *cumque* to fill a gap, it is a strange idea that the monuments, after tumbling into decay, should (even ironically) call on the passer-by to say whether he would ever believe in the possibility of their decay. In his explanatory note, Munro gives an

explanation which does not naturally arise out of the words of the reading: 'The poet, observing what he would deem the many foolish inscriptions on these *monimenta*, as in inscr. Lat. I. 1220 *Tu qui secura spatiarus* (sic) *mente uiator. . . . Si quaeris quae sim* cet., sarcastically represents them as now asking sympathy for themselves.' If the demand is for sympathy, it is very obscurely put in the line as written by Munro. He seems to think that the common *si quaeris* of the tombs suggested the *quaerere* of Lucretius, but there is no connexion in sense between the two phrases. Giussani follows Munro. Rejecting the supposition of irony in the question, he explains the meaning to be: 'Do we not see the monuments, while proclaiming their own eternity, fall into ruin?' But *did* the ancient tombs proclaim their own eternity? Many of the sepulchral inscriptions in Latin are, like those in other languages, foolish enough, as Munro says, but they are clear of that kind of folly. I venture to think that the problem of correcting V. 311 is simpler than has been generally supposed, and that the reading of OQ is not far from the truth. Many years ago I proposed to read *quicque* for *cumque*, and the suggestion has been made independently since. The ruined monuments call on the bystander to look on their own collapse as an indication that all things are destined to destruction. There is no reason to suspect *quaerere;* it is used of inanimate things like *uociferari* in II. 450 and 1051, and III. 14. The expression *credere aliquid alicui*, 'to believe something on someone's authority,' is common enough, and the substitution of the infinitive clause for the accusative needs no illustration. The neuters *quicque, cuique, quaeque*, are of frequent occurrence in Lucretius, and such words are very liable to corruption; thus in II. 721 the MSS. have *cumque* for *quamque*. It only remains to justify the meaning and syntax of *quaerere credas*. The verb *quaerere* is not one on which the *ut*-clause ordinarily follows, unless, of course, *id* or *quod* precedes, in which case the clause becomes explanatory. But, on the one hand, there are many eccentricities in Latin in the use of such *ut*-clauses, and, on the other, *quaerere* has a range of meaning as wide as that of our *ask* or *seek*, and thus often approximates very closely in sense to classes of verbs expressing desire, entreaty, request, which frequently take the construction with *ut*. [In his explanatory note Munro practically interprets *quaerere* in this way—'asking for sympathy,' though his reading is in the form of a question.] In the case of individual verbs, the instances of the *ut*-construction are often few or single. The list of isolated instances given by the grammars and by Draeger might be considerably extended. As regards *quaerere*, an example is given by all the MSS. of Cic. *ad Att.* 14, 20, 4: 'quaeris ut suscipiam cogitationem quidnam istis agendum putem.' Recent editors have followed Madvig in writing *quod uis* for *quaeris* on the ground of the uniqueness of the passages as given in the MSS.; but the same might be said of many other passages in which the clause with *ut* is dependent on a particular verb. As regards the direct dependence of subjunctives on verbs, Latin is just as apparently capricious as in the use of the *ut*-clause. There is a remarkable example in Lucr. II. 173: 'blanditur saecla propagent.' In II. 1004, 'efficit . . . conuertant' has been needlessly changed to '*effit ut . . . conuertant.*' Even the existence of *effit* in the Latin of the time is doubtful.

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NOTES

SOPHOCLES *FRAGMENT* 344 (NAUCK²).

THE phrase

κεραυνίου
νώτου καταστάζοντα βύσσινον φάρος

presents quite a pretty problem. To begin with we must accept the construction καταστάζοντα φάρος, although the usual one is καταστάζειν τί τινος. This reading is common to the MSS. of Dionysius and Plutarch. Then the genitive νώτου can certainly not depend on φάρος, but must mean 'from his back.' φάρος νώτου, 'the cloak he wore on his back,' is an impossible phrase, as whoever wore it did not wear it on his back alone. This leads us to the essential question, Whose purple cloak did the discharge from Anchises' wound stain? I should say most decidedly that of Aeneas. Anchises was bed-ridden, and would not have been wearing a purple cloak, or if they had thrown one over him, it would not be evident that the discharge from his wound was staining it, and καταστάζοντα, 'dripping down on it,' would be inoppropriate. If we read νώτου, the back is of course that of Anchises and κεραύνιον νῶτον means the back wounded by the thunderbolt. Now I think it is not likely that Zeus would, if I may so express myself, have taken an unfair advantage of Anchises and hit him from behind.

This brings us to the text of Plutarch where the best MSS. have (p. 100 E) Ὡς γὰρ ἀρώματα τρίβωνας εὐώδεις καὶ ῥάκια ποιεῖ, τοῦ δ' Ἀγχίσου τὸ ῥάκος ἰχῶρα πονηρὸν ἐξεδίδου 'μοτοῦ καταστάζοντα βύσσινον φάρος.' (So, Plutarch continues, does vice spoil all the most splendid things.) This is the Aldine reading, but σῶμα for ῥάκος (a variant in some MSS.) was early introduced and has held the field. So has νώτου (a variant of only one good MS., but confirmed by Dionysius' text) for μοτοῦ. It seems to me that σῶμα is certainly an interpolation. It was not Anchises' whole body that discharged pus, but his incurable wound. It seems to me that νώτου was also a conjectural emendation of μοτοῦ (it was a very tempting one). ῥάκος and μοτός both mean, as technical surgical terms, 'lint'—or, not to be too precise, let us say 'lint or rag bandages.' μοτοῦ here means 'from his bandages,' *i.e.* from his wound. As the phrase κεραύνιος μοτός for κεραυνία πληγή would be absurd, we must accept Reiske's κεραύνιον (πατέρα), an emendation otherwise fairly certain in view of ματρὶ σὺν κεραυνίᾳ (*Ant.* 1139).

It is probably the occurrence of ῥάκια immediately before that has induced editors of Plutarch to reject ῥάκος here. Of course ῥάκια when associated with τρίβωνες does not mean 'lint' or 'bandages,' but simply 'rags': but the transition is easy from rags to the rag bandage of Anchises. 'Spices sweeten rags, but the discharge from Anchises' rag-bandage stained Aeneas' fine coat when he was sitting on Aeneas' shoulders.' It is quite unnecessary and really most impertinent to inquire where Sophocles supposed Anchises to have been hit by the thunderbolt. It was probably in the leg, as it is said to have lamed him. One in the back could hardly have failed to kill him. Besides, to clinch matters, Aeneas, and those with him are here described, I fancy, as viewed from the front and not from behind. One cannot suppose that Aeneas hoisted Anchises back-foremost.

Vathy, Samos. W. R. PATON.

ΑΛΛΑ . . . MEN.

ἀλλὰ . . . μέν after a negative is not so rare as Prof. Platt suspects (*Classical Review*, vol. xxv., p. 13). The following are unambiguous:

Plato, *Euthyd.* 297*e*: οὐ γὰρ Πατροκλῆς ἦν αὐτῷ πατὴρ . . . ἀλλὰ παραπλήσιον μὲν τοὔνομα Ἰφικλῆς.

Gorg. 462*e*: ταὐτὸν ἄρ' ἐστὶν ὀψοποιία καὶ ῥητορική;—οὐδαμῶς γε, ἀλλὰ τῆς αὐτῆς μὲν ἐπιτηδεύσεως μόριον.

Rep. 475*e*: τούτους . . . φιλοσόφους φήσομεν;—οὐδαμῶς, εἶπον, ἀλλ' ὁμοίους μὲν φιλοσόφοις.

Theaet. 201*b*: οὐδαμῶς ἔγωγε οἶμαι (διδάξαι ἱκανῶς), ἀλλὰ πεῖσαι μέν.

Theaet. 197*c*: τρόπον δέ γ' ἄλλον οὐδεμίαν ἔχειν, ἀλλὰ δύναμιν μὲν κ.τ.λ.

Soph. 240*b*: οὐδαμῶς ἀληθινόν γε, ἀλλ' ἐοικὸς μέν.

I do not think it is necessary, or quite accurate, to say that *ἀλλὰ . . . μέν* in this idiom '=*ἀλλὰ μήν*,' as Prof. Platt says. For—

1. *ἀλλὰ μήν* cannot be substituted for *ἀλλὰ . . . μέν* in the passages I have cited. Plato could not have written (*Rep.* 475*e*) *οὐδαμῶς, ἀλλὰ μὴν ὁμοίους φιλοσόφοις. ἀλλὰ μήν* requires a fresh verb.

2. Why not *ἀλλὰ . . . μήν*? *ἀλλὰ . . . μήν* occurs, but not, I believe, in this way.

3. It is true that *ἀλλὰ μὲν δή* (and *ἀλλὰ μέντοι*) are very similar in sense and use to *ἀλλὰ μήν*. Indeed, *μὲν δή* and *μέντοι* are found in most of the uses of *μήν*. But *μέν* alone is not used in Attic prose as an independent particle.

4. The meaning is different; *μέν* retains its ordinary correlative function. It is true that, as Prof. Platt says, there is no suppressed *δέ* clause which might have followed; but that is because the other side of the antithesis has already been stated. *Soph.* 240*b* expresses from another point of view the same antithesis as would be expressed by *ἐοικὸς μέν ἐστιν, ἀληθινὸν δ' οὐδαμῶς*. Why should the *μέν* clause always come first?

A nearer equivalent than *ἀλλὰ μήν* would be *ἀλλ' οὖν . . .* (*γε*), or simply *μήν* or *μέντοι*—*οὐδαμῶς ἀληθινόν γε, ἐοικὸς μήν*.

Acharnians 428 is perhaps peculiar in the position of *καί*. *ἀλλὰ χωλὸς μὲν ἦν κἀκεῖνος* would, I think, be normal: 'Not Bellerophon; but he *was* lame, too.'

R. W. CHAPMAN.

'THE GOLDEN BOUGH.'

IN the celebrated fragment of Pindar about the under-world of the blessed (Schroeder, p. 443) I see no reason for altering much (in v. 3) the tradition of the MSS., which is *καὶ λιβάνῳ σκιερᾷ* (ita Boeckh: *σκιερὰν* libri omnes) *καὶ χρυσοκάρποισι <ν>* (*ν* inserui), *βέβριθεν*. Then *χρυσοκάρποισιν* is substantival and specific. *χρυσόκαρπος* was, as a fact, the name of a certain kind of ivy with yellow berries. Pindar may have used it for the yellow-berried mistletoe, the species which grows especially on oaks and is even commoner in these regions than our white-berried mistletoe. He put the frankincense tree there, not as the most shady tree (which it is not), but for a mystic reason; and if *χρυσόκαρποι* are mistletoe boughs, I suppose he put them there too for a mystic reason, or he may have meant simply the yellow-berried ivy (if there is such a plant—I never came across it).

W. R. PATON.

Vathy, Samos.

MENANDER: EMENDATIONS AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

(The lines are numbered as in Van Leeuwen's second edition.)

Ἥρως, 51. *θύσαιμ' ἀνόνητον. . . .*

Ἐπιτρέποντες, 117. *εἰ δ' ἐκλαβών.*

118. *δραχμὰς ἵνα κερδάνειεν αὐτῷ δώδεκα.* A case of transposition.

287. Cf. Lucian, *Dial. Meretr.* 7 c. 1: *οὐκ ἔχοντι αὐτῷ καταθεῖναι συμβολὴν τὸν δακτύλιον δέδωκας.*

383. *λέγε μοι, λέγ', εἰ σὺ πέρυσι . . . .*

385. The papyrus seems to have
ΔΑ
had ΤΟΝΠΑΙΜΟΥ, *i.e. τὸν παῖδά μου.*

458. *ὄμνυμι τὴν Δήμητρα.*

528. *ἂν μὴ καταίσθῃ.*

Περικειρομένη, 27. *ἐν γειτόνων δ' οἰκοῦσα τἀδελφῷ.* Cf. Lucian, *Philopseud.* c. 25: *ἐν γειτόνων δὲ ἡμῖν ᾤκει.*

Σαμία, 97-8. *ἦ μήποτ' ἂρ'— ΔΗ. οὗτος, βλέπε δεῦρ'. ΠΑ. ἰδού, βλέπω. ΔΗ. τὸ παιδίον τίνος ἐστίν;*

151. Read *ποήσει*, for *ποήσαι* would require *ἂν εἴη* expressed in the apodosis.

245 and 249. Cf. Lucian, *Somn. s. Gall.*, c. 13: *ἀκούεις δήπου ὡς χρυσίον ἐγένετο καὶ ῥυεὶς διὰ τοῦ τέγους συνῆν τῇ ἀγαπωμένῃ.*

263. *οὐδ' ὑπεκφεύγει τις αὐτόν.*

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PETRONIUS, *SATIRAE*, c. 38.

Est tamen sub alapa et non vult sibi male.

No editor or translator of Petronius has yet offered a satisfactory explanation of the above passage. Those who would retain the MSS. reading all start

from the assumption that the words *sub alapa* refer to the man's servile origin; *alapa* = 'a box on the ear,' to manumit a slave; cf. multo maioris alapae mecum veneunt (Phaedrus 2. 5. 25). There is not much point in Bücheler's rendering, 'He is still a slave to money-making,' and the meaning given by Lowe in his edition of the *Cena* is quite out of place, viz., 'He can still put up with his old master's petulance'; this is inconsistent with the rest of the sentence and against the trend of the whole paragraph, which emphasises the *arrogance* of the parvenu, and not 'his deeply-engrained habit of self-suppression' (Lowe); this is especially prominent in the very next sentence, 'itaque proxime casam (cum MSS.) hoc titulo proscripsit: C. Pompeius Diogenes ex kalendis Iuliis cenaculum locat; ipse enim domum emit.' Another recent English editor, M. J. Ryan, translates, 'He has been manumitted only lately, but he knows his business'; he is more cautious than Lowe, for he adds in a note 'possibly referring to a box on the ear given by his master to a slave on emancipation. The meaning is dubious' (cf. 'Certainly with a reference to his slavish origin,' Lowe). The general sense demands some expression meaning 'he is conceited,' and Friedländer, with considerable hesitation, owing, no doubt, to palaeographical difficulties, declares in favour of *sufflatus* (Hirschfeld). Heraeus, who has edited the *Cena* with a selection of Pompeian wall-inscriptions, connects *alapa* with *alapari*, 'to boast,' and emends to *subalapo* (cf. *nugo, nugari*). Others have proposed such desperate remedies as *sub ala vipera* (Stowasser). The problem has recently been solved by Havers (*Indog. Forsch.* xxviii. 1-2 Heft 1911), who starts from the use of *alapa* like *ῥάπισμα* to denote mental weakness; tr. (1) 'He is under the influence of a blow from the *mala manus*,' 'he's off his head,' or (2) 'He is now under the *mala manus*, and about to receive a blow from it,' 'he will soon be quite mad,' cf. corpus totum lividum habebat quasi flagellis caesus, quia scilicet illum tetigerat mala manus (Petron. *Sat.* c. 63).

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CAESAR, *B.G.* iv. 3.

DR. ROUSE suggests that *paulo quam* might have been used by Caesar on the analogy of such colloquialisms as *sane quam, mire quam*, etc.; but these expressions all have the effect of increasing, emphasising, exaggerating, the statement they accompany: *sane quam profuit* means more than *profuit*; *per quam languidus est* means more than *languidus est*; whereas *paulo quam* (supposing it to exist) would have a depreciating, minimising effect, and would, therefore, not be comparable with the others. So the argument from analogy seems to fall to the ground. In fact, I fail to attach any intelligible meaning to *paulo quam humaniores sunt*. Another point is that Caesar would not be likely to use such colloquialisms. In considering this passage one must not leave the MSS. out of account. All of them show traces of a word between *generis* and *ceteris*, PRAMVTU (Frigell's notation) having *et*, L *sunt*, and some early editions *etiam*. In my edition of 1887 I proposed *et paulo, quamquam sunt eiusdem generis, sunt ceteris humaniores*, which is the reading of Leidensis primus with the substitution of *quamquam* for *quam*. If anyone should object to the separation of *paulo* from the comparative I may quote *B.G.* v. 58 *pauloque habuit post id factum Caesar quietiorem Galliam*, and the rather careless repetition of *sunt* may be paralleled by *B.G.* i. 16 *sub septentrionibus, ut ante dictum est, posita est.*

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THE DERIVATION OF THE GRAMMATICAL TERM 'SUPINE.'

I VENTURE to suggest, as plausible, a derivation of the grammatical term 'supine.' May it not be a poor translation of *κλιτικόν*—*i.e.* declinable? The word *supinus* often = *declivis*, and we thus have a parallel to *obliquus*, in *obliquus casus* <*rectus casus*, the nominative. It is significant that the old grammarians used *supinum* to include not only the supines, but gerundial expressions also.

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REVIEWS

HISTORICAL AND LINGUISTIC STUDIES IN LITERATURE RELATED TO THE NEW TESTAMENT.

Historical and Linguistic Studies in Literature related to the New Testament. Chicago University, Department of Biblical and Patristic Greek. Vol. I., Part V., Μετανοέω and μεταμέλει in Greek Literature until A.D. 100, by EFFIE F. THOMPSON, Ph.D. Part VI., Lexicographical and Historical Study of διαθήκη to the end of the Classical Period, by F. D. NORTON, Ph.D. Chicago University Press, 1908. Also from the same department,

The Participle in the Book of Acts. By CHARLES BRAY WILLIAMS (Doctoral Dissertation).

THE dissertations named above are creditable to the enterprise of the department from which they come, and especially to Prof. E. D. Burton, to whose initiative they appear to be largely due. The first starts unhappily with a page of 'Etymology,' which Dr. Thompson would have done well to submit to a philologist: there is hardly a sentence in it which would not be improved by the insertion of a negative. The net result of the inquiry is, I am afraid, very negative. The long list of passages from classical writers and from the Septuagint and Jewish writers, as given here, seem to establish no very clear difference between μετάνοια and μεταμέλεια, except that in classical times the former was more concerned with mind than feeling. But in later use the distinction is admitted to have become very thin, and the consequence is that the required basis for the differentiation of the words in the New Testament—which is the avowed object of the dissertation—disappears almost entirely. The two pages on New Testament usage are sound enough; but though we are glad to have the industrious collection of earlier instances, they do nothing material to explain how the words stand in the Christian writings. No attempt is made to search the papyri, where, however, I only know of one instance of μεταμέλομαι and two of μετάνοια.

The study of διαθήκη has a more hopeful subject, and is taken up in a thoroughgoing manner. There is a very curious limitation in the scope of the essay, when one notices that the declared purpose is the elucidation of διαθήκη in the New Testament. Had this purpose been absent, we could have accepted the results as giving us a careful and well worked-out description of usage up to 300 B.C. But what an extraordinary procedure it would be if a foreign scholar, desiring to elucidate the meaning of an English word in a poem of Browning, investigated its usage in Old and Middle English writers, refusing to overstep the year 1600! Since διαθέσθαι and διαθήκη simply swarm in the papyri, and we have plenty of autograph wills surviving from these sources, the call to examine contemporary use should surely have been recognised. Apart from this rather serious drawback, the dissertation has great merit. The lexical record is first examined, and then the evolution of a Greek will is studied from the legal point of view. Dr. Norton is not as unfortunate with his philology as Dr. Thompson, though he makes several blunders, and might have sacrificed the page of etymology with advantage. The list of compounds of διά on pp. 12 and 13 oddly includes sundry compounds of δι- (Lat. *bi-*): there is probably etymological connexion, but the two should not have been fused. Dr. Norton's thesis that a διαθήκη started in an adoption, undertaken for the sake of the ancestor-cult, must be left to the jurists and archaeologists. His conclusion that διαθήκη does not wholly coincide with either *contract* or *testament*, but lies between them, must be carefully noted. But did it apply to the period of the New Testament? To that vital question Dr. Norton attempts no answer.

Dr. Williams' study of the Participle is a work of great industry, covering a large area. The essay opens with a sketch of the classifications of participial uses adopted by leading grammarians. Delbrück's stress on the *Tempuscharakter* of the principle is too hastily thrown over, on the ground that 'the "time" element in the participle does not furnish the best basis of classification.' But *Tempus* is 'tense,' not 'time,' which is quite a different matter. Granted the system of classification adopted ('ascriptive,' 'adverbial,' 'complementary,' with sub-headings under each), the distribution of participles in *Acts* among the classes appears sound, though I should query the choice of two or three sub-headings in the part I tested. The proportion of participles per page of thirty lines, and the percentages of the three kinds of participial usage, carefully gathered for the Book as a whole, and for the various component parts into which sundry critics have tried to divide it, is put forward as a test of these theories and a means of checking the unity of the Book and its connexion with the Third Gospel. The Greek of the Lucan writings is further compared with other New Testament Books by this test, by the help of an application of the same test to portions of leading Greek authors, the Septuagint and the papyri, 1,000 lines being taken for each. The result answers very well to that which is secured by other tests: I might refer to what I have said of the relative *Graecitas* of the New Testament Books in *Cambridge Biblical Essays*. But the result for Mark's Gospel is anomalous here, as in another test which I have discussed *op. cit.*, p. 492 f. Dr. Williams is evidently conscious of a disturbing factor, which vitiates his statistics as a test much more than he thinks. He himself shows that there is a great difference between the statistics for participles in Rom. ix.-xi. and xii.-xiv.; and he allows that the difference in narrative and argument will be more considerable still. I am afraid approximately reliable results would only be obtained if we restricted comparison to fairly long passages, resembling each other in purpose and character—narrative, argumentative, hortatory, etc. Scepticism on this ground, however, does not lessen my appreciation of Dr. Williams' careful work, which will give undeniably useful results in many directions. His treatment of the common Hellenistic 'irregular' use of the genitive absolute needs some qualification, as does that of the time-relation of the aorist participle: see my *Grammar*, pp. 74 and 130 ff. respectively. The repeated *εἶμι* (*sum*) on p. 29 needs correction, as does *συνοῖδα* (p. 35); nor is *ὁράω* (p. 4) a form of normal Greek, except in the dictionary.

JAMES HOPE MOULTON.

THE WORKS OF ARISTOTLE.

The Works of Aristotle. Translated into English under the editorship of J. A. SMITH and W. D. ROSS. Vol. IV. *Historia Animalium*, by D'ARCY WENTWORTH THOMPSON. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1910. Price 10s. 6d. net.

ARISTOTLE'S *History of Animals* is a treatise on physiology rather than a work on natural history in the ordinarily accepted modern sense. It is divided into nine books or parts which deal successively with the different organs and functions of the body. Thus, the first three books treat largely of the organs of alimentation, excretion, and locomotion, and with the general form of the body; the fourth book contains an account of the special sense organs; the fifth and sixth are concerned more particularly with the physiology of reproduction (including an account of the breeding habits of various animals and birds); while the two last books deal mainly with the psychology and general habits of animals, with notes on the diseases to which the various species are subject. The whole work is discursive in character, and the observations, which are often remarkably accurate, are, as a rule, set down without attempt at order. This is very apparent in the sections dealing with generation. It

remained for Aristotle in a subsequent work to co-ordinate his facts about this subject and to set forth a general theory regarding the nature of reproduction in animals, and although his views have been shown in the light of modern research to be largely wrong, the *De Generatione Animalium* as a scientific treatise is far superior to the *Historia*.

Nevertheless, many of the facts narrated in Books V. and VI. of the *Historia* (and since confirmed) are of great interest, while the accounts given of the oestrous cycle in various animals, though containing statements which now seem to be manifestly absurd, in other respects compare favourably with various modern writings on sexual physiology. It is particularly noteworthy that in the case of some animals at least Aristotle clearly distinguished between the periods of pro-oestrum and oestrus, thus anticipating an important physiological observation, which was subsequently overlooked until the beginning of the twentieth century.

Previous to the publication of the present translation, the *Historia Animalium* had been rendered into English by Thomas Taylor (1809) and Richard Cresswell (1862), and those who are acquainted with the work of these authors will admit the superiority of the present edition both from the standpoint of the zoologist and from that of the scholar. The translation is based upon the text of Bekker, but Professor Thompson has included all that seemed most useful from the texts or textual annotations of Schneider, Aubert and Wimmer, Piccolos, and Dittmeyer, besides adding some of his own. One naturally tends to compare the result with the recently issued translation of the *De Generatione*, and it is of interest to note that whereas the annotations added to the latter by Mr. Platt, who is a professor of Greek, are largely biological in character, those to the *Historia* by Mr. Thompson, who is a professor of natural history, generally relate to textual criticism. The result is that to the biologist, and also we venture to think to the general reader, Professor Platt's work is the most entertaining of the two. Professor Thompson tells us in his preface that he felt constrained to omit much of what he had written, especially on the zoological side of the commentary. This is, in our opinion, an unfortunate circumstance, seeing that a considerable amount of space is occupied by unnecessary cross-references to Pliny and other later authorities who in many cases merely borrowed from Aristotle. It is as though a new edition of the *Origin of Species* were published containing references to more recent biological writers who have merely quoted Darwin's observations without verifying them or adding thereto. A needless multiplication of cross-references is unfortunately a common characteristic of the writings of those persons who are wont to adopt the so-called literary treatment of scientific subjects.

In executing his translation Professor Thompson has had a difficult task, and it must be admitted on all sides that, on the whole, he has performed it well, and produced a valuable and readable book. Apart from the matters referred to above, there are other details which can be criticised, but these are for the most part unimportant. Exception may be taken to the use of the word 'ape' instead of 'macaque,' the former word being generally limited to the Anthropoids. The fish described as the perch in 508^b was probably a species of *Serranus*, and not a perch in the strict sense. We venture to doubt the necessity of translating the word φλέψ by 'vein' instead of 'blood-vessel' in 513^a, where Aristotle is made to say, 'this vein is termed the "aorta."' The lengthy footnote on the Aristotelian conception of the vascular system is interesting, but the suggestion that the pulmonary artery and aorta were together spoken of as the 'aorta' ('in other words, as the arterial system'), does not seem a very probable one.

Lastly, criticism must be made of the extremely cumbrous system of pagination adopted by the editors (not only in this volume, but in others of the series) whereby the numbers of the sections only appear, and not the numbers of the pages. By adopting this method the use of the index is rendered unnecessarily difficult.

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DE APOLLONII RHODII ELOCUTIONE.

De Apollonii Rhodii Elocutione, scr. G. Boesch. Göttingen, 1908.

This is a dissertation of seventy-five pages, in which the writer discusses many interesting words in Apollonius. It is, however, much more limited in scope than might be thought from the title, being almost confined to the treatment of verbs. After an introduction upon the poets imitated by Apollonius come two chapters, the first dealing with forms and meanings of words that differ from the Homeric usage, and the second with verbs not found in Homer. Among the latter are many common to Apollonius with other Alexandrian authors, especially Aratus, Callimachus, and Lycophron. From the last-named it is probable that Apollonius derived his tragic verbs. A comparison with Homer shows not so much that Apollonius was an 'ignorant imitator' (as he has been often called) as that he deliberately adopted certain forms and uses to indicate how he understood Homer—in short, Merkel maintains with some probability that the *Argonautica* contains a critical commentary upon Homer. Perhaps I may be allowed to refer to a paper by myself upon this subject in the *Journ. Phil.* twenty-one years ago. Mr. Boesch particularly notices new forms, such as *κέκλομαι*, the frequent use of the middle for active, as *μετρήσασθαι*, *ταρχύσαντο*, *φαρμάσσεσθαι*, verbs used both transitively and intransitively, as *βλαστέω*, *ἐρυθαίνω*, the opt. 3rd plur. in *-ντο* for the Homeric *-ατο*, the use of the optative after primary tenses, peculiar case-constructions, the fondness for verbs in *-ιάω* on metrical grounds, words used literally by Homer and metaphorically by Apollonius, and *vice versa*. To the last category might be added *πεδόθεν*. Three emendations are proposed, but in them the writer has not been fortunate. In i. 103 he would read *κείνην* for *κοινήν* (which is not an epic form). Cod. Laur. has *κεινήν*. The emendation—if it can be so called, for it is the reading of some MSS. and of the Aldine ed.—is easy and certain, but it was made by Hart in 1863. Editors generally seem to have been misled by Brunck. The other two are iv. 995 *θυηπολίῃσι κιόντας* for *θυηπολίῃσιν ἰόντας* and iv. 1438 *νηλέες* for *νηλής*—both absolutely uncalled for, as Prof. Sitzler has shown in his review (*Wochenschr. f. kl. Phil.* Sep. 26, 1910). However, the program is a valuable contribution to the verbal study of Apollonius, and gives abundant evidence of care and research. Rzach's excellent *Grammatische Studien zu Apoll. Rhod.* is often referred to.

Instead of general remarks, it will be more useful if I indicate a few points in which I consider the writer to be mistaken. Mr. Boesch is rather addicted to making unqualified statements. Thus he says (p. 10 *n.*) that Cod. Laur. has no example of the fut. opt. But we find iii. 644 *σβέσοι*, corrected by Madvig to *σβέσαι*. On the verb *χνοάω* we read (p. 58), 'numquam in hujus verbi formis diectasis epica invenitur,' but Prof. Sitzler points to *χνοόωσαν*, Tryphiodor. 343. On *ἄν* with the opt. we read (p. 27), 'omissa est particula *ἄν* velut saepius in Homero,' but in Homer the question in each case is, Is *ἄν* required? not, Is it omitted? To come to other points. On p. 2, iii. 2 *ἀνήγαγε κῶας Ἰήσων* is said to be taken from Mimnermus, but such an ordinary phrase can hardly be said to be imitated from anyone—to say nothing of the fact that the reading in the fragment of Mimnermus is uncertain. P. 9, the fut. *ἀλαλκήσουσιν* (ii. 235) is said to be from the epic. aor. *ἄλαλκε*, but Prof. Sitzler suggests with probability that it is due to the vulgate *ἀλαλκήσει* in k. 288. P. 13, on *ἀκέοις* (i. 765), 'Homericum enim *ἀκέων* participium esse existimans,' etc. But there is little doubt that *ἀκέων is* a participle, see Leaf on Δ 22 and Agar in *Journ. Phil.*, No. 48, p. 273. Again, '*ἔμμορε* (A 278 et al.) aoristi formam existimabat.' It is quite possible that *ἔμμορε* in Homer is an aor. and not a perf., see Leaf on O 189. On the same page, on the word *ἀηθέσσω* (iv. 38) we find, 'Mirum est cur ipse, i. 1171,

ἀήθεσον non ἀήθεσσον posuerit.' Here Merkel has taken Ziegler's emendation ἀήθεον suggested by Hesych. ἀηθεῖν· μὴ εἰθίσθαι and this seems much better than the text. With great perversity Mr. Boesch says (p. 28 *n.*), 'iv. 1704 πολλὰ δὲ Πυθοῖ ὑπίσχετο πολλὰ δ' Ἀμύκλαις, πολλὰ δ' ἐς Ὀρτυγίην ἀπερείσια δῶρα κομίσσειν, dativi e verbo ὑπίσχετο pendent,' but a comparison with i. 418 shows conclusively that they depend on κομίσσειν. Finally, p. 24, δασόμεσθα is connected with δαήσομαι instead of with δαίομαι.

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THE CLOUDS OF ARISTOPHANES.

The Clouds of Aristophanes. With Introduction, etc., by W. J. M. Starkie. Pp. lxxxviii + 369. London: Macmillan, 1911. 12s.

How much of the matter properly belonging to lexicons, dictionaries of antiquities, and other works of reference should be put into editions of ordinary books is a question on which editors differ very considerably. Some would have their readers go for it to the proper quarter, and not expect to have it quarried for them in every commentary. Others seem to think that the commentary should be complete in itself and dispense the reader from the task of consulting works of reference at all, and they sometimes pile up masses of information which even those works themselves hardly contain. In this there is some convenience, and it occasionally enables a writer to bring together a good deal that is not known as universally as it might be. But the copious commentary thus produced is apt to be rather overwhelming and the reader to have some difficulty in picking his way through the apparent wilderness. Not a few would prefer something more select and concise, with the power always in reserve of repairing, if they wish, to ampler sources, and they think that the same full information need not be given over and over again in every edition. Indeed, it would sometimes be better if a scholar, instead of producing an elaborate and expensive edition of a book, contented himself with publishing anything new or valuable that he had to say about a few passages in it.

Dr. Starkie has put together a very full commentary on the *Clouds*, including a fresh transcript of the *Venetus* scholia, and accompanied by a prose translation. The translation is not, like that of the *Acharnians*, in Shakespearean language throughout, but it is so in great measure, and not, I think, with a very happy result. As I ventured to say before, the language of Aristophanes certainly made no such impression on the Athenians who first heard it or for a long time afterwards read it as that of the Elizabethan dramatists makes on us. Dr. Starkie finds quaint archaic out-of-the-way expressions for quite ordinary Attic words and phrases. Why should λοιδορεῖσθαι be represented by 'falling at brain-buffets'? This is surely a sort of pedantic humour and ecstasy of Elizabethan learning which would have taken Aristophanes himself very much aback. In 87 πιθοῦ is 'be toward,' 88 ἔκστρεψον . . . τοὺς σαυτοῦ τρόπους 'set a new nap upon your ways,' 498 γυμνούς *in querpo*, 499 φωράσων 'going on an office of discovery,' and these oddities are all supported in the notes by Shakespearean quotations. Loving Shakespeare on this side idolatry as much as anyone, I must yet protest against such a misuse of him. It is characteristic of the editor that in commenting on the jocose appropriateness of the oaths in 627, μὰ τὴν ἀναπνοήν, μὰ τὸ χάος, μὰ τὸν ἀέρα, he remembers Bobadil, but apparently forgets Bob Acres, with the theory of swearing which he borrowed when 'damns had had their day.' But after all is any prose translation at all wanted in such an edition as the present? It seems now to be one of the *idola* of English scholarship that a translation is always to be added.

Dr. Starkie refers in various places to the unsatisfactory and puzzling shape in which the play has come down to us,

changed from its first form, yet not definitively and consistently. He does not encourage speculation about this, and he defends the play as it stands from some of the criticisms to which it has been subjected, but he shows himself in detail quite alive to the many difficulties which its structure presents. He refers to my observations (*C.R.* xvii. 86 = *Aristoph. and Others*, p. 27) on line 1130, *κἂν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ κ.τ.λ.*, and says that I do not 'appreciate the double sense,' but my very complaint was that Aristophanes mixes up two senses in an awkward illogical way; nor do I see that he makes much of a defence for the like want of logic in the Electra passage (534-6), or for the quite needless and involved modern transposition of lines at 1366, *ἐγὼ γὰρ Αἰσχύλον κ.τ.λ.* In 995 he affirms that R really has, like V, *ἀναπλήσειν*, and he maintains this against *ἀναπλάττειν*; but he renders it 'slubber the image of Purity in your heart,' where 'in your heart' is wholly an insertion of his own; and, though an image can be stained or defaced (*τἄγαλμα μιαίνειν, κακώσειν, κακουργεῖν*), he does not show that it can catch an infection. (I do not know the exact sense of 'slubber,' nor of 'meal' and 'colly,' which are offered as equivalents.) In 1307 he reads from his own conjecture *ὅπως οὐκ ὄψεται τήμερόν τις πρᾶγμ'*, the *λήψεται* of the MSS. being very dubious, and in 998 he suggests the genitive *Ἰαπετοῦ* without reading it. These are the only new textual suggestions which I remember to have noticed.

The edition is a very sound and solid one, showing great Aristophanic reading, knowledge, and spirit.

H. RICHARDS.

LES STATUES FUNÉRAIRES DANS L'ART GREC.

Les Statues Funéraires dans l'Art Grec. Par MAXIME COLLIGNON. Pp. vii + 404, with 1 plate and 241 cuts. Paris: E. Leroux, 1911.

M. COLLIGNON'S book is not merely a good book of its kind, but also a book of a good kind. He has put together, in a monumental volume, the works of sculpture adorning Greek tombs, that is the works in the round, for he has not usually included reliefs; he has arranged them in classes by species and periods, and given us an excellent conspectus of their origin and decay, as well as of their purpose and meaning. A conspicuous feature of the work is the wide field from which the writer has drawn his examples, many of which are figured for the first time. Not only the great museums, but such lesser ones as those of Rheneia, Smyrna, Chalcis, Alexandria, and Corneto, as well as private collections, have been searched. Another feature is the caution and sobriety of M. Collignon's judgment. When he thinks the facts warrant a definite conclusion, he says so; when it is hard to decide between a variety of theories, he throws these into perspective, and estimates their respective probability; where a question is involved in doubt, he is content to be agnostic. Naturally such procedure is less attractive than that of the bold theorist, who starts with a theory, and fits the facts into its framework. But it produces work of a more lasting kind—work which may stand even that severest of all tests, the publication of the great modern Corpus or Corpora of works of ancient art, which make short work of theories based on a few examples.

The one great drawback inseparable from a work of this kind is that the limits of its material cannot be clearly defined. It is often quite impossible to say whether a statue was meant to adorn a tomb, or whether it was merely athletic or votive. And even if we could set apart the strictly sepulchral statues, they would not be in style and character a distinct class. M. Collignon evidently often hesitated whether he should include particular statues: nor indeed can we always separate human figures from those of the gods.

The richness of the material in M. Collignon's book helps forward

many important archaeological questions, such as the meaning of the Sirens, so frequent in sepulchral art, the history of the Sphinx in Greece, the relation of the monuments of Carthage to Greek art, the style of dated monuments of the Hellenistic age. Indeed, a full account of the sculpture in the round which belongs to tombs is an invaluable supplement to such works as Conze's *Attic Grave-reliefs*. The fact has been too often overlooked that many of the figures in relief on the stelae of Athens, of Smyrna and other places are translations from larger tombs where they took their place in the round. In his second chapter M. Collignon shows how much we can do towards recovering the architecture and the scheme of many of the larger graves in the Dipylon cemetery and elsewhere. This is one of the most valuable parts of the book.

It is satisfactory to find that most of the notes which I made while reading the book indicate treasure trove on my part; some record a different opinion; very few note corrigenda. A few differences of opinion may be worth noting. M. Collignon puts down the well-known youth of Tenea as of Ionian style; I should claim it as typically Doric, and the find-spot at all events is against M. Collignon. On p. 208 M. Collignon quotes with approval the unfortunate opinion of Professor Studniczka that the mourning ladies on the sarcophagus of the *Pleureuses* from Sidon are the ladies of the harem of King Strato. Here he certainly falls into the trap of 'une interprétation réaliste.' In discussing the Mausoleum, he does not seem to know of what is probably the best extant work on the subject—Mr. Lethaby's excellent paper. M. Collignon has now come round to the view that the statues of Mausolus and Artemisia cannot have stood in the chariot of Pythius on the summit of the pyramid. One cannot but regret that in the British Museum Mr. Murray placed them in that chariot, whence they cannot easily be moved. It is a fresh proof of the inexpediency of using original sculptures to illustrate a theory; such experiments should be confined to casts.

Many of the illustrations in the text are excellent; they show how nearly process-blocks can now rival plates in the delicacy and completeness of their representations, while they surpass plates in the very important respect that a cut can be placed exactly in its context, while for a plate one has to search. The barbarous plan, still common in England, of scattering the plates through a work, so that they can only be found by a careful search, thus loses its last justification.

P. GARDNER.

POLAND'S *GESCHICHTE DES GRIECHISCHEN VEREINSWESENS*.

Fr. Poland, *Geschichte des griechischen Vereinswesens*. Preisschriften gekrönt und herausgegeben von der fürstlich Jablonowskischen Gesellschaft zu Leipzig. No. XXXVIII. Leipzig: Teubner. M. 24.

THIS review, owing to unforeseen circumstances, has been delayed almost as long as the printing of the book itself; but the delay has given time for a more careful consideration of its contents. The book is, indeed, of real importance for the student, although it is not the first to deal with this subject. Probably most scholars have read—and all who have read have certainly enjoyed—Foucart's book on Greek Religious Societies. Since he wrote, the material has increased, and Ziebarth's essay was published many years ago. Poland's book cannot be regarded as a supplement to these, and yet it does not wholly replace them. For instance, it is not easy to get an idea from this book as to geographical distribution; it did not occur to the author, perhaps, to use outline-maps for the purpose. His treatment is rather by analysis of the contents, and synthesis under certain heads. But geographical distribution can be made out by use of the

alphabetical index; and each inscription or papyrus used is fully identified in an index-list. As so often in German books, the page is disfigured by numbers, names, and references in brackets; and this book has one disfigurement, which could easily be removed, in the signs of footnotes. A star does no harm, but when it comes to *** or ††† or **†, this is really too much. Such things make a page look more like a gnostic incantation than the work of a hard-headed scholar (see p. 95). When we see the ingenious devices used in the book for helps to the memory (as the letters under which inscriptions are grouped), this peculiar aberration is the more strange.

There is much uncertainty as to the names and titles of these associations. Some have held that the three chief titles, *ὀργεῶνες, θιασῶται, ἐρανισταί*, were sometimes interchangeable. Poland does not agree with this, in spite of one inscription which plainly uses two of them. There is, perhaps, some truth in it, for the names are not found together at the same time and in the same frequency; *ἐρανισταί* is latest to come, and stays longest. The meanings suggest that one or other side of social intercourse may be more prominent. But the evidence is really not enough to decide this doubt. I have not noticed a reference to Demosthenes, p. 776, which seems to imply an almost technical use of *ἔρανος* in his day. This would be earlier than the *ἐρανισταί* now known. The evidence for trade-societies is disappointing. Although large numbers of trade-societies existed, they were certainly not unions in the modern sense, nor even guilds. The trades represented are mostly those connected with raiment and food; artizans and land-workers are few. Poland seems to be surprised that makers rather than sellers are generally named (p. 120); not remembering that in antiquity, as always where the crafts are at their best, the maker and seller was one. A good title is *ἀρχικερδέμπορος*.

Often the deity of the group is not named, but indicated by some such title as *θεοὶ πατρῶιοι*. When they are named, they very seldom have a characteristic epithet; Zeus is an exception, who is always distinguished as *φίλιος, ξένιος, ὕψιστος*, or some other local title. The gods of a state cult seldom have a society in their own states. There is no Hera, Hephaistos, or Ares; few of Apollo, Artemis, Pan, the Dioscuri; some of Poseidon, the Muses, Nymphs, Moirai, and various heroes; Athena is everywhere except in Athens, and very common are Aphrodite, Hermes, Dionysos, Asklepios (even in his own chief places), Heracles, the last often joined with foreign gods. Foreign gods, like Sarapis and other Egyptians, Mithras, Sabazios, are common, especially in groups of gods. It seems as though these gods were especially common where the members lived in a strange land. These societies meet for worship in common; it is not a private and personal worship. They celebrate one feast as a rule; the ritual is much the same as elsewhere, but the favourite offerings were unbloody. With the ritual was connected a feast, which perhaps was not the least important reason for the meeting. Sometimes there is music and song, speeches in honour of the god, or other kinds of *λόγοι*.

Many of these societies were founded by persons benevolent or pious, and they often have a family as the basis. Some consisted only of women (*e.g.* priestesses), others, especially in Athens, admitted both sexes: rarely slaves. This appears from the lists of members, sometimes also from the rules. Their constitution, as we should expect, recalls the state. We have our priest or priestess under various titles (often *ἀρχ-* prefixed to the title of the club), *προστάτης* or *ἐπιστάτης*, in late times *πατήρ*, once *αἰσυμνήτης*; *ταμίας*, and many words of similar sense, *γραμματεύς*, servants of various duties, even *βαλανεύς* and *κουρεύς*; the meeting is *ἀγορά* or *ἐκκλησία* or the like; there are motions and votes, lot and election; honours are proposed, votive offerings are made, defaulters are fined. The clubs might own a *τέμενος* and a *ἱερόν* with images and honorific statues, gardens, *οἰκίαι*, a *περίπατος*, and a gymnasium; nor must we forget the dining-room and its furniture. The fees and dues are used to defray the cost of the feasts, and as loans to

members or to pay for their burial. Unfortunately this side of the subject, the most interesting, is not made so clear from the texts as we could wish.

Each student will use the book in his own way. It is most usable as a book of reference: to read through it is stiff, and we miss the light touch of Foucart. New discoveries will add to its stores, and, we hope, may clear up some of its doubts; but they will not correct much, for Poland is very cautious, and never commits himself without good reason. This will be the standard book on its own subject for a long time to come.

W. H. D. Rouse.

KLEINE TEXTE FÜR THEOLOGISCHE UND PHILOLOGISCHE VORLESUNGEN UND ÜBUNGEN.

Griechische Papyri, ausgewählt und erklärt von Prof. D. Hans Lietzmann. 2. Aufl. 32 S. M. 0.80. *Antike Fluchtafeln*, ausgewählt und erklärt von Prof. Dr. Richard Wünsch. 28 S. M. 0.60. *Lateinische christliche Inschriften mit einem Anhang jüdischer Inschriften*, ausgewählt und erklärt von Prof. Dr. Ernst Diehl. 48 S. M. 1.20. *Res Gestae divi Augusti*, herausgegeben und erklärt von Prof. Dr. Ernst Diehl. 2. Aufl. 40 S. M. 1.20. *Supplementum Lyricum, neue Bruchstücke von Archilochus, Alcaeus, Sappho, Corinna, Pindar*, ausgewählt und erklärt von Prof. Dr. Ernst Diehl. 2. Aufl. 44 S. M. 1.20. *Altlateinische Inschriften* von Prof. Dr. Ernst Diehl. 64 S. M. 1.80. *Fasti Consulares Imperii Romani von* 30 *v. Chr. bis* 565 *n. Chr.* mit Kaiserliste und Anhang, bearbeitet von Willy Liebenam. 128 S. M. 3, gbd. M. 3.40. *Menandri Reliquiae nuper repertae*, herausgegeben von Prof. Dr. Siegfried Sudhaus. 65 S. M. 1.80, gbd. M. 2.20. *Pompeianische Wandinschriften und Verwandtes*, ausgewählt von Prof. Dr. Ernst Diehl. 60 S. M. 1.80. *Altitalische Inschriften*, herausgegeben von H. Jacobsohn. 32 S. M. 0.80. *Vulgärlateinische Inschriften*, herausgegeben von Prof. Dr. Ernst Diehl. 180 S. Brosch. M. 4.50, geb. M. 5. *Aus der antiken Schule*. Sammlung griechischer Texte auf Papyrus Holztafeln Ostraka, ausgewählt und erklärt von Dr. Erich Ziebarth. 23 S. M. 0.60. *Aristophanes Frösche*, mit ausgewählten antiken Scholien, herausgegeben von Dr. Wilhelm Süss. 90 S. Brosch. M. 2, geb. M. 2.40. *Poetarum Veterum Romanorum Reliquiae*, selegit Ernestus Diehl. 165 S. Brosch. M. 2.50, geb. M. 3. *Cicero pro Milone mit dem Commentar des Asconius und den Scholia Bobiensia*, herausgegeben von Dr. Paul Wessner. Brosch. M. 1.60, geb. M. 2.

This series of short texts includes many which meet a real want. In school work, or indeed university work, it is useful to give special students a glimpse of all departments of classical literature; but in many departments—inscriptions for example—the books are expensive, and the latest discoveries are not easy to get at. In this series at a small price we get what we want, or almost what we want.

Diehl's selection of *Old Latin Poets* is excellent (164 pp.). It contains the most ancient fragments of incantations, songs, and the like, together with the remains of Andronicus, Naevius, Ennius, Accius, Lucilius, and the rest: all well printed, with critical notes. The book is invaluable, not only for the reader of Plautus, but for all who seriously read Virgil: a glance at Ennius' hexameters will do more to illustrate Virgil and his metrical genius than pages of notes.

For Latin inscriptions we have several good books. Diehl edits the *Inscriptions of Old Latin* with care and thoroughness. He has included everything of importance, not forgetting the recent discoveries in the forum. The old inscriptions in Faliscan, Oscan, Umbrian, Sabellian, Messapian, Venetic, and even Keltic are edited by Jacobsohn; *Vulgar Latin* by Diehl (176 pp.), who also gives Pompeian wall-inscriptions, and Christian inscriptions;

while the *Fasti Consulares* are given by Liebenam, with good notes and indices. There is no need to say how valuable these are for the student of history, manners, or archaeology. We have only one caution to offer: the Pompeian book contains examples of an indecent kind. If, however, these books be kept for class use in the school library, it is unlikely that any one will notice them. Diehl also edits the *Res Gestae Augusti* in Greek and Latin.

The Greek section is not so rich. We have no book of inscriptions: if one be added, I hope it will be printed in capitals (as on the stone) and in transliteration, not in the script that Solmsen has used; for this proves difficult to read because it is encumbered with so many diacritic marks. There is a small selection of papyri by Lietzmann (32 pp.), mostly letters (of course one is Theon's), with others touching on religion and law. One is the notes of a lawsuit; another a series of moral precepts. Ziebarth gives school exercises, the alphabet, spelling and writing exercises, grammar and the like; which throw light on the Greek schoolboy's life. Wünsch gives a selection of curses, with commentary.

We have before us also four texts. One is Cicero's *Speech for Milo*, with Asconius' commentary and scholia. Another, the *Frogs*, with selected scholia. The third is a handy edition of the new Menander fragments; and the fourth new fragments of Archilochus, Alcaeus, Sappho, Corinna, and Pindar, by Diehl.

It will be seen that these books are an important help to the teacher; not only because, as I have said, the matter is hard to get elsewhere, but also because the pupils may be taught to work from sources, to make their own selections, and to use their own judgment. Educationally, this is the right way to work, and the wrong way is to turn up your notes at the end of your book and to see it all done (or not done) for you. To those who use plain texts—a class increasing, it is to be hoped—these books are of great value. They seem to be little known in England, but this notice may draw some attention to them. Of course, they are, strictly speaking, texts: the teacher will need other books to explain them.

W. H. D. Rouse.

ROME AS THE EDUCATOR OF THE WORLD.

Lo Stato e l'istruzione pubblica nell' impero Romano. By Corrado Barbagallo. 8vo. Pp. 432. Catania: Battiato, 1911. 6 lire.

Signor Barbagallo is to be congratulated. He has devoted himself to a task which called for performance and has succeeded in it. How important that task was, will perhaps appear from some considerations which are suggested by his book.

If the study of classical philology (that is to say, the interpretation of Greek and Roman antiquity through its remains) had depended only upon the arguments usually advanced, the lovers of Greece and Rome would have had less cause for confidence. But there are profounder motives even than those of literary criticism, which will drive mankind back to these perennial sources of influence. For European civilisation is an imitation of classical antiquity. Sir Henry Maine had already said something to this effect. But it is impressive to find the statement repeated in a standard text book of Sociology. 'Modern civilisation,' says Prof. Giddings, 'is the continuing imitation of Greece and Rome. This imitation was established in Germanic Europe by Charlemagne. It was carried to England by William the Conqueror and to America by Columbus.' It is not Latin therefore that is on its trial so much as those persons who think that without it they can understand the true meaning of the civilisation amid which they live.

The unlikeness of the copy to the Roman original is indeed sometimes striking. It is surprising to learn, for example, that the architects at the court

of Charles the Great studied Vitruvius, and built, as they thought, in imitation of Roman models. The name Roman is justly applied to such work by those who recognise the original behind the imitation. But on the whole more has been said about the differences which separate the new from the old both in building and elsewhere, and not enough about the resemblances which after all unite. The principles of Roman law have even penetrated beneath the Teutonic tradition of our own law. Englishmen, divided by the sea from the main current of European tradition, regard what comes across the channel in the light of its immediate, rather than of its remoter, origin.

But it is in the school that the imitation of Rome culminates. Signor Barbagallo scarcely exaggerates when he says that 'public education in Europe is a creation of Italy.' Not only was this result a consequence of the imperial policy, but to a large extent it was an intended consequence. 'Rome felt that the unity of the empire was founded in the school' (p. 5). And the emperors beginning with Augustus gradually assumed the direction and in part the maintenance of education.

The Romanisation of the empire was brought about, partly, through the example set by the court and by the fashion which followed the example; partly, by the development of the cities of the empire in imitation of the capital. The world begins to be educated upon Roman models just when most students leave off their Roman history, namely with the reign of Augustus.

And first as to the direct influence of the emperors. Augustus attempted to restore the old Italian mode of life. His court poets, as we all know, preached a return to simpler manners. But what is not recognised so much, is that the sermons which fell upon deaf ears in the capital and its neighbourhood, were put into practice by the cities of the provinces. The legions of the empire were recruited from the spiritual posterity of Cato and Regulus. Trajan came from Spain, Aurelian from Pannonia.

It is strange indeed that in the history of Roman education Nero is a rival of Augustus. The affectations of the young pupil of Seneca were probably more powerful aids to culture than the serious purposes of his predecessors. Nero indeed suffered from too much bringing up. His intelligence gave way under the strain, and he became a moral monster. But the populace recognised some good traits even under the crimes of Nero. His pose as a lover of philosophy, prepared the way for the triumph of Greek ethics under Marcus Aurelius (45).

Edward VII. was the first English monarch since the reign of Elizabeth to favour art and letters. The traditions of a court cannot be overthrown in a single reign; science and learning are still a bad third to social and athletic distinction. Hence the casual English reader probably misses the meaning of the Caesars for the history of the world. It is this. The imposing figures which filled the Roman throne during the first three centuries owed a great part of their splendour to the patronage of art and letters. Even if Vespasian was a brilliant general who lacked culture, his sons returned to the established tradition. Titus was a scholar as well as a general. Domitian lavished large sums upon the restoration of the libraries and in other ways helped learning. Hadrian and Marcus Aurelius were not isolated but typical personages in their love of art or philosophy. Severus was described by his biographers as a 'second Hadrian.' Constantine is compared by Signor Barbagallo to Augustus. The brilliant development of Roman sculpture under the Empire owed much to the interest which the government took in works of art: an interest not less keen under Constantine than under Augustus (228). The narrow conception of classical philology from which in England we are not yet free is rebuked by the later emperors whose lives and exploits are disdained as unclassical.

Only in this way can we understand the meaning of the provincial cities. In comparing the education of the empire with that of modern Europe, we must remember that the artistic perfection which was attained over a wide region is beyond our power of

realisation, and therefore usually beyond belief. Surroundings beautiful and brilliant, even in cities of the second and third rank such as Pompeii and Timgad, ministered to the aesthetic sensibility, and helped the citizen to that contentment with his home and simple living, which is still the uncommunicated secret of Southern Europe. Patriotism was first and foremost the love of the 'patria.' And the strict meaning of 'patria' is 'the place of one's birth,' the city where one grew to manhood. It is an inversion of the facts when our writers speak of a town *becoming* a man's 'patria.' Though we are no longer conscious of the appeal which can be made through a man's material environment, the young citizen early learned to see in his home a shadow of the magnificence of the capital. The buildings and sculptures of the Middle Ages continued this tradition until it disappeared in the religious conflicts of the Reformation. Nor is it likely to be revived until the machinery of science and capital are once more subordinated to the claims of humanism. Therefore in estimating the education of the Romans under the empire Signor Barbagallo has justly laid stress upon the regard which was paid to works of art.

Along with the silent appeal which architecture and painting and sculpture make to the child within us went the utterances of the rhetorician, who in adapting himself to the feelings of the crowd ceased to satisfy the standards of the critic. Much is said about the decline of Latin style in the Middle Ages. We ought rather to be surprised that so many writers attained a respectable command over the resources of the vernacular tongue. The municipal schools were the chief agents in 'the Romanisation of the conquered world.' The huge mass of late Latin literature, composed in every province of the Western Empire, enables us to trace at second hand the work of the teacher who through his Virgil and Cicero was spreading everywhere one catholic standard of taste and conduct. The grammarians and commentators of the early Christian centuries are of slight importance for the history of literature. In the history of culture the masters of Jerome and Augustine deserve a higher place than is usually assigned to them. It is a curious perversity which treats the education of the world as a period of decadence. It would be ungracious to enumerate the writers who have made this blunder. Instead we may thank Signor Barbagallo for pointing the way to a right judgment.

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HAVET'S LATIN TEXTUAL CRITICISM.

Manuel de critique verbale appliqué aux textes latins, par LOUIS HAVET, Membre de l'Institut, Professeur au Collège de France. 10″×8″. Pp. viii+481. Paris: Hachette, 1911.

M. HAVET'S work ranges over the whole field. His first section deals with the state of our Latin texts, their sources and their transmission. The two last chapters treat of the necessity for textual criticism and the legitimacy of conjecture. Section 2 deals with the signs of faultiness in texts, classified under various heads; the two last of its seventeen chapters are on the weeding out of variant readings and the localising of the exact site of a fault. Section 3 discusses faults in general and the conditions for their removal by conjecture. 4 treats of chance or apparently causeless errors; the three following of those due to the influence of the context, the character of the exemplar and the personality of the copyist. The eighth deals with errors anterior to copying *e.g.* those of amanuenses or editors of posthumous works, the ninth with corruptions due to glosses and the like, the tenth with 'indirect' or consequential errors. Section 11 is devoted to 'the correctors' and their influence, 12 to corruptions with a 'long history,' 13 to errors arising

from 'rubrication,' 14 to the changes introduced by actors of dramas, abridgers of treatises and the like. The last section treats of the authority of manuscripts and their classification. This arrangement, which might have been improved, is explicable from the origin of the work—a three years' course of lectures at the Collège de France. The writer is under considerable obligations to Madvig and Prof. Lindsay. 'J'ai incorporé au présent manuel les passages latins qui servent d'exemples dans . . . Madvig Livre I des Adversaria Critica 1871 et dans Lindsay' [Introduction to Latin Textual Emendadation 1896]. Besides this he has incorporated more than one whole paragraph from Lindsay's little book. In spite of these incorporations he follows neither blindly. Lindsay's treatment of errors is characterised as 'insuffisamment psychologique, autrement dit trop optique'; which does not differ much from the remark in my notice (*C.R.* 1896, p. 408) that it 'dealt too little with principles.' His reprehension of Madvig for mixing up Greek and Latin has not sufficient warrant. The fallible scribe and his misdemeanours are everywhere, and there is room for a work of general scope.

A manual of textual criticism of this compass and character has long been sorely needed, and its publication lays the world of scholarship under a deep obligation to the premier linguistic critic of France. The book is indispensable to all teachers and students of Latin texts. Its handling of topics is full and clear; it stimulates interest and arrests attention. And—no slight commendation of a work that covers so much ground—it has not only an excellent table of contents but a very copious and accurate index. Having said thus much I shall proceed to criticise the book from an ideal standpoint.

M. Havet's originality as a critic needs no proof at this time of day. It is shown, somewhat unhappily to my thinking, in his conception of the 'essential' aim of textual criticism §§111 sqq. 'La critique, si elle est scientifique, a pour objet d'apercevoir ces difficultés' [presumptions of mistakes by copyists] 'et de les faire apercevoir,' and further on 'Tant que la critique reste scientifique elle ne s'intéresse directement qu'aux difficultés qui constituent des présomptions de faute, c'est-à-dire aux marques laissées par l'erreur . . . Même évidente, même imposée par une nécessité logique indiscutable, *une correction* reste pour elle *chose accessoire*.'[1] He continues 'Seule *une critique utilitaire cultive les corrections pour elles-mêmes*.' This dictum seems to me not merely arbitrary but perverse.

In two recent articles 'Flaws in Classical Research,' *Proceedings of the British Academy*, vol. 3, 1908-1909 and 'Textual Criticism,' *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1910-1911, I have dwelt on the necessity of removing or avoiding the numerous disturbing influences to which the exercise of the critical faculty is exposed. One of these is the egotistic bias. I am prepared to maintain that a critic who was scientific to the core would recognise its unequalled power of warping the judgment by excluding from his handbook every correction and suggestion that he himself had had a hand in. This total self-suppression would probably be thought hardly human; but I fancy that most readers would be satisfied with fewer of M. Havet's own proposals than appear in this volume. It may be noted here that the range from which his proofs and illustrations are in the main derived is somewhat limited. The index locorum extends to 46 pages, nearly 27 of which are taken up with the four poets Phaedrus, Plautus, Terence and Vergil. A near relative of the personal bias is the patriotic. And while for a Frenchman it is at once natural and obvious to give the first place to French contributions, the *Revue de Philologie* has a prominence to which, from an international point of view, it is scarcely entitled. These limitations which an ideal manual would have avoided are not necessarily drawbacks in a practical one. If an illustration is apt or a correction certain, it matters little whence either be taken. A proper estimate therefore in this case involves a pursuit of its

[1] My italics.

author's treatment into details. First I will briefly note some things, part of them novel, for which M. Havet is to be commended.

Considered as a repertory of the errors which we may expect to find in MSS—this is the aspect which the author would wish us to have chiefly before us (the Preface says : Il ressemble à une *Pathologie* plutôt qu' à une *Thérapeutique*)—the volume leaves nothing or little to desire. I do not find anything here that M. Havet has overlooked. Their classification is a difficult matter. Lindsay's basis was an external one; errors were arranged according to the effects they produced in a text, omission, dislocation, etc. That which commended itself to me was psychological; to classify errors according to the extent to which consciousness seemed to enter into them. M. Havet's basis is in the first line historical. His main division is into 'fautes directes' (primary) and 'indirectes' (consequential). The distinction is real and important; but inasmuch as all the separate varieties of error may occur in either class, it does not take us very far. The assignment of the source of a particular error is hardly less difficult, as M. Havet is aware (412), though he does not always seem alive to its difficulty. He delivers two warnings against oversimplification which are not unneeded at the present day. 'La timidité de certains critiques conservateurs, qui ergotent sur les jambages pour se défendre contre les exigences évidentes du savoir, du bon sens ou du goût n'est autre chose qu'*une incomprehension du polymorphisme incohérent des fautes critiques*' [1228, my italics]. In 1618 he protests against the misuse of symbols like P in the case of the Plautine MS which he says should be used simply as an abbreviation for identical readings in B C D. The important rôle assigned to the results of the investigation of prose rhythm is a welcome feature; so too are the chapters already mentioned which deal with what are called by the author 'l'épluchage des variantes' and 'la localisation de la faute.' 'Anasyllabisme' on the analogy of 'anagrammatisme' is a convenient new coinage. The observations on the prevalence of quotation without verification among the ancients (148), on the necessity of postulating the minimum number of errors (378), on the proper printing of Greek words in Latin texts (786), and on the 'irreversibility' of errors all deserve a special mention.

M. Havet's chief failing is a certain lack of circumspection. The number of disputable judgments upon lections and corrections that figure in this book is too large. It has been laid to the charge of Madvig's *Adversaria* that he admitted in his Liber I, which was to include only certain examples of the critical art, some corrections which were dubious. The criticism is sound in principle. An example which is picked out to be the chief illustration of a proposition should be beyond all reasonable question. This is hardly the case with the two that M. Havet places first in the sections which deal with his 'Précisions de Méthode.' Two passages are quoted in which corruption is said to be certain though correction difficult. Cic. *de Or.* 2. 8-9 'deberi hoc a me tantis hominum ingeniis putaui ut quom etiamnunc uiuam illorum memoriam teneremus, hanc immortalem *redderem si possem*. Quod hoc etiam spe aggredior maiore ad probandum.' M. Havet, with a reference to the *Revue de Phil.* 1893, p. 151, comments 'Fin de phrase amétrique; vu les habitudes de Cic., formule de modestie insuffisante.' The reader can judge for himself whether the case is so clear as to justify the prominence accorded to it. The second example is Ovid *Met.* 8. 678 'super omnia uultus[1] Accessere boni *nec iners pauperque* uoluntas.'[1] M. Tournier (*Revue* 1895, p. 43) is quoted with approval as observing that *pauper uoluntas* is a turn of phrase and *nec . . . que* a collocation of words foreign to Ovid. Neither objection is well taken. *Que* joins *iners* and *pauper*, and there is no reason in the language which Ovid was writing why it should not; and even if there were, the

[1] The figures are M. Havet's convenient marks for indicating the metrical character of a verse or part of one.

extremely common corruption of *que* for *ue* would make the argument unsure. The second argument rests on sheer misunderstanding. The aged couple's actions and countenances showed that they had a well-spring of good feeling in their hearts. The metaphor is taken from the choking of a spring by earth so that it stops entirely or is reduced to a mere trickle. It is no longer a *fons* largus et exundans Juv. 10. 119; but *iners* pauperque. *Pont.* 4. 2. 17-20 ought to have shown this: 'scilicet ut limus uenas excaecat in undis | laesaque suppresso fonte resistit aqua, | *pectora* sic mea sunt limo uitiata malorum | et carmen uena *pauperiore* fluit'; cf. *ib.* 2. 5. 21. In 176 M. Havet's example of a text which has been wrongly suspected is Hor. *C.* 1. 2. 39. 'acer et *Mauri peditis* cruentum | uultus in hostem' which is explained after Benoist of 'Turcos' who were with Caesar at Bibrax and whom Horace would see amongst the troops of Octavian at Philippi. The explanation is interesting; but hardly right. Horace appears to be depicting a scene in which a dishorsed Moor (*peditis*) slays the enemy who has deprived him of his charger.

In 194 sqq. amongst wrongly suspected passages we find Hor. *S.* 2. 2. 29 where a proposal of Madvig's which has lost its vogue is defended with the observation that Horace avoided writing ΜΑΓΙΣ because he did not wish to make the writer bilingual. As though he could not have written *magida* (fem. nom.) like all before him! Nor do I know why we should saddle Horace with the doctrine that bilingualism is a matter of alphabets. Soon after we find that M. Havet has gone back on himself at Phaedrus 5. 7. 26, now returning to the MSS *imposuit* (Freinsheim *insonuit*), because in ecclesiastical Latin the word means to 'intone' a chant. He admits a gulf of five centuries between Phaedrus and the first instance of the use; but he overlooks the fundamental fact that this sense of *impono* has no support in any known usage of the verb in classical Latin and that a medieval scribe would be only too prone to introduce it when *canticum* followed.

In Phaedrus and the scenic poets M. Havet is a metrician and prosodist of the strictest character; but outside this region the matter is sometimes otherwise. Among the hendecasyllables (Riese *Anthol.* 445) which M. Havet thinks may be by Seneca occurs the line '*nostros* diuiderem libenter annos.' He notes that this line is quoted by a contemporary of the only extant MS with *meos* for *nostros*, which last he suggests is an alteration of the copyists to introduce the usual spondee, *Rev.* 1895, p. 156. M. Havet has not yet learned from Pliny *N.H.* Praef. that the iambus permitted here by Catullus was taboo to the hendecasyllabists of the Empire.

The vulgate in Auson. *Technop.* 13-18 (of Ennius) is attacked as unmetrical 'aut de fronde loquens cur dicit "*populea frus*"?' We are told that it should be read 'cur dicit populeā "*frus*"?' Is the author of the correction aware that the very lengthening to which he objects occurs in two other extant passages of the poets subsequent to Ennius, Catullus 4. 18 and Tibullus 1. 6. 34, and that it is supported by the notice in Quintilian xii. 10. 29 that *f* before *r* (and *l*) had a harsh enunciation 'utique quotiens consonantem frangit, ut in hoc ipso *frangit*, multo fit horridior.' If *populea frus* is unmetrical, what of 'non sine Hamadryadis fato cadit *arborea trabs*' less than a hundred lines above (*Technop.* 10. 7)? Need we go on to point out that *populea* is wholly irrelevant unless it serves to identify the quotation, Ausonius' object being to show that Ennius uses *frus* as the nominative of the Latin for 'leaf' (and not, as M. Havet makes him say, as the nominative of 'poplar leaf')?

If however M. Havet is unduly strict here, he is unduly lax at Tibullus 1. 5. 33 where he defends the licentious lengthening of *-um* (acc.) in hiatus 'et tantum uenerata uirum hunc sedula curet.' And with what sort of a defence? Why with the statement that it is done to prevent our joining the two accusatives; 'it gets rid of the ambiguity' (207). What ambiguity? Would any soul amongst those whom Tibullus addressed have dreamt that, when he wrote *tantum . . . uirum hunc*,

he intended *hunc tantum uirum*? The truth is that M. Havet has fallen a victim to insidious modern associations; (*Flaws*, p. 7, 'Not only does the lineal habit hinder our sight of real connexions between the distant members of a sentence but *it causes us to find imaginary bonds between adjacent ones*', here *uirum* and *hunc*). And he imagines that an ambiguity to the eyes of a modern was an ambiguity to the ear of a Roman.[1] The corruption in this line is notoriously an obstinate one, but *decus* for *uirum* would give a reasonable sense and a possible metre. If *decus* got corrupted to *deus*, the scribe would speedily make it *uirum*.

Again at Ov. *A. A.* 3. 440 'Troia maneret, | praeceptis *Priami* si foret usa tuis' Madvig's impossible synizesis *Priamei* (vocative i.e. Cassandra) is accepted. The true correction is 'Prīami, praeceptis' with a scansion which has the same justification as Prīamides: for Housman's 'praeceptis, Priam*is*' is excluded for the reason set out in *Class. Rev.* xxiii. 187. M. Havet might very likely have seen this himself; but he has a dislike to the transposition of words as a mode of emendation. See §§ 1482 sqq., where it is attacked in set terms. There is reason in his protests against the freedom with which some critics employ it; but in his obvious inclination to eliminate it as much as possible from the primary causes of corruption he goes too far.

Nor do I find him quite satisfactory in his treatment of word confusions. The principle of word confusion where the eye is the offender is a very simple one. Any word in the language may be miswritten for any other, provided that their general similarity is sufficient to outweigh their dissimilarity in a particular point. 'And' such confusion may be primary or direct. There is accordingly no need for M. Havet to resort to ingenious theories of motive or to postulate intermediate steps in corruption in order to explain such errors as *capit* for *canit* Verg. *Ecl.* 6. 61, *potabit* for *portabit* Juv. 6. 528, *lumen* for *limen* Plaut. *Bacch.* 955, just as there is no need to imagine that *rigidae* was corrupted to *ridigae* through an intermediate *ridae* or *cumulum* to *muculum* through an intermediate *culum*. Any examiner or schoolmaster can assure him that such errors are 'direct.'

M. Havet has achieved distinction in the sphere of etymology as well as in that of criticism, and the effects of this are visible in the volume before us. One of them I most sincerely regret—the employment of the terms *regressive* and *progressive* to denote two contrasted kinds of change, the first being such a change as that from *adcipio* to *accipio*, and the second such as is seen in *torseo* to *torreo*. These terms are neither properly descriptive nor scientific; and over thirty years ago I made an attempt to introduce *prospective* (for 'regressive') and *retrospective* (for 'prospective'), which do express the distinctive character of the changes, in their place. But the obnoxious words are too firmly established to be displaced; and now M. Havet has taken them into another department.

I conclude with comments on a few passages where I dissent from M. Havet's conclusions. He finds incoherence in Phaedrus 3. 8. 16 'speculo uos uti uolo, | tu formam ne *corrumpas* nequitiae malis, | tu faciem ut istam moribus *uincas* bonis' and would prefer Triller's *pingas*. But *uincas* is sound; it means 'overpower,' or, as we should say, 'neutralise' the effect of your homely features by the beauty of your character. And the Romans had a way of using *uinco* where we should prefer a more specialised expression.

Under 'metrical faults' we have Phaedrus 1. 2. 14 'atque illis dedit | paruum tigillum, missum quod *subito*, *uadi* | motu sonoque terruit pauidum genus', thus punctuated. The comment runs '*Ph.* évite le "contrerejet" qui détache un mot final en le liant au v. suivant. Indices concordants: 1. *missum* manque de complément; 2. *uadi sono* serait

[1] This whole section on 'Obscurity' swarms with examples of the danger of approaching ancient texts with modern prepossessions. Perfectly sound passages such as Plautus *Bacch.* 615, *Miles* 115, Ter. *Haut.* 23, 266, Cic. *Cat. m.* 52 are declared to be corrupt simply because they have not been read as a Roman would have read them. In the passage of Tibullus any monosyllable might have been put for *hunc* and still the reader would have paused instinctively after *uirum*.

bizarre, même dans un zeugma.' Is this anything but caprice? There is no reason for pausing after *missum* until the end of the next line is reached and, if there were, the same objection might be brought against 3. 10. 37 'stant patroni, fortiter | causam tuentes innocentis feminae.' And as for the 'concurrent marks' of corruption, what complement *missum* requires it is impossible to see. The word means 'let go' or 'let fall,' a complete sense in itself, and the proper meaning of the word, as I will suppose M. Havet knows. And what conceivable fault is there in the 'sonus uadi' when the log fell into it?

In Tibullus 1. 6. 54 'labentur opes, ut vulnere nostro | sanguis *ut* hic uentis diripiturque cinis' M. Havet would read *it*, finding in the tradition two marks of corruption. 1. *Hic* is bad, 'la cendre en question n'étant pas là.' How does he know? The *sanguis* was, and the cursing would be much more vivid if the *cinis* was too. Verg. *Ecl.* 8. 80 'limus ut *hic* durescit et *haec* ut cera liquescit.' 2. '*Que* is superfluous, the anaphora in *ut* sufficing to join the two comparisons.' It will be observed that M. Havet proposes to *remove the anaphora* and retain the superfluous *que*. His remark hits Vergil, l. c., hard; also Propertius II. 3. 11 sq. 'ut Maeotica nix, minio si certet Hibero, | *utque* rosae puro lacte natant folia'; not to say Tibullus himself II. 3. 51 'ut mea luxuria Nemesis fluat *utque* per urbem | incedat' e.q. s. (*ut* final).

I conclude with Ovid, *Met.* 8. 148 sqq. (of Scylla daughter of Minos) 'illa metu puppim dimisit, et aura cadentem | sustinuisse leuis, ne tangeret aequora, uisa est. | *pluma fuit.* plumis in auem mutata uocatur | ciris.' 'Lire *spuma ruit* (1904, p. 48). La déformation de *spuma* a entrainé le changement de *ruit* en un verbe banale.' This double change obliterates a most Ovidian touch; you might have thought that it was a breeze that prevented Scylla from falling into the sea, but it was plumage. Cf. *Met.* 2. 582 sq. 'reicere ex umeris *uestem* molibar; at illa | *pluma erat.*' *Plumis*, it is true, is not satisfactory, and *plumas in auis* (cf. *Met.* 2. 535) or *uultus* (*Met.* 1. 611, 7. 270, and for the acc. *Met.* 9. 82) *in auem* may be suggested.

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THE RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE OF THE ROMAN PEOPLE.

The Religious Experience of the Roman People, from the Earliest Times to the Age of Augustus. The Gifford Lectures for 1909-10 delivered in Edinburgh University by W. WARDE FOWLER, M.A. Pp. xviii + 504. London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd. 1911. Price 12s. net.

THE publication of Mr. Warde Fowler's Gifford Lectures is an occasion of considerable importance. Not only is this the first comprehensive study in English of the development of Roman religion—Dr. J. B. Carter's *Religion of Numa* was a series of brilliant essays rather than a connected history—but, what is more important, it stands by itself as an attempt to get behind cult and custom to the ideas and feelings which prompted them, and were in fact the religious experience of the Roman people. Mr. Fowler's qualification for this task is in one respect obvious: no English scholar (and very few elsewhere) is better acquainted with the evidence, literary, epigraphical, and archaeological on which the study must be based, or with the mass of modern writing which has grown up around it. But he possesses also the rarer and higher qualification of a genuine and penetrating sympathy: for him the evidence is not merely an antiquarian record of dead practices and formulae, but the living effort of a growing people to understand the workings of the Power manifest in the world and to put themselves in right relation to it. In other words, Mr. Fowler knows himself to be studying a living religion and can put himself in the place of those to whom it was real and vital.

But the adoption of this sympathetic

attitude involves in the case of Roman religion more than ordinary difficulties; for its very possibility has become a matter of controversy. The tendency of modern criticism has been to regard the genuine religion of ancient Rome as a mass of stereotyped formalism, based on a cold and calculating attitude towards 'the powers,' and uninspired by any really religious emotion. This conclusion is no doubt very largely due to the nature of the extant evidence: though, as De Marchi has shown, something can be done by careful research to piece together details of the private cults, in which a much more genuine spirit of religious feeling survived, the mass of our evidence is concerned with the organised state-cult, whose very creation implied, as Mr. Fowler has shown, the shifting of the burden of responsibility from the individual—or rather from the household—to state officials, and the consequent decay of vital religious experience. Almost more is it due to the chance that the earliest modern critics of Roman religion—especially Mommsen—approached it from the legal point of view, and concentrating their attention on the *ius divinum* and the 'contract-notion' hardly paused to inquire what lay behind them. Against these difficulties Mr. Fowler has had, in the earlier part of his book, to contend continuously, and though the ease of his style and the saneness of his judgment may often disguise the extent of this struggle, no student of the subject can read these lectures without perceiving how much sifting of accepted opinions and re-consideration of authoritative judgments underlie the apparent facility of his conclusions. Typical of his work on these lines are the Lectures on Ritual (viii. and ix.). There the accepted theory was the legal conception of the contrast: the worshipper with scrupulous exactness presented the gods with their due, and they in their turn were under an obligation to make a return in the shape of temporal blessings and advantages. Mr. Fowler meets this theory in two ways: he shows, in the first place, that it was largely based on the examination of the *votum*, and that although the *vota publica* did in their stereotyped form approach to an almost commercial pattern, yet even in them the notion of the human conditional promise is much more prominent than that of a divine obligation. In other forms of prayer, such as that of the *lustratio*, the latter idea is completely absent: the worshipper makes his offering and presents his prayer in the hope indeed of fulfilment, but with no sense of an exercise of constraint over the Powers. Secondly, in a section of peculiar interest (pp. 185-191), Mr. Fowler shows that there was indeed an interacting relation between worshipper and *numen* in the ritual of sacrifice, but that the underlying notion is one of mutual help rather than mutual obligation. The key to the right understanding of Roman ritual is the very primitive notion, expressed in the recurrent formula, *macte esto*, that the worshipper by his sacrifice communicates new strength to the deity, and prays that that strength may be used for his benefit. The demonstration of this idea is in itself a great advance in the sympathetic interpretation of Roman ritual: its acceptance might mark a real change in critical attitude. It represents in fact just what Mr. Fowler wishes to establish in the narrower as well as the wider sense—a new understanding of the word *religio* (pp. 21, 37, etc.).

Not less sane, but perhaps more subtly sympathetic, is Mr. Fowler's treatment of more recent criticism of Roman religion. This has been made chiefly from the point of view of anthropology: writers eager to find support for general theories of primitive belief and custom have discovered in Roman ritual traces of 'taboo,' magic, the magician-king, the dominating worship of the oak, and so on. Mr. Fowler does not deny the existence of such traces, fossilised here and there in rites and customs, but on many points he checks the excessive zeal of these 'discoverers' (*e.g.* pp. 51, 141 n. 1), and above all he claims for the Roman belief, even in its earliest stage of the animistic worship of the *numina*, the dignity of a true religion, the recognition by man of superior powers on whom he is himself dependent, as opposed to a claim to constrain

such powers by his own magic authority. To one recent theory Mr. Fowler now inclines, the idea that we have enshrined in Roman cult traces of the superposition of one form of religion on another, possibly that of the worship of a conquering race on the lower beliefs of less civilised aborigines. This notion, which has been so prominent of late years in the study of Greek religion, may be destined to bear considerable fruit in the explanation of Roman cults as well: Mr. Fowler has shown how it might be used in his own most illuminating comparison of the two attitudes towards the dead attested in the Lemuria and the Parentalia (pp. 393-395), and it is foreshadowed again in Dr. Deubner's theory of the Lupercalia (Appendix II. pp. 478-480). In these earlier lectures the author has in this way done much to clear the ground for future study by setting in their true proportion the anthropological contributions to the interpretation of Roman religion, and suggesting the lines on which we may hope to arrive at an understanding of what the multiform cult of the early Roman meant to the worshipper and how far it was an influence in his life.

In the second half of his lectures Mr. Fowler is on less controversial ground, but his work is none the less important and interesting. As is inevitable from his main theory, he is bound to begin tracing decay at a much earlier period than that in which it has been seen by most previous critics: if the reality of the Roman religion lay in the simple worship of the agricultural household, then the state-organisation, which the Roman regarded with pride as the great religious work of the nation, was in itself the first step in degeneration, for its formalities excluded true religious experience. Mr. Fowler traces the further process of decay due to the introduction of the *di novensiles*, cults without religious significance (p. 236), and the materialisation of conceptions of the divine under the influence of Greek anthropomorphism (c. xi.). Of special interest are the lectures on that difficult subject, the work of the *pontifices* (xii.),—though here one would have liked a rather more detailed treatment of the vexed question of the *indigitamenta*—and the necessarily tentative exposition (xiii.) of the underlying intention of the art of augury (shall we not ultimately have to work back to a period when the bird and the lightning were not mere signals, but were themselves divine?). The strange revival of *religio* in the Hannibalic War, with its resulting innovations, is admirably dealt with; there is a most penetrating chapter on Epicurism and Stoicism (xvi.), followed by two illuminating lectures on Virgil and Augustus' attempted revival, in which the contrast, not always clearly enough realised, between the motives and intentions of the poet and the statesman is effectively brought out. Finally, we have a suggestive but perhaps inevitably disappointing chapter on the contributions of the old Roman religion towards the building up of Christianity. Throughout the central idea of religious experience is kept in view and treated in immediate relation to the history of the people.

It is not easy in a work whose main theme carries so much conviction, when it is written, too, with the caution and accuracy which we have all learnt to expect from its author, to find much material for adverse criticism except in *minutiae*; but there are perhaps certain things one misses in these lectures to which attention may be called. Would it not, for instance, have been worth while, in spite of the obscurity of the subject and the scantiness of evidence, to have made some reference to the worship of the *gentes* as a possible link between the household and the state? De Marchi has shown that there is material enough for some general conclusions. Or, again, in the treatment of the VIth *Aeneid* (c. xviii. pp. 420 ff.), the whole purpose of the lectures would have been well served by an ampler demonstration of the way in which Virgil has harmonised so many of the ideas of earlier religion and philosophy. In the account of Epicurism, too (xvi.), Mr. Fowler has hardly allowed enough for the really religious conception of the gods as the realised ideal of Epicurean morality: if modern critics are right in supposing that Lucretius intended to conclude his poem with a fuller account of the gods, this would have been clear: but there is evidence enough

even without it. These however are small blemishes, and on the other hand one might quote many incidental suggestions which throw light on dark places, such, for instance, as the theory of Mars in his double character of ἀποτρόπαιος in peace and war (p. 134), or the explanation of the mysterious *Moles Martis* and *Virites Quirini*, etc., in opposition to Dr. Frazer's theory of the 'married pairs' (pp. 154 ff). For such details as these, no less than for its main attitude of sympathetic insight, Mr. Fowler's book is likely to remain for long not merely the most attractive account of the Roman religion for the general reader, but a storehouse of suggestive material for the specialist and the student.

CYRIL BAILEY.

INFLUENCE OF WEALTH IN IMPERIAL ROME.

Davis (W. S.), *The Influence of Wealth in Imperial Rome*. New York: the Macmillan Co., 1910. 8″ × 5½″. Pp. xi + 340. Cloth, 8/6 net.

PROFESSOR STEARNS DAVIS, who is the author of historical novels, addresses himself in this book to hard matters of fact, and expounds the influence of money and of the commercial spirit throughout the period of Roman greatness, that period being defined as the last century of the Republic and the first two centuries of the Empire. The author does not claim that his essay is either exhaustive or original, but he has marshalled a serried array of facts from many sources and woven them, with no little skill, into a continuous narrative, interspersed here and there with allusions to American conditions. After a description of the business panic of A.D. 33, designed to show how largely society was founded on a money basis (but audaciously embellished by the imagination of the historical novelist), the following subjects are treated in successive chapters: political corruption and high finance, especially under the later Republic; commerce, trade, and the accumulation of wealth; the expenditure of wealth; slaves, freedmen, and plebeians; private munificence and some modern phases; marriage, divorce, and childlessness; and, finally, some reasons for the fall of the Empire. The reader will divine, what the author himself half admits (pp. v and 288), that the exposition is somewhat discursive and ranges beyond the strict limits of the subject as defined by the title. What the book really deals with is the economic basis of the life of the period and the effects of wealth on politics and society.

These are matters with which every serious student of Roman life must be to some extent familiar, and therefore they cannot possibly be omitted in works devoted to Roman political and social history. But there is no single English work covering the same ground, and Professor Davis seeks to fill the gap. We cannot say that his book is quite successful. The descriptions do not always produce a vivid impression, sometimes they are overdrawn, and we miss altogether the charm of style which makes Mr. Warde Fowler's similar book on the Ciceronian age such pleasant reading. The volume is obviously addressed to American readers, who may not share our dislike for strange spellings and strange words, like *epigramist* (*i.e.* epigrammatist) or *candidating*. But will they approve of a style that permits sentences like these: 'Such "simplicity" was as reasonably demanded in a nation that had conquered all the world, as to try to-day to recall the times when . . .,' or 'Pliny found disagreeable the getting from Ephesus up to his Bithynian province'? And we would add an emphatic protest against the use of such an utterly meaningless phrase as 'the second century A.D.,' which is, we regret to say, becoming common even in Oxford.

The proof-sheets have been corrected with deplorable negligence. Apart from such eyesores as 'man-ufacturing,' 'antiq-uity,' 'har-angued,' and divided numerals like 700,-000,000, the book teems with misprints, such as Thermesus in Pisidia, Carnutum, Umbricia Jannaria (for Januaria), twice in two suc-

cessive lines, followed by Durius (for Duvius), Arabia Petra, the Byzantine historian Cedranus, Terrentia twice on one page, Melanaite (for Menelaite) nome, *horreae*, and at least thirty more, of which we need only cite Papius Poetus (for Papirius Paetus) and Panliures (*i.e.* Paulinus). *Summum honorium* (for *summa honoraria*) we have some hesitation in ascribing to the printer. And what shall the ordinary reader understand by these two sentences: 'In 105 A.D. Cornelius Palma had conquered Arabia; and Felix had spread over the caravan routes and desert region the *Pax Romana*' (p. 55); and 'as for the Arlate it was boasted as late as 418 A.D. that here could be bought the products . . .' (p. 107)?

As soon as the reader takes up the book, he will be struck by the almost complete absence of any references to authorities (apart from occasional general citations in the text). The preface explains that 'since this book does not claim to be a critical compendium for the advanced scholar, it has not seemed wise to encumber the pages with footnote references. . . .' We are left to conclude that the book is intended for the 'general reader,' a very delicate creature, whose interest would be killed by the sight of footnotes. Would he also be extinguished by their relegation to an appendix? Doubtless it was not the author's choice; but we should like to know how many general readers will care to pay 8s. 6d. net for 340 crown octavo pages of straightforward printing.

But if authorities are not to be quoted, all statements of fact should be beyond suspicion of inaccuracy. This is far from being the case. There are many positive mistakes. For instance, 'a benevolent institution in Liguria received on a mortgage only 2½ per cent.' (p. 78), the fact being that the institution was in Samnium (in the territory of the Ligures Baebiani), and the interest was, by general consent, half-yearly; or 'Cicero brought back from Cilicia 2,100,000 sesterces' (p. 22), whereas he left on deposit at Ephesus 2,200,000 sesterces, which had come to him *salvis legibus*, besides saving enough *ex annuo sumptu* to leave his quaestor a year's supply and to repay 1 million sesterces into the Treasury (which most governors would have pocketed); or, again, it is dogmatically stated that Egypt 'dispatched to Rome as annual tribute 144 million bushels of grain,' whereas it is quite impossible to estimate the amount of the tribute or to discover the exact meaning of the most definite of the few statements that bear on the question, viz., that in the time of Augustus the import of corn from Egypt to Rome amounted to 20 million *pecks* (*modii*).

We have also noted several unguarded statements — such as that Tiberius Gracchus settled 77,000 poor citizens on the land (p. 237), or that 'an Italian farmer craved the franchise to fatten on the favours handed him for electing the great noble to office' (p. 12); and there is evidence here and there of imperfect grasp—*e.g.* in the account of the Romanisation of the Empire. Nor can we overlook the fact that there are frequent misinterpretations of ancient authorities, both literary and other: in the inscription quoted on p. 255 the remarkable title, 'overseer of the imperial tablets,' is (unless we are greatly mistaken) a rendering of *a pinacothecis*. In spite of considerable merits, the book cannot take rank as a standard work on the subject for English readers, and, if we may judge by our own experience, it scarcely succeeds in holding the attention of the reader and sharpening his interest.

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SHORT NOTICES

Pauly's Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft. Neue Bearbeitung . . . herausgegeben von G. Wissowa. XIIter Halbband, Euxantios—Fornaces (cols. 1537-2876); XIIIter Halbband, Fornax—Glykon (cols. 1-1472). Stuttgart: Metzler, 1909, 1910.

The loss of a manuscript in the post must be our excuse for the long delay in noticing the earlier of these two half volumes. They contain the usual number of admirable and useful articles; one may mention more especially those on 'Exercitus' (Liebenam), 'Fabel' (Hausrath), 'Fasti' (Wissowa and Schoen), 'Finsternisse' (Boll, with a useful list of recorded eclipses), 'Fiscus' (Rostowtzew), 'Flavius,' *i.e.* Vespasianus, Titus and Domitianus (Weynand), 'Fortuna' (Otto), 'Frumentum' (Rostowtzew), 'Gallia' (Weiss), and 'Gemmen' (Rossbach). It is unnecessary to review in detail these continuations of a work that is indispensable to all students of antiquity. We note a few minutiae — some of the annotations that have found their way on to the margins of our copy in the course of use. The article 'Exagium' is inadequate; reference should have been made to published specimens, such as those in Dalton's *Catalogue of Christian Antiques*. 'Flussgötter' is most inadequate in regard to the list of representations. Of such as are actually identified by inscriptions, we may add the Hippophoras at Pisidian Apollonia, Kogamis at Philadelphia, Limyros at Limyra, Peieros at Prusa ad Olympum, Seleinos at Pergamon (but this is mentioned under Keteios), Skopas at Juliopolis. Scores of other rivers which are represented, but not named, might be mentioned. The river Glaukos of Hierocaesarea and its homonym at Eumeneia are apparently confused; and, on the other hand, Senaros and Sindros, which are one and the same (the latter being probably the right reading) are described as two different streams. In reference to the excellent article 'Frumentum,' it may be noted (col. 184) that Sidon, as well as Laodicea, in Syria, received an *aeternum beneficium* or permanent endowment in the shape of a dole of corn. 'Gabala,' 'Gargara,' and 'Garizin' are three of the many articles in which ignorance of numismatics has caused serious defects; the striking representations of the last-named sacred mountain on coins of Neapolis are worth chapters of description of the extant remains. In the article, 'Gaza,' the writer has ignored the significance of the cults of Minos, Io and Marnas as throwing light on the early connection between Gaza and Crete. 'Faustinianae Puellae' and 'Gerostratus' (king of Arados) are two articles which seem to have escaped inclusion.

G. F. H.

Syntax of Classical Greek: second part. By B. L. Gildersleeve, with the co-operation of C. W. E. Miller. Pp. 191-332. New York: American Book Company. No date.

The second part of Professor Gildersleeve's *Greek Syntax*, published after an interval of many years, is not large, and does not call for any long notice. 120 of its pages deal with the article, a subject on which little or nothing that is new can be expected. We find very full examination of many small points. For instance, the presence or absence of the article with proper names of various kinds occupies some 25 large pages. A competent Greek scholar will not think such details excessive or be anything but grateful for them, just as he would be grateful for like minute treatment by Professor Gildersleeve of many other matters. It is left rather obscure, whether the author hopes to treat some of these other matters himself on the same scale or only to hand over his materials to someone else. In the present instalment much appears to be due to the labour of Professor Miller in 'the collection and the sorting of the examples,' but we are warned that this partnership is now dissolved.

H. R.

A Greek Grammar: Syntax. By G. SIMONSON. Pp. xx + 384. London Swan Sonnenschein; New York: Heath, 1911. 6s. 6d.

DR. SIMONSON has compressed a great amount of Greek syntax with plenty of examples into a fairly small space, and has done it quite well. Sometimes he uses an ill-considered expression where he is not really under any misapprehension, *e.g.* § 1650 *οἱ ἀρετῆς τι μεταποιούμενοι, those laying claim to something of virtue*, or 1691 *τῆς δὲ δειλίας στυγῶ, I abhor thy cowardice.* Sometimes one could wish for something clearer, *e.g.* than the usual phrase about 'unattainable wishes' (2004), which is very wanting in precision; or for something which is not there at all, *e.g.* a warning that the use of *ἀνά* is often as un-Attic as the use of *ἀμφί*. The language about *ἄν* with an imperfect (1961 and 1966) is really misleading, and might cause students to confound that construction with *ἄν* and the optative. In *Demosth.* 1. 2 *δοκοῦμεν* does not refer to the speaker only (1236). The reservation (1530) as to relatives in the nominative not being attracted is upset by the example actually following from *Protag.* 353*b* as well as by many others. *ὥσπερ* cannot (2161) be used of time, and *ὅσπερ* does not usually (1507) 'refer to something known.' The two prose examples given (2087. 2) of *ὥστ' οὐ* with an infinitive are only cases of *oratio obliqua*. Of two unusual phrases quoted in 2067. 1 that from *Republic* 603*c* was emended with certainty by Ast, and that from *Demosth.* 1. 26 *μὴ λίαν πικρὸν ᾖ* I ventured myself to correct in this *Review* some eight years ago.

H. R.

Introduction to the Study of the Greek Dialects: Grammar, Selected Inscriptions, Glossary. By C. D. BUCK. Ginn, 1910.

A BOOK like this has long been wanted, and Buck is well qualified to make it. His plan is this. First, the dialects are classified; next comes the phonology, treated by sounds, inflexions, word-formation, and syntax; then the points of each dialect are summarised, including the *κοινή*; selected inscriptions follow (97 pp.), list of useful books, notes, glossary and index, charts, and a dialect map. A welcome novelty is a chapter on external Sandhi.

The dialects are divided into East and West; the Western including Doric and Modern Greek, the Eastern Attic-Ionic, Aeolic, and 'Achaean.' The grammar is not complete or comparative; it is confined to points where Greek dialects differ: inscriptions are the basis all through, literary dialects being regarded as less important. The inscriptions are very much the same as Solmsen's little book; but the editor informs us that his choice was independent and made before Solmsen's book appeared. Solmsen has no notes, and this book has; the print here is also better.

The book is excellently well done, and it will prove most useful. I cannot think, however, that the system of transliteration is happy, although that is the same as Solmsen's (ed. 2). It is very difficult for practical use, with its ugly diacritic marks (as *ἓμεν, τοῦ*), as I have found by trial with pupils. A transliteration into conventional types, of course, would hardly do for inscriptions, though it would be better, I think, for the grammar; but I believe that the proper method, and the only scientific method, is to give the text in the original scripts and a conventional transliteration below with accents.

W. H. D. R.

Sammlung Vulgärlateinischer Texte, herausgegeben von W. Heraeus und H. Morf. 3. Proben aus dem sogenannten Mulomedicina Chironis (II. und III.) von Max Niedermann. M. 1.20. 4. Kleine Texte zum Alexanderroman, von F. Pfister. Mit einem Faksimile. M. 1.20. Heidelberg: Winter, 1910.

CHEIRON as a vet. may be a new idea to some readers; but in antiquity Cheiron had probably a higher reputation than any other of the college. In regard to human beings, Hippocrates would perhaps not have consulted with him for fear of the general medical council

of Cos; he had his following, however. It is one of life's little ironies that Mr. Niedermann should edit the *Mulomedicina* only because of its vulgar Latin. The specimen makes it clear that a new edition is wanted. Oder, who printed the whole book in 1901, thought fit to correct the spelling; but this often throws light on popular speech. Thus we have *quactus*, *quagulare*, *yemps*, *sompnus*, and other such. The most instructive are perhaps *ingnis* and *congnoscere;* when the *n* follows *g* the pronunciation was already (in the 4th century) like modern Italian. On the other hand, *ng* seems to have dropped its nasal, to judge from *ligua*, *saguis*, and the like. Although *sanguis* is found, the editor is hardly justified in printing li<n>gua sa<n>guis. I may mention also *et* for *e* (prep.) and *e* for *et* (conj.) on the same page 13; and the syntax *ex inanitatem*.

The other booklet contains Commonitorium Palladii, letters between Didymus and Alexander, and letters from Alexander to Aristotle on the wonders of India. We have descriptions of the Brahmans, who are here naked ascetics, yet married to wives, whom they visit for a month in each year. Didymus and Alexander argue most philosophically on the merits of their several modes of life; Alexander scores one off Didymus where he points out that if the Brahmans are chaste, that is because their wives are so ugly. When he tells his old tutor of the dangers of his march, we feel that he is not guiltless of exaggeration. The snakes that sparkle poison from their eyes, whose breath is mortal, may plead Indian authority: but when we come to dog-faced men; a horse with three horns, which killed 24 men and trampled 52; 'ippotami' stronger than elephants, half man and half horse, swarming like ants and eating the soldiers; two trees, one speaking in the Indian tongue and the other in Greek: surely the pupil is abusing his poor old tutor's confidence.

W. H. D. R.

NOTES AND NEWS

The Committee on Grammatical Terms, with its expiring breath, produced a standing committee, to wit: Prof. Sonnenschein, Mr. Cloudesley Brereton, Miss Haig Brown, Mr. Pantin, Dr. Eleanor Purdie, Mr. Ritchie. These are to 'hold a watching brief on behalf of the movement.' A committee has been made in America for the same purpose that ours was made for. May we suggest a definite aim for these bodies? Their titles, which consist chiefly of abstract nouns, of course tell us little; we suggest the following: 'It is our aim to do without grammatical titles wherever the meaning can be made clear without them.' When this idea has commended itself to those concerned, we will, if desired, give some examples.

Another Classical Association has been formed in America, that of Virginia. Mr. Kelsey's book, which will be reviewed in the next number of this journal, shows that America is beginning to feel the results of a generation of unmixed materialism. In England we do not realise it, because the outside shows are the same, but we need the counterblast quite as much. The arguments are all familiar, but one is especially notable: that democracy has not done its duty by the exceptionally able; it has levelled down when it ought to level up. Certainly the scholarship examinations of local bodies in England show an uncanny skill in picking out mediocrity.

The Summer School in Latin at Bangor was attended by 110 schoolmasters and schoolmistresses. An account has appeared in the *Morning Post* for September 20, and a full report will be issued shortly. The members

were so well satisfied with what they got from it, that they formed themselves into a permanent body, and resolved to meet again next year. It is not true that the 110 teachers all tried to teach 55 children (*i.e.* half a child apiece), as the *Journal of Education* seems to think.

The title prefixed to Mr. Cheesman's review on p. 188 of the September number of the *Classical Review* appears to have been inadequate. The books noticed were *The Roman Fort at Manchester* (F. A. Bruton), published by the Manchester University Press; and *A Roman Frontier Post: the Fort of Newstead* (James Curle), published by Messrs. Maclehose.

The author of the paper, 'A Misunderstood Passage in the *Oedipus Tyrannus*' (*C.R.*, p. 161), was Prof. J. E. Harry. In the correspondence, Prof. Harry adds a note to his paper.

CORRESPONDENCE

To the paper, 'A Misunderstood Passage' (*Classical Review*, Sept., p. 162, col. 2, line 18), after ἐμέ, add: The only other example in poetry in Greek literature is *Erot. Graec.*, *Theodorus, Rhod. and Dosikles* i. 295, ἐπεγκάλει μοι τῆς θυγατρὸς τὸν φόνον (but 305 ἐγκαλεῖν). The loose compound with πρός is found in Plutarch, *Quomodo Adulescens Poetas* 8 (προσεγκαλοῦσαν) and Athenaeus xiii. 558 (προσεγκαλοῦσ' ἔτι from Alexis). In Zonaras are two examples: *Epitome Historiarum* i. 7 νυκτὸς δὲ τὴν πρεσβυτέραν τῶν θυγατέρων συνευνάζει τῷ Ἰακώβ. γνοὺς δὲ μεθ' ἡμέραν ὡς ἐξηπάτηται, ἀδικίαν ἐπεγκαλεῖ τῷ πενθερῷ; i. 31 ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπενεκάλει αὐτῷ συνωμοσίαν μετὰ Δαβίδ. Procopius, *Anecdota* 152[19] ἀνεσκολόπισε καὶ αὐτοῦ τὰ χρήματα δημοσιοῦν αὐτῷ ἐπεγκαλεῖν ἔχων. I have been reading the post-classical authors (in alphabetical order), and these are the only two examples in prose that have met my eye. The only example in verse outside of the *Oedipus Tyrannus* is given above.

J. E. HARRY.

Cincinnati.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Publishers and Authors forwarding books for review are asked to send at the same time a note of the price.

*** *Excerpts and Extracts from Periodicals and Collections are not included in these Lists unless stated to be separately published.*

Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἑταιρεία (πρακτικὰ τοῦ ἔτους 1910). Published by the Société Archéologique d'Athènes. 10″ × 6¾″. Pp. 284. With numerous plates and a map. Athens: P. D. Sakellar, 1911. Dr. 5.

Aristotle's Poetics. Translated from Greek into English and from Arabic into Latin. Text, Introduction, etc. By D. S. Margoliouth. 9¼″ × 6½″. Pp. xx + 336. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1911. Cloth, 10s. 6d. net.

Bell's Simplified Latin Classics. Edited by S. E. Winbolt, pp. x + 94. Livy's Kings of Rome and Caesar's Invasion of Britain, pp. viii + 88. Caesar's Fifth Campaign, pp. xi + 90; and Cicero's Letters (a Selection), pp. x + 83. 6½″ × 4¾″. London: Geo. Bell and Sons, Ltd., 1911. Cloth, 1s. 6d. each.

Bokownew (P.) Die Leukipp-Frage. Ein Beitrag zur Forschung nach der historischen Stellung der Atomistik. 9″ × 6¼″. Pp. 19. Dorpat: Ed. Bergmann, 1911.

Brillant (M.) Les Secrétaires Athéniens. 10″ × 6½″. Pp. iv + 148. Paris: Honoré Champion, 1911. Fr. 4.

Clementi (C.) Pervigilium Veneris. With facsimiles of the Codex Salmasianus and Codex Thuaneus, Introduction, Verse Translation, Apparatus Criticus, etc. 9″ × 7″. Pp. xvi + 52. Oxford: B. H. Blackwell, 1911. Paper boards, 5s. net.

Ferguson (W. S.) Hellenistic Athens. An Historical Essay. 9″ × 6″. Pp. xviii + 487. London: Macmillan and Co., 1911. Cloth, 12s. net.

Gardner (P.) The Earliest Coins of Greece Proper. (From the Proceedings of the British Academy.) Vol. v. 10″ × 6¼″. Pp. 41. Oxford: University Press, 1911. 2s. 6d. net.

Herbig (G.) Die etruskische Leinwandrolle des Agramer National-Museums. 11½″ × 9″. Pp. 45. München. Bayerische Academie, 1911.

Homer. Iliad XIII. and XIV. Translated by E. H. Blakeney. $7'' \times 4\frac{3}{4}''$. Pp. 62. London: Geo. Bell and Sons, 1911. 1s.

Homer's Odyssey. Pope's translation, edited by E. S. Shumway and W. Shumway. $5\frac{3}{4}'' \times 4\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. xxxix+478. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1911. Cloth, 1s. net.

Horace (Satires) Texte Latin, avec un Commentaire Critique et Explicatif, des Introductions et des Tables, par F. Plessis et P. Lejay. $10'' \times 6\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. cxxviii×624. Paris: Hachette et Cie, 1911. Fr. 15.

Koepp (F.) Archäologie, in 3 vols. (Sammlung Göschen, Nos. 538—540.) $6'' \times 4''$. Pp. 109, 102, and 131; with 40 plates und 21 illustrations in text. Leipzig: G. J. Göschen, 1911. Cloth, 80 pf. each.

Minor (Albert) De Galeni libris περὶ δυσπνοίας. (Doctor's Dissertation.) $9'' \times 6''$. Pp. 64. Marburg: R. Nosca, 1911.

Ovid (Selections, Heroic and Elegiac). By A. C. B. Brown. $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. 64, with or without Vocabulary. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911. Cloth, 1s. 6d.

Pascol (J.) Fanum Vacunae Satura. Carmen Praemio aureo ornatum in certamine Hoefftiano. Accedunt quatuor carmina laudata. $10'' \times 6\frac{1}{2}''$. Amsterdam: J. Müller, 1911.

Putorti (N.) Minerva Ercole ed Ebe. In un vaso della Collezione Castellani al Campidoglio. $11'' \times 7''$. Pp. 16. Rome: E. Löscher, 1911.

Sergêevsky (N. D.) Finland: the Question of Autonomy and Fundamental Laws. $8'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. 84. London: Wyman and Sons, Ltd., 1911. 4d.

Sheppard (J. T.) Greek Tragedy. (Cambridge Manuals of Science and Literature.) $6\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5''$. Pp. viii+160. Cambridge: University Press, 1911. Cloth, 1s. net.

Soukuy (J.) De Libello Simonis Atheniensis de re Equatori. Commentationes Aenipontanae quas edidit E. Kalinka, VI. Ad Aeni Pontem. $9\frac{1}{4}'' \times 6\frac{1}{4}''$. Pp. 36. Wagner, 1911.

Studien zur Odyssee. II. Odysseus der Bhikshu. Von Carl Fries. $10'' \times 6\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. 216. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1911. M. 6.

Verslag bericht over den Wedstrijd in Latijnsche Poëzie van het Jaar 1910. Overgedrukt uit de Verslagen en Medeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeeling *Letterkunde*, 4e Reeks, Deel x. $10'' \times 6''$. Pp. 8. Amsterdam: J. Müller, 1911.

Zimmern (A. E.) The Greek Commonwealth: Politics and Economics in Fifth-Century Athens. $9'' \times 6''$. Pp. 454. With maps. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911. Cloth, 8s. 6d. net.

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THE objects of the Classical Association are to promote the development and maintain the well-being of classical studies, and in particular (*a*) to impress upon public opinion the claim of such studies to an eminent place in the national scheme of education; (*b*) to improve the practice of classical teaching; (*c*) to encourage investigation and call attention to new discoveries; (*d*) to create opportunities for intercourse among lovers of classical learning.

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The Classical Review

DECEMBER 1911

ORIGINAL CONTRIBUTIONS

HOMERICA. I. THE ACHAEANS.

PERSONS interested in Homer have to make up their minds on all points connected with Homer. This is my excuse for venturing into a province like ethnography with which I have no proper concern.

The picture which Homer gives of his heroes and their people lies under an antinomy. Part is confirmed by that other world, the subterranean; part hangs foundationless, like a Venetian house. The topographical and political description is seen to be correct, a rendering of a world which once existed. The boundaries of Greece, the divisions within it, the colonisation of certain islands, are real; and the barbarian world, Thrace and Asia, is real. Homer's account records actual facts and the kind of knowledge of the distant world in possession of his Achaeans at the time of the Trojan War. Excavation has shown us Agamemnon at Mycenae, Nestor at Samicum, Meges at Dulichium (Leucas), Menelaus on the left bank of the Eurotas, and has confirmed his vague notions of Asia past the sea.[1] When we turn to the civilisation or anthropology of Homer's heroes, the case is different. The people who lived and were buried at Mycenae and Pylos have not the same habits in Homer as they had in fact; their clothing is different, they live in a different metal-age, and they dispose of their dead differently. I need not give the details for this assertion, which is common knowledge.

The Homeric account therefore is supported by archaeological facts as to the one part, unsupported as to the other. Or, if we start from the archaeological side, we should say that we can find a time and locus in the history of the Levantine world for the political and geographical cosmos of Homer; but his cultural world cannot be placed.

To avoid this contradiction a hypothesis has been current in England (and I believe nowhere else) for some ten years past; namely, that the Achaeans (that is to say, the people whom Homer designates by this name with two others) were a separate race, who possessing the culture Homer ascribes to them occupied the seats where archaeology discovers a race with other (and earlier) cultural characteristics. Thus the Homeric picture would be justified at all points. Professor Ridgeway is generally believed to have originated this theory in his *Early Age of Greece*, Cambridge, 1901. The Achaeans were precursors of the Dorians, descended from more or less the same parts; cased in mail and wielding iron swords, they made short work of the naked bronze-using Mycenaeans. Homer when he said *χαλκός* meant *σίδηρος*.[2] This

[1] *J.H.S.*, 1910, 292 *sqq.*

[2] The same view was held in antiquity: schol. Ap. Rhod. I. 430 *Ἀπολλώνιός φησιν ἐν τῷ ᾱ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων τὸν σίδηρον ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχαίων χαλκὸν λέγεσθαι, ἀγνοῶν ὅτι μηδέπω εὑρεθέντος σιδήρου χαλκῷ ἐχρῶντο, ὡς καὶ Ἡσίοδός φησι* [OD. 151].

theory, clear, trenchant and attractive, made captive at the time of the writer, among more important people. It has recently been applied by Mr. Lang, with the devotion and acuteness which we know, to Homer. Mr. Lang's views are not identical with Mr. Ridgeway's; they are identical insofar as he posits a *tertium quid* between Mycenaeans and Dorians. Mr. Lang's originality is that he pours into this recipient the whole of the Homeric culture—metal, cremation, clothing, and religion. When Homer said bronze he meant bronze. This account again is sympathetic as endeavouring to confer reality upon Homer, which the expurgation-theory, exploited in this country by Professor Murray, takes from him. Mr. Lang has dealt with expurgation with the ease appropriate to such a toothless victim, but his own counter-theory is difficult to the best-intentioned Unitarian. The idea of a race or period intermediate between Mycenaeans and Dorians has met also with the qualified approval of some English archaeologists (Mackenzie, *B.S.A.*, 1908; Hogarth, *Ionia and the East*, p. 101; *Enc. Brit.*, 1910, p. 250 b) and of Kretschmer, *Glotta*, i. 23; but it may be doubted whether the evidence, anthropological or literary, proves more than a new element or development in or of the same race. In particular Kretschmer's conclusions do not demand the sequence Mycenaeans-Achaeans-Dorians, though he accepted the parallel from Mackenzie. These conclusions were that an analysis of the historical dialects of Greece showed in the North three strata, in the South two; deduction made of the last, the Dorian, two are left in the North, one in the South. Accepting these results, I think a better ethnological parallel may be found by positing in the South a pure Mycenaean (or, in my language, Achaean) race, in the North the same race dominating Mr. Wace's neolithic people. Civilisation and language spread northwards, not *vice versa*. The Scotch Lowlands are another case. Mr. Wace's magoula folk would therefore provide the specific Aeolic element of later times.

The idea of an Achaean race occupying Mycenaean seats but enjoying an Homeric culture encounters the obvious and daily more obvious difficulty that the race in question has left no trace behind it. The race used *ex hypothesi* a great deal of iron and burned their dead. The Mycenaean sites show only minute quantities of iron and only sporadic human ashes. It is ten years now since Mr. Ridgeway published his *Early Age;* excavation has gone on busily since then all over Greece. The first-class sites, we are told, are exhausted, and Mycenaean and other prae-Dorian remains have been found in most unexpected places. But the required evidence has nowhere appeared, and it is now plain that it nowhere exists. Is it then allowable to suppose, as a second resort, that the assumed Achaean race really left no trace? Arguments have, indeed, been adduced to support this position—the Achaeans were few in number, a dynasty, a caste, a military handful; but it is plain this is special pleading. There may indeed have been a dynasty, a caste, at Mycenae, but the monarch was he whose bones and mask Schliemann found at Mycenae, and the dynasty or caste came as it did in tradition from Asia, not from Macedonia. For, again, what ground is there for bringing the Achaeans from the inhospitable North except the iron and pinned cloaks of Homer, which gave Mr. Ridgeway a picturesque parallel to Lombards crossing the Alps? The Achivi or Akaiuasha (I refer for the authorities to Mr. H. R. Hall's *Oldest Civilisation of Greece*, 1901, p. 173, etc.) where we first meet them (about 1250 B.C.) are sea-pirates who plunder the Egyptian delta. Next we find them in the Homeric poems, in a local and a general sense: locally they are (*a*) a part of the mixed population of Crete, (*b*) a part of the mixed subjects of Peleus on the Spercheus [and from the persistence of the name in history as Achaea Phthiotis we may fairly infer that they inhabited the north side of the valley]. This is the most northerly point at which we find the name in a specific sense. Generically of course they are one of three names which Homer gives without distinction of race or place to the whole of Agamemnon's subjects from Dulichium to

Rhodes.[1] If the Achaeans were immigrants from anywhere they will have come from any point of the compass rather than from the north. The local name in Crete and the plundering of the Delta suggest the opposite pole.[2]

Moreover, the recent excavations in Boeotia and Thessaly, conducted by various explorers and made known to us chiefly by Mr. A. J. B. Wace and Mr. Maurice Thompson, appear, so far as they incline one way or the other, to tell against Mr. Ridgeway and Mr. Lang. A martial race descended from the North and conquered the effete Mycenaeans. We should expect to find their traces if anywhere in Thessaly through which their path lay, where for example they might have been in subjection to southern masters until, like the Germans, they moved south and inverted the rôles. It now appears that during the whole Blüthezeit of Mycenae Thessaly and North Boeotia were populated by a feeble neolithic people, living on hilltops, devoid of all kinds of metal, and using very rough pottery. Such advances in culture as they received came from the south: first a pottery resembling the Orchomenian, and eventually shortly before the sites ceased to be inhabited a little bronze. These people were not the Achaei, hardy bronze-clad mountaineers descending upon an overblown civilisation. After them there is nothing in Thessaly till we come to the entirely different Dorian world—different in site and in culture.

I think, then, that the attempt to find the Homeric culture in a hypothetical Achaean race, intermediate between the Mycenaeans and the Dorians, fails. There was no such race; as it has left no trace of itself in *rerum natura*, so it never existed. The 'nameless' Mycenaeans were the Achaeans, and had two other names besides.

Mr. Lang will now ask me how, supposing the world of Homer never existed *en toutes pièces* at any one time, it comes that Homer made the Achaeans use iron and burn their dead, when they did not do so? Homer anachronised, is my answer, and anachronism, as Mr. Lang and others have told us, is so invariably the habit of artists and poets in matters of costume and manners that the probability of Homer having anachronised may stand without specific evidence. Have we not just been told that in Thackeray's illustrations to *Vanity Fair* he dressed his characters in the clothes of his own day and not in the costumes of 1815? That Homer's picture of history and political geography is correct I have tried to show in a paper on the Catalogue, *J. H. S.*, 1910, 292 *sqq.* My position therefore is that his history is correct, but his culture anachronistic; thus I entirely agree with Mr. Hall *l.c.* p. 223: 'The Homeric culture is evidently the culture of the poet's own days; there is no attempt to archaise here, unless the indulgence in wondering descriptions of the masterpieces of bygone days is archaising. But it is otherwise when political conditions are dealt with. Paul Veronese arrayed the wife of Darius in ruff and farthingale, but he knew full well that she was a queen of ancient Persia, not a sixteenth-century Italian princess.'

The next question is more searching. If Homer anachronised, that is to say gave the heroic Achaeans the accoutrements and habits of his own age, what was that age? Well, believing with most of the Greeks that Homer, father of the Homeridae and creator of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, lived in Chios about the year 900, I have no difficulty in saying that the Homeric cultural age was the Early-Colonial. I am fully aware that there is no archaeological evidence for the culture of the Early-Colonial age; we do not know (so far as I am aware) that the Chians or Smyrnaeans of 900 used iron and practised cremation. It may therefore

[1] The Δαναοί also have Egyptian warrant (Hall, *l.c.*, p. 175). I have endeavoured (*Classical Quarterly*, 1909, 81 *sqq.*) to explain the third appellative Ἀργεῖοι (which has no monumental evidence) as a political derivative from the Agamemnonian Argos. My article, which was written under the prepossessions of a follower of Mr. Ridgeway, requires some modification. The statistics of Della Seta (*Acc. d. Lincei*, xvi. 133 *sqq.*) prove nothing, except that Ἀχαιοί is the most, Δαναοί the least, frequent term.

[2] The post-Dorian usages of the name (Phthiotis, the north coast of Peloponnesus, the Achaean colonies) are derivative. I confess I see no real explanation of the application of the name to the Peloponnesian Riviera.

be thought that my hypothetical Early-Colonial culture is as supposititious as Mr. Lang's Achaean world. There is this difference: the soil of Greece, and of many outlying places, has been raked over almost to exhaustion, and has yielded nothing which bears Mr. Lang's required characteristics. The shores of Asia Minor and the great islands are practically untouched; the spade has hardly gone below the middle-historical period. Even Mr. Hogarth's temple-offerings at Ephesus are not dated earlier than 700 B.C. Here therefore the negative cannot be proved as it is proved in the case of the mainland. Archaeology does not forbid Homer to have anachronised from his own age; it does forbid him to have given a true description of the civilisation of the Achaeans. Until excavation has shown that the Ionians of 900 enjoyed a culture unlike the Homeric, this seems to me the account to accept. We thereby escape the impossible task of accommodating Homer to material evidence, and the equally impossible duty of compelling archaeology to admit a period for which it has no place.

T. W. ALLEN.

THE ORIGINAL FUNCTION OF THE BOULE AT ATHENS.

THE 'Aθ. πολ. c. 4 § 3 attributes to Draco the institution of a *βουλή* of 401 members, chosen by lot from the whole body of citizens over thirty years of age. This is the only notice we have of a Draconian Council; and scholars are more inclined to believe that the Boule was first instituted as part of the Solonian constitution. *Βουλὴν δ' ἐποίησε τετρακοσίους*, says Aristotle, 'Aθ. πολ. c. 8 § 4; and, as Dr. Sandys points out, these words could hardly have been used if it was meant that Solon merely substituted a new Boule of 400 for the Draconian Boule of 401. This view is further supported by Plutarch's statement, *Solon*, c. 19. What was the original function of the Boule in Solon's constitution? It is noteworthy that Aristotle in 'Aθ. πολ. l.c. gives us no certain information on that point. He does indeed contrast the new Council with the already existing Boule of the Areopagus, but only to say that the latter was appointed *ἐπὶ τὸ νομοφυλακεῖν*, and exercised a general supervision over all the most important matters—*τά τε ἄλλα τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ τὰ μέγιστα τῶν πολιτικῶν διετήρει*. It took cognisance, too, of cases of high treason. Plutarch says more definitely that Solon assigned to the 400 the duty of preparing measures for the people—*οὓς προβουλεύειν ἔταξε τοῦ δήμου καὶ μηδὲν ἐᾶν ἀπροβούλευτον εἰς ἐκκλησίαν εἰσφέρεσθαι*.

Grote (c. xi.) regarded the Council as in the first instance a probouleutic assembly, and this is the view adopted by Bury (c. iv.). It was undoubtedly an important function of the Boule in later times to prepare business for the Ecclesia; but can it have been the sole or the chief reason of its creation in 594 B.C.? In the sixth century the Ecclesia was not engaged in the civil and criminal legislation which occupied it in the fifth century. Its two chief duties were to elect certain public officials and to call them to account at the end of their year of office—*Σόλων ἔοικε τὴν ἀναγκαιοτάτην ἀποδιδόναι τῷ δήμῳ δύναμιν, τὸ τὰς ἀρχὰς αἱρεῖσθαι καὶ εὐθύνειν* (Ar. *Pol.* II. 12. 1274*a* 16); and none of our authorities suggests that in Solon's time the powers of the Ecclesia went further. It does not, then, seem probable that the main object of the establishment of the new Council by Solon was to prepare for the introduction of these two pieces of business into the Ecclesia. For how could a *προβούλευμα* anticipate the public election of magistrates by the *δῆμος*? And if a *προβούλευμα* were passed before the magistrates submitted to the *εὔθυνα* in the Ecclesia, it can have been a merely formal act, except in the case of the financial officials ('Aθ. πολ. c. 45). As the business submitted to the Ecclesia grew in quantity and variety in the course of the fifth century, it was only natural that the smaller and more expeditious body should act as a committee

of reference, and that its probouleutic duties should become the most prominent feature in the work of the Boule.

Ed. Meyer (*Gesch. d. Altert.* II. § 409) has suggested that the Solonian Boule was only a further development of the older *βουλὴ τῶν ναυκράρων*, which had to advise on the administrative, financial, and naval duties undertaken by the *ναυκραρίαι*.

But a recently discovered *κύρβις* from Chios suggests an alternative explanation—that the Boule originated as a judicial body. A full account of the *κύρβις* is given by Wilamowitz-Moellendorff and Dr. Jacobsthal in the *Abhandlungen der kön. preuss. Akademie*, Berlin, 1909. The style of the script, which is *βουστροφηδόν* with Θ and ⊗ for *θ*, † for *χ*, and retains the use of the early letter ϙ (Koppa), leads Wilamowitz to the conclusion that the stone was inscribed *circa* 600 B.C., earlier rather than later. Its special interest is that it defines the powers of a *βουλή* popularly elected, as at Athens, at a time antecedent to the traditional date of Solon's legislation. Sixteen lines are preserved complete, and these read:

ἐκκαλέσθω ἐς βολὴν τὴν δημοσίην· τῇ τρίτῃ ἐξ Ἑβδομαίων βολὴ ἀγερέσθω ἡ δημοσίη ἐπιθώιος λεκτὴ πεντήϙοντ' ἀπὸ φυλῆς τά τ' ἄλ[λα] πρήσσεν τὰ δήμο καὶ δίκα[ς δικό]σαι ἂν ἔκκλητοι γένων[ται τ]ὸ μηνὸς πάσας ἐπ. . .

Here the *βουλή* is a representative assembly chosen from the whole citizen body, 50 from each tribe, as at Athens. The addition, *δημοσίη*, implies the existence of another *βουλή*—the *βουλὴ γερόντων*, as we find it in Homer, corresponding to the *βουλὴ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου* in Athens. This *βουλή* must meet once a month, and it is charged with a general administration of the affairs of the people. But, what is most noteworthy for our purpose, its main function is obviously judicial: it appears as a popular tribunal, with power to supersede even the sentence of a magistrate. May we transfer the analogy to Athens, and suppose that originally the principal function of the Boule was to act as a judicial court, representative of the whole people, just as the *δικαστήριον* of 201 judges represented the Athenian democracy in its judicial aspect in the fifth century?

Now Aristotle says nothing of the judicial competence of the Boule, when he speaks of its institution under Solon (c. 8), but when he comes to describe the functions of the *βουλή* in detail in the second half of the Ἀθ. πολ. (c. 45), he speaks *first* of its judicial powers. He then makes the definite statement: *ἡ δὲ βουλὴ πρότερον μὲν ἦν κυρία καὶ χρήμασιν ζημιῶσαι καὶ δῆσαι καὶ ἀποκτεῖναι.* He adds that it was deprived of all these powers by the demos, and comparing this with the statement in c. 41—*αἱ τῆς βουλῆς κρίσεις εἰς τὸν δῆμον ἐληλύθασιν*—we are justified in assuming that the greater part of its judicial functions were transferred to the popular law-courts shortly after the restoration of the democracy in 403 B.C.

Of the judicial competence of the *βουλή* in the fifth and fourth centuries we know that *εἰσαγγελίαι* were laid before it, and that it could also deal with cases of *ἔνδειξις*, *ἀπαγωγή* and *φάσις*; but it could not inflict any fine above 500 drachmae. Demosthenes (24 § 144) quotes a clause from the *βουλευτικὸς ὅρκος*, limiting the Boule's power of imprisonment, which he attributes to Solon. But Aristotle (Ἀθ. πολ. c. 22) expressly states that the form of oath, *ὃν ἔτι καὶ νῦν ὀμνύουσιν* (*οἱ πεντακοσίοι*), was first introduced *ἐφ' Ἑρμοκρέοντος ἄρχοντος*, 501/0 B.C. Possibly some limitation of the judicial powers of the Boule was a part of the reforms of Cleisthenes, which was not put into effect before 501 B.C.

This is all we know of the judicial competence of the Boule. Nor do we hear of its taking part in any political or legislative action during the sixth century B.C. Yet its popular and democratic nature is revealed by the fact that it was prominent in resisting the attempt of Cleomenes and Isagoras to overthrow the Constitution in the interests of the oligarchic faction (Ἀθ. πολ. c. 20).

The conclusions suggested by a consideration of these statements about the powers of the Boule are: that the democratisation of the Athenian Constitution developed *pari passu* with the devolution of the judicial powers originally monopolised by the Council of the

Areopagus; and that the elective and legislative functions of both *βουλή* and *ἐκκλησία* followed on their judicial. The Council of the Areopagus — itself a survival of the Homeric assembly of *γέροντες βουληφόροι*, who acted as assessors to the king in his capacity of judge—was forced to surrender some of its judicial competence first to a body of 51 *ἐφέται* chosen from men of more than fifty years of age belonging to noble families, *ἀριστίνδην αἱρεθέντες* (Pollux, viii. 125), then under the Solonian legislation to a new *βουλή* of 400. The original mode of their election is unknown; at the same time the *ἡλιαία* was constituted as a court of appeal against the decision of a magistrate. First the Boule gained judicial powers at the expense of the Council of the Areopagus, then the popular law-courts at the expense of the *βουλή*, and, as at Rome, so at Athens the publication of the law and the construction of a popular court of appeal paved the way for the elective and legislative supremacy of the people.

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DOLON THE WOLF.

When Dolon sallied forth from the Trojan camp he was not clad in armour, but in the hide of a grey wolf (K 334). He was bound upon a perilous adventure, where life might depend upon his speed of foot, and the rattle of bronze might betray him. It was so dark that you could not see the moorfowl that rose with a startled scream at your feet (274, 275); so that a spy must guide himself mainly by the glimmer of the thousand camp fires running in a long line from the ships to the Xanthos (Θ 553 ff. K 12). Then there was always the chance of encountering a foeman bent on a similar enterprise, or disturbing some midnight pillager of the dead (387 f. 342, 343). Yet, when once he was clear of the Trojan lines, he pressed eagerly on his way—*βῆ δ' ἀν' ὁδὸν μεμαώς* (339), and so heedlessly that he ran past Odysseus and Diomedes as they crouched among the heaps of the slain (349, 350). Clearly, he had some plan in his mind. Homer does not tell us what it was; but the author of the *Rhesus* does.

Dolon, in the play, has just undertaken his dangerous mission, and now he speaks to the Chorus of Trojan sentinels (201 ff.).

Δο. *στείχοιμ' ἄν· ἐλθὼν δ' ἐς δόμους ἐφέστιος*
σκευῇ πρεπόντως σῶμ' ἐμὸν καθάψομαι,
κἀκεῖθεν ἥσω ναῦς ἐπ' Ἀργείων πόδα.
Χο. *εἶπ' εἴ τιν' ἄλλην ἀντὶ τῆσδ' ἕξεις στολήν.*
Δο. *πρέπουσαν ἔργῳ κλωπικοῖς τε βήμασιν.*
Χο. *σοφοῦ παρ' ἀνδρὸς χρὴ σοφόν τι μανθάνειν·*
λέξον τίς ἔσται τοῦδε σώματος σαγή.

The reply of Dolon is very precise.

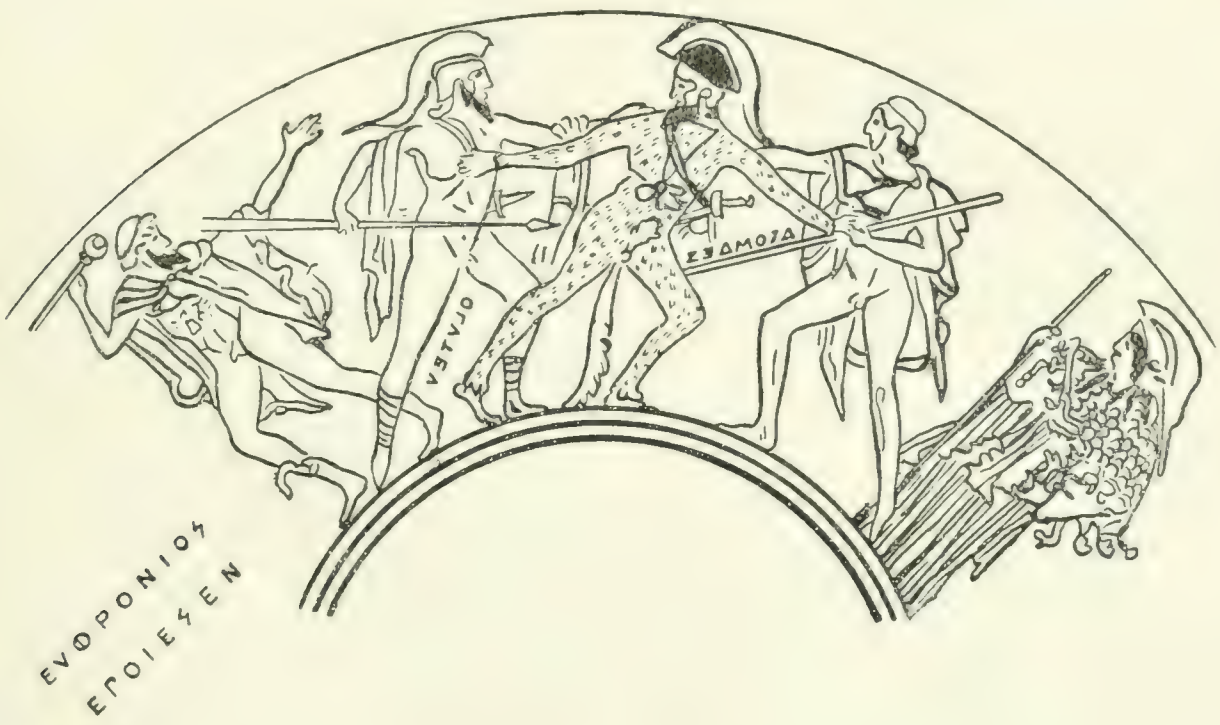
Δο. *λύκειον ἀμφὶ νῶτον ἄψομαι δοράν,*
καὶ χάσμα θηρὸς ἀμφ' ἐμῷ θήσω κάρᾳ,
βάσιν τε χερσὶ προσθίαν καθαρμόσας
καὶ κῶλα κώλοις τετράπουν μιμήσομαι
λύκου κέλευθον, πολεμίοις δυσεύρετον,
τάφροις πελάζων καὶ νεῶν προβλήμασιν.
ὅταν δ' ἔρημον χῶρον ἐμβαίνω ποδί,
δίβαμος εἶμι· τῆδε σύγκειται δόλος.

τῆδε σύγκειται δόλος—the wolf-skin is a disguise. When he approaches the trenches of the enemy, he is to crawl on hands and knees, so that a Greek sentinel, happening to espy him in that dim light, will think of other shadowy four-footed forms he has observed gliding over the battlefield, and pay the less attention. But in the deserted spaces he may walk man-like on his feet—a weird, ambiguous figure.

If the author of *Rhesus* were singular in his opinion, one might regard it as the product of a somewhat eccentric imagination. But he is not. There is

at Munich a well-known cylix fragment, bearing the signature of Euphronios, which represents the slaying of Dolon. The spy is clad in a tight-fitting skin, which even retains the tail—*βάσιν τε χερσὶ προσθίαν καθαρμόσας καὶ κῶλα κώλοις*. By the side of Diomedes stands Athene, while on the left Hermes abandons Dolon to his fate. One is reminded of the parting words of the Chorus 216 f. *ἀλλ' εὖ σ' ὁ Μαίας παῖς ἐκεῖσε καὶ πάλιν πέμψειεν Ἑρμῆς, ὅς γε φηλητῶν ἄναξ*. The artist has made his meaning quite clear. The skin *is* a disguise. Dolon has been unmasked, and Hermes *δόλιος*, his patron, defeated. In one detail only does Euphronios differ from the *Rhesus*. The Dolon of the vase wears a helmet: Dolon in the play draws over his head the *χάσμα θηρός* in the fashion familiar to us from the representations of Herakles. Otherwise the description in the tragedy corresponds so closely with what we see upon the vase, that we must assume the existence of a common source in some tradition older even than the cylix—older, then, than the Persian Wars. And the tale itself—the spy who feigned to be a wolf—does it not appear to bear the impress of a genuine antiquity? Dolon behaves like an Indian scout. His tactics are those of savage warfare.[1]

If then we may assume that there was an ancient story in which the wolf-fell worn by Dolon was a disguise, the question next arises—was it known to the maker of K? That Dolon was sung of before Homer is entirely possible, although it may come to us with an effect of surprise to think that the *Νυκτεγερσία* is not the free invention of the poet, but embodies, it also, traditional matter. The difficulty is to find traces of the *Rhesus* version in the text of K. Perhaps one may be found in the very name of the spy. *Δόλων*, the son of *Εὐμήδης*, one assumes, must have been distinguished for some manifestation of cunning which certainly does not appear in Homer. Think of the disguise story, and the name at once acquires a pointed significance.



After Overbeck, *Gall. ter. Bildwerke*, Taf. 17, Fig. 2.

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[1] Mr. Shewan quotes from *Scouting for Boys* the remark that in America and Africa a scout is called a wolf (*The Lay of Dolon*, p. 191 note).

SOME PASSAGES OF JUVENAL.

I. 150-151.

> dicas hic forsitan 'unde
> ingenium par materiae? unde illa priorum
> scribendi quodcunque animo flagrante liberet
> simplicitas? cuius non audeo dicere nomen?
> quid refert dictis ignoscat Mucius an non?'

Editors interpret 153-4 as = simplicitas Lucili dicentis 'cuius . . . etc.' But it is in vain that they throw about their inverted commas. Lucilius never ventured on *audĕŏ*.

Is not the real remedy a gentler one? Remove the note of interrogation after *nomen* in 153, and write:

> cuius non audeo dicere nomen,
> quid refert dictis ignoscat Mucius an non?

'What does it matter whether Mucius is implacable in his resentment when the Lucilius *de nos jours* dare not name him? *Cuius* is, in fact, the relative, and the antecedent is *Mucius*.

III. 76.

> grammaticus rhetor geometres pictor aliptes.

Geometres is commonly taken as a trisyllable (*geometres*): cf. L. and S. s.v. But Juvenal eschews synizesis. Friedlaender takes the word as *gĕŏmetres*, defending it by Ausonius *Epp.* 18. 17 *gĕŏmetrica*. Yet Juvenal is ill defended by the example of an author who elsewhere gives *trigŏnum* for τρίγωνον.

Aurelius Victor (cited by Mayor), echoing our passage, has 'Graeculus appellatus est . . . potitus . . . canendi psallendi medendique scientia, musicus, *geometra, pictor*' (*Epitome* xiv. 2). Is it not possible that Juvenal wrote here:

> grammaticus rhetor ⟨que⟩, geometra, pictor, aliptes?

-que (*q.*) might easily drop out before the initial letter of *geometra*: and it couples naturally the allied professions of *grammaticus* and *rhetor*.

III. 112-113.

> horum si nihil est auiam resupinat amici.
> [scire uolunt secreta domus atque inde timeri.]

113 is rightly deleted by Pinzger. But those who follow Pinzger omit to remark the strongest of all the arguments against the line. In 112 the majority of MSS. other than *P* have *aulam* for *auiam*. Now 113 is nothing else than a gloss upon *aulam resupinat*. The interpolator understood *aulam resupinat* very much in the sense of Propertius' *totas resupinat Cynthia ualuas* (iv. 8. 58). He took it to mean 'breaks into the house' 'scire uolens secreta domus.' But if 113 is thus an explanation of *aulam resupinat* it is an explanation of something which Juvenal did not write, and therefore it does not proceed from Juvenal.

III. 128-130.

> cum praetor lictorem impellat et ire
> praecipitem iubeat dudum uigilantibus orbis,
> ne prior Albinam et Modiam collega salutet.

If Albina and Modia have been 'awake for ages' (*dudum uigilantibus*), neither the *pauper cliens* nor the praetorian *captatores* will get much credit for their *salutatio*. They will alike be late. Friedlaender supposes that *dudum uigilantibus* is inserted to show us that Albina and Modia are *old*—'alte Leute die wenig schlafen.' And it is no doubt true that old people wake earlier than young—that indeed is why our parents inculcate in us the virtue of early rising. But the race for the *salutatio* begins *nocte* (127): and we can hardly suppose our *orbae* so incredibly old as to rise before most people have gone to bed. And in any case the praetors will still be late.

The fact is that Albina and Modia have *not* been 'awake for ages.' They have been 'awake for ages' only in the fevered imagination of the praetor hurrying his lictors along. In other words *dudum uigilantibus orbis* is part of an oblique narration.

V. 104-105.

> aut glacie aspersus maculis Tiberinus et ipse
> uernula riparum pinguis torrente cloaca.

Mr. Housman notes that he, Schrader and Hadrianus Valesius, alone of men, have been perplexed by *glacie* in 104. Do fish become spotted from cold and ice? and is a sewer the most likely

place for cold and ice? The second difficulty might be got rid of by reading, with Rutgers, *torpente* for *torrente* (at 4. 43 *torrentis . . . Ponti* there is a well-supported variant *torpentis*, of the *Palus* Maeotis: but for *torrentis* cf. Lucan 3. 277 *fretum* torrens *Maeotidos* egerit undas). But *torrente* seems to be supported by Columella *R.R.* 8. 16. 4 who, speaking, like Juvenal of the *lupus*, says that Marcius Philippus would have the trained palate to despise *fluuialem lupum nisi quem* Tiberis aduerso torrente *defatigauisset* (cf. Mayor *ad loc.*). That fish become spotted owing to the action of ice or severe cold seems neither to be true in itself nor to be asserted by any ancient writer. Pliny, in Bk. ix. of the *Nat. Hist.*, has some occasional remarks upon the colour of fishes; but nothing to this effect. In fact of the *phycis* (the lamprey?) he says exactly the opposite: it becomes mottled (*uaria*) in the *spring* weather (ix. 26. 42). Now the scholiast's note on 104 is 'proprium nomen piscis.' This perhaps refers to *Tiberinus* which is certainly used as a *proprium nomen* in the passage of Galen cited here by Friedlaender. Yet *Tiberinus* as a proper noun is unsupported from any *Latin* writer, and it is possible that under *glacie* is concealed the name of a fish, and that it is to this that the scholiast's note refers. Perhaps *glanis*—a kind of shad. See C.G.L. vii. p. 486 *γλανιος *silurus* (read γλάνις, ὁ, silurus). The gender is, I fancy, always masculine: *glanis* qui *uocatur*, Pliny, *N.H.* ix. 43, 145: Aristotle, *H.A.* viii. 20. 12 *οἱ γλάνεις*: though L. and S. give γλάνις as common. The corruption *glacie* may have been assisted by iv. 42-4 *glacies Maeotica . . . longo frigore pingues* (of turbots).

VII. 104.

quis dabit historico quantum daret acta legenti?

'The slave would of course not be paid for reading this' (the *Acta*), says Mr. Duff. So too Friedlaender. Why, then, in all conscience, should Juvenal speak as though the slave *would* be paid?

But is Juvenal speaking of a slave at all? He is no doubt thinking of the *actuarii*. But does he mean more than that the historian would have more generous patrons if at his public recitations he read not his own compositions but—the Gazette? This would be clearer if for *historico* we wrote *historias*, and this may, I think, be the true reading: cf. Schol. 'qui scribitis historias.'

The scholiast glosses *quantum daret acta legenti* by *quantum datur exceptori*. It is open to anyone to say that this is not a gloss but a variant. To anyone who does not take this bold line, it is worth while to point out that not only is this gloss metrical, but if we prefix to it the last words of the scholion immediately preceding we get a perfect hexameter:

scribitis historias. quantum datur exceptori.

I call attention to this for the reason that scholars who regard this or that line in Juvenal as an interpolation due to a *scholion* are so often asked, Why should a *scholion* scan? Let them tell me, then, Why does *this scholion* scan? If it stood in *P* as part of the text of Juvenal between 103 and 104, they would defend it with the same zeal as they defend III. 113.

VII. 112-114.

ueram deprendere messem
si libet, hinc centum patrimonia causidicorum,
parte alia solum russati pone Lacernae.

What then? No doubt, so weighed in the scales, the *patrimonia causidicorum* would fly up and kick the beam. But why does Juvenal forget to say so? Why does he not go on somewhat to this effect:

inuenies centum patrimonia causidicorum
nutare, unius depressa lance Lacernae?

How easily two such lines might have been lost from our copies is obvious. That Juvenal has in his mind the image of a balance with its two scales *hinc . . . parte alia* is clear from a comparison of VI. 436-7:

inde Maronem
atque *alia parte* in trutina suspendit Homerum.

VIII. 105-7.

inde Dolabella atque hinc Antonius, inde
sacrilegus Verres referebant nauibus altis
occulta spolia.

Is it possible that in 105 Juvenal wrote *Dolabellas*, nom. sing.? *Agrippas*

is found in a *Latin* inscription in Egypt (C. I. L. iii. 14. 19): and in almost any of the provinces the Greek forms of Latin names must have been familiar to Roman ears. Inversely Juvenal has, at IX. 2, *Marsya* for *Marsyas* (taken from Horace, *S.* 1. 6. 120), and this licence is, of course, fairly common. It is found even with non-Greek names: e.g. Ovid, *Fasti* iii. 552 *Iarba*.

X. 256-7.

haec eadem Peleus, raptum cum luget Achillem;
haec eadem, cui fas Ithacum lugere natantem.

257. haec eadem *scripsi:* atque alius *codd.*

The only defence of *atque alius* is I. 10, *unde* alius *furtiuae deuehat aurum pelliculae*. Is not the true reading there *almus* (used for the Argo with a touch of contempt)?

X. 311-316.

fiet adulter
publicus et poenas metuet quascunque mariti.
lex in rete dabit, nec erit felicior astro
Martis. Vt in laqueos nunquam incidat, exigit autem
interdum ille dolor plus quam lex ulla dolori
concessit.

313 lex in rete (=īrete) dabit *scripsi:* exire irati debet *Monacensis* 408: irati debet *P:* exigere irati debet *codd. plerique*.

The law will give him into the net: and even if he escape the toils of the law, yet there are *raphani mugilesque*.

For *in rete dabit* cf. XIII. 244 *dabit in laqueum:* and for the whole passage II. 30-31 *leges reuocabat amaras omnibus atque ipsis Veneri Martique timendas*.

XI. 100-107.

tunc rudis et Graias mirari nescius artes
urbibus euersis praedarum in parte reperta
magnorum artificum frangebat pocula miles,
ut phaleris gauderet equus caelataque cassis
Romuleae simulacra ferae mansuescere iussae
imperii fato, geminos sub rupe Quirinos
ac nudam effigiem clipeo uenientis et hasta
pendentisque dei perituro ostenderet hosti.

With the grammatical difficulty in the last two lines of this passage I am not here concerned. But what in 102 is the meaning of *frangebat?* 'The soldier,' says Mr. Duff, '*broke up a* cup chased by Mentor, to adorn the trappings of his horse or his helmet with *a detached piece of ornament*.' But what were Romulus and Remus, Mars and Rhea Silvia doing upon cups *chased by Mentor?* The *magni artifices* of Greece did not habitually employ Roman themes.

The fact is that *frangebat* in 102 bears a technical meaning which seems to have escaped commentators. *Frangere*, used of works of art, *etc.*, in metal, means to destroy the shape or fashion of an object and to work it into a new shape or fashion. This may be seen at once from a single passage of Pliny, *N.H.* 33. 54. 153: *Fabricius, qui bellicos imperatores plus quam pateram et salinum habere ex argento uetabat, videret hinc dona fortium fieri aut* in haec frangi. The *rudis miles*, therefore, takes a 'cup chased by Mentor' and has the metal worked into a tasteless representation of a Roman theme (Mars is represented as going to the nuptials of Rhea Silvia *nudus*, indeed, but equipped with shield and spear—much as Lord Fauntleroy expected his grandfather to dine in his coronet).

Similarly, at XI. 18 *lancibus oppositis uel matris imagine fracta*, the bankrupt gourmet allows the bust of his mother to be fashioned into something else: he sells it as so much solid metal. In the Bodleian Fragment, again, l. 5, *uasa frangenda* are cups so polluted that washing can do them no good. The metal must be used for something else.

XII. 30-34.

cum plenus fluctu medius foret alueus, et iam
alternum puppis latus euertentibus undis,
arboris incertae—nullam prudentia cani
rectoris cum ferret opem—decidere iactu
coepit cum uentis.

As I have punctuated this passage, I would take *arboris incertae iactu* together, though *iactu=iactura* may be defended from Seneca, *Troad.* 1052 sqq. *Arboris* will then bear its natural sense of mast. *Et* in 30 will merely intensify *iam*. 37-53 are a parenthetical description of the circumstances which led to the *iactus* of the mast. The sacrifice of the mast is mentioned at the very beginning as being the climax of Catullus' peril. Then follows a description of the minor features of the disaster. And then, 53 sqq., Juvenal returns to the mast episode. For the intensitive *et* with *iam*

see *L.* and *S.* s.v. *iam*. *Alueolus iam* would be possible, perhaps, 'the crazy hold': though the diminutive is not elsewhere found in the sense of 'hold.'

XII. 80-81.

interiora petit Baianae peruia cumbae
tuti stagna sinus.

Variants in 81 are *tuti stacta, tunci stagna, tunc stagnante.* Perhaps these variants point to *Tusci* for *tuti*. Juvenal perhaps recalled Horace, *S.* ii. 2. 32-3 *amnis ostia sub Tusci*.

XII. 128-9.

uiuat Pacuuius quaeso uel Nestora {tantum / totum}
possideat quantum rapuit Nero.

For *uiuat Nestora totum* editors are content to compare Horace's *Cyclopa mouetur* (*Epp.* II. 2. 125), *saltaret Cyclopa* (*S.* i. 5. 63). But are these any more a parallel than *cantare Catullum* or *agere Thyesten* would be? Perhaps

uiuat Pacuuius quest*o* uel Nestor*e*, tantum etc.

XIV. 23-24.

quid suadet iuueni laetus stridore catenae
quem mire afficiunt inscripta ergastula carcer.

For *inscripta* in 24 *P* has *scripta*. This may be a mere blunder: for at VIII. 168 *P* has *scriptaque* for the *inscriptaque* of the other MSS. Yet it seems possible that it may point to *cryptae*. The hiatus would account for the change to *inscripta*. I would understand *cryptae* of underground dungeons. *Crypta* is used in V. 106 of a drain. But it seems suitable to any underground construction. Suetonius uses it of a 'vaulted passage' (*Calig.* 58), and in the C.G.L. it is glossed by *βαίτης=βέτης*, the cellarage of a temple (cf. Hesychius *s.v. βέτης*).

XIV. 269.

perditus {ac uilis / a Siculis} sacci mercator olentis.

Prof. Housman writes *perditus ac similis*. But (1) often as Juvenal uses the word *similis* he never uses it with the genitive, but either absolutely or followed by a dative. (2) *Similis* could not mean, as Mr. Housman supposes, *pallens* but only *olens*: and lest his critics should not know this Mr. Housman cites two passages of Martial which prove it. In '*quaeque gerit* similem *belua* nigra *Libyn*,' and in '*quaeque gerit* similes candida *turris aues*,' and in 'similis *sacci* . . . olentis' the point of 'likeness' is in respect of the quality denoted by the dominating epithet (*nigra, candida, olens*).

For *perditus* the scholiast seems to have read *foetidus* or *foetide* (unless this be a gloss upon *perlitus*). Possibly

foetide fasciculis sacci mercator olentis.

XIV. 290-291.

cum sit causa mali tanti et discriminis huius
concisum argentum in titulos faciesque minutas.

Men undergo all these dangers 'just for a handful of silver' coined into money with a tiny image and superscription on it?

But nowhere else in the world is *concidere* used of coining silver. It would be a suitable word for the *clipping* and *paring* of coins. And it could mean this here well enough if we made the simple correction

concisum argentum in titulo faciesque minuta—

i.e. coins pared round the edges (*in titulo*) and with the very image of the Caesar mutilated. For this conjunction of *concidere* and *minuere* (used in metaphor) cf. Cicero, *Orat.* 231 minutos *numeros sequens* . . . concidit *sententias*. Juvenal means, 'Just for money—and bad money at that: for the cheat is everywhere.'

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THE PAST TENSES OF THE SUBJUNCTIVE IN EXPRESSIONS OF WISH.

THE use of the past tenses of the Latin Subjunctive in expressions of wish involves a difficulty which seems to me not to have been fully faced by grammarians, nor have I dealt with it in my paper on the *Unity of the Latin Subjunctive*;[1] but I have recently been led to think that its solution may be found on lines analogous to those which I have there adopted for the explanation of other Subjunctives.

How does it come about that the Past Imperfect and the Past Perfect Subjunctive express unfulfilled wishes of the *present*, e.g. *utinam adforet Aeneas* (*Aen.* I. 575), 'would that (=I wish that) Aeneas were (now) here'; *utinam adfuisset* 'would that (=I wish that) he had been there (at some point of time in the past)?' The analogy of other uses of the past tenses of the Subjunctive would lead one to expect *utinam adesset* and *utinam adfuisset* to express a *past* wish relating to the then future, corresponding in past time to *utinam adsit*, which expresses a wish as to the future from the present point of view. Compare other uses of the Present and Past Imperfect in simple sentences: *quid agam?* 'what am I to do?', *quid agerem?* 'what was I to do?'; *malim* 'I should prefer' (='I am likely under certain circumstances to prefer'), *mallem* 'I should have preferred' (='I was likely under certain circumstances to prefer'); and similarly in subordinate clauses: *impero ut abeas* ('you are to go away'), *imperavi ut abires* ('you were to go away'). On this analogy, I say, *utinam adesset* ought to express a *past* wish—a wish which was entertained by some one in past time. Yet this is not the meaning actually found in ordinary cases. The only instances in which the Past Imperfect Subjunctive in wishes has the meaning which it ought on analogy to have are cases like Plautus, *Most.* 183, *ita ego istam amarem*, which is simply the *ita Philolaches te amet* of 182 thrown into past time, in dependence on *adiurasti*, and Horace, *Sat.* II. 2. 124, *ita culmo surgeret alto* (if, as most commentators think, this clause is to be treated as analogous to *sic te diva potens Cypri . . . regat* of *Odes* I. 3. 1). These examples, therefore, suggest no explanation as to how the usage in question came to be developed—the usage in which the past tenses denote a *present* wish that something were now or had been in the past otherwise than it actually is or was.

But these tenses become at once intelligible if they be regarded from a different point of view—as expressions of obligation, i.e. as denoting what *ought to have happened* (what was to be done), just like the past tenses in *at tu dictis, Albane, maneres* 'you ought to have abided (you were bound to abide) by your word,' *Aen.* VIII. 643, *eadem me ad fata vocasses* 'you ought to have called (you were bound to call) me to share your fate,' *Aen.* IV. 678, which correspond in past time to *hoc commentemur, mihi crede* in present time, 'believe me, we ought to meditate (we are bound to meditate) on this,' Cic. *Tusc.* I. 31. 75: the words *mihi crede* show that this is not an ordinary 'hortative' subjunctive. The close connexion between wishes and expressions of obligation is shown by the fact that one is often in doubt as to which translation should be adopted in particular instances; *tecum ludere possem*, Catull. 2. 9, and *di facerent sine patre forem*, Ovid, *Met.* VIII. 72, are, no doubt, clearly wishes; on the other hand, *obruerent Rutuli telis, animam ipse dedissem*, *Aen.* XI. 162, and *omnis per mortis animam sontem ipse dedissem*, *Aen.* X. 854, are ambiguous; they are translated as wishes by Conington (prose transl.) and Mackail; but Blase in his *Tempora und Modi* (p. 154) takes all instances in which there is no *utinam* (except Catull. 2. 9) as expressions of obligation.[2]

[1] Published by Mr. John Murray, London, 1910.

[2] In support of this view Dr. Blase (in a recent letter) appeals to the expressions of self-

From this point of view the past tenses present no difficulty. Does the explanation which I have offered involve difficulties of any other character? I do not see that it does. From Greek it receives only confirmation. What we ordinarily find in Greek for an unfulfilled wish in the present is either an expression of past obligation in the Indicative, e.g. *ἀνδρὸς . . . ὤφελλον ἀμείνονος εἶναι ἄκοιτις*, literally 'I ought to have been (=would that I were) the wife of a better man,' *Il.* VI. 350, or *εἴθε* with a past tense of the Indicative. My suggested explanation of the Past Subjunctives of Latin would also be strictly parallel to such an English expression as 'Poor Jones should have been here'='Oh that poor Jones were here.' An expression of past obligation easily passes into an expression of present obligation. The same extension of the past into the present is seen in conditional sentences, e.g. *Aul.* 742 *nam ni vellent, non fieret* 'for if they had not willed it, it would not have happened' easily passed into the meaning which it generally (though not always) has in classical Latin 'if they did not will it, it would not be happening'; cf. *Mil.* 1262 *videres pol, si amares.*

I hold then, that the original form for expressing unfulfilled wishes was a subjunctive denoting what *was to be done*, without *utinam*, as in the instances quoted above from Catullus 2. 9, Ovid, *Met.* VIII. 72, *Aen.* X. 854, XI. 162: e.g., *adesses* 'you ought to have been present.' The *utinam*, which is present in the large majority of instances, is, I take it, a later addition, made for the purpose of differentiating the two meanings of 'obligation' and 'wish.' In order to show explicitly that a sentence with the Past Imperfect or Past Perfect Subjunctive was intended by the speaker to express wish as distinct from obligation, *utinam*, which had already established itself in wishes with the Present Subjunctive (*utinam adsis*), was transferred bodily and without regard to its origin to sentences of the other type; and there it became *necessary* wherever wishes of this form had to be distinguished from expressions of obligation, though it no longer admitted of grammatical analysis as an interrogative adverb.[1] With the Present Subjunctive such analysis involves no difficulty: *utinam adsis*, originally a question, 'how are you to be present?' but equivalent in meaning to *adsis* without *utinam*; cf. the Greek *πῶς ἄν* with the Optative, an equivalent of the Optative alone. Whether the Latin Subjunctive and the Greek Optative in such questions was of 'potential' origin (i.e. denoted 'can') or not, is a question with which I need not trouble myself or my readers here. But I will add that in my opinion[2] the Subjunctive both in *adsis* and in *utinam adsis* may quite well be regarded as expressing what *is to be done*: *adsis*, 'you are to be present according to my desire'; *utinam adsis*, 'how are you to be present according to my desire?'

I find, then, in the constructions of the Latin Past Imperfect and Past Perfect Subjunctive in wishes a confirmation, so far as it goes, of my theory as to the fundamental meaning of the Subjunctive. In some expressions of wish at any rate the Subjunctive is in origin an expression of what *is* or *was to be done*, as in so many (or, as I hold, all) other uses of the Subjunctive. But it was not my object in starting on this line of inquiry to find a confirmation of my general theory: my present suggestion is based entirely upon the difficulty (on any theory) of explaining the use of the past tenses in wishes.

While I am speaking about expressions of obligation I should like to call attention to a curious instance of the 1st pers. plur. Present Subjunctive which I have come across lately. In

reproach which precede, *debueram poenas* (*Aen.* X. 853), *vivendo vici mea fata* (*Aen.* XI. 160), and compares Plaut. *Mil.* 730, *divos dispertisse vitam humanam aequom fuit; vitam longinquam darent . . . adimerent.* Ovid, *Met.* VIII. 72 (to which he adds *Heroides* 10. 133) he also takes as expressions of obligation, remarking that the sense of wish arises from the fact that *di facerent* is equivalent in meaning to *utinam.*

[1] I have assumed (with most grammarians) that *utinam* is originally interrogative; but Dr. Blase says he sees no reason why it may not be regarded as indefinite.

[2] I have given my reasons in the paper referred to above.

Pliny, *Epist.* IX. 13. 7, the writer describes how he attacked Publicius Certus in the Senate, but without mentioning his name. For a time he spoke *maximo adsensu*, but when he came to his veiled attack he was met with protests on all sides. One senator cried *sciamus quis sit de quo extra ordinem referas;* another *quis est ante relationem reus?* Now what does the *sciamus* mean? It might no doubt be translated 'let us know,' but the meaning of the word 'let' would not be that which it has when it translates an ordinary 'hortative' Subjunctive; for *sciamus* is not a request addressed to the company of which the speaker is a member. It must mean 'we ought to know,' 'we must know,' or, freely, 'tell us.' I wonder whether some reader of the *Classical Review* could supply me with a precisely similar instance.[1]

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[1] I am of course aware that some grammarians would explain this as an expression of Resolve—*sciamus* = 'we are resolved to know,' 'we want to know'—but I am sceptical as to this being a fundamental meaning of the Subjunctive, as I have explained in the paper referred to above, p. 24. Thus, for example, *maneam opinor* (Plaut. *Trin.* 1136) seems to me to mean not 'I think I am resolved to remain' (which is, indeed, strictly speaking, nonsense), but 'I think I ought to remain,' 'I think I had better remain'; *cf.* the instance quoted above from Cic. *Tusc.* I. 31. 75.

NOTES

ON SOPH. *PHIL.* 830 ff.

ὄμμασι δ' ἀντέχοις
τάνδ' αἴγλαν, ἃ τέταται τανῦν.
ἴθι ἴθι μοι παιών.

THE interpretation of *αἴγλαν* has perplexed the commentators, and few, I suppose, are satisfied with any of the solutions which have hitherto been given. In a note on Eur. *Phoen.* 950 I argued that an explanation should be sought from those passages where persons in extreme wretchedness are said to have their eyes wrapped in darkness: Aesch. *Theb.* 215 *πολλάκι δ' ἐν κακοῖσιν τὸν ἀμήχανον | κἀκ χαλεπᾶς δύας ὕπερθ' ὀμμάτων | κρημναμενᾶν νεφελᾶν ὀρθοῖ*, Soph. *O.C.* 1684 *νῷν δ' ὀλεθρία | νὺξ ἐπ' ὄμμασιν βέβακε*, *Ai.* 706 *ἔλυσεν αἰνὸν ἄχος ἀπ' ὀμμάτων Ἄρης* (with the contrast of *φάος* immediately following). Thus darkness becomes synonymous with misery, light with comfort. Fr. lyr. adesp. 139, 7 (*PLG.* iii.[4] p. 733) *τὺ δ' ἀμαχανίας πόρον εἶδες ἐν ἄλγεσιν, | καὶ λαμπρὸν φάος ἄγαγες ἐν σκότῳ, προφερεστάτα θεῶν* (*sc.* *Τύχα*). And that is the sense of *φάος* in the well-known *Ant.* 599 *νῦν γὰρ ἐσχάτας ὑπὲρ | ῥίζας ὃ τέτατο φάος ἐν Οἰδίπου δόμοις*. Although Campbell put it forward as a tentative suggestion,[1] the editors have been deterred from adopting this simple view by the consideration that it seems strange to use a word which primarily denotes light to describe the healing power of sleep. But it is really just as remarkable that Antigone (in *O.C.* 1684), after referring to the departure of Oedipus to the *unseen* world, should speak of night as closing over the eyes of the *survivors*. This shows the established character of the metaphor. There is, moreover, a strong reason why the mention of *αἴγλη* should at once import the notion of healing comfort, and prepare the way for the prayer of v. 832. Now, it is unnecessary to prove that *παιών* was an *ἐπίκλησις* of Asclepios; but it is perhaps less familiar that he was also known as *αἴγλη*. Thus in a remarkable series of glosses to be seen in Bekk. *anecd.* p. 354, 15 ff. (partly recurring in Suid. *s.v.* *αἴγλη*), we find *καὶ παιδιά τις ἐκαλεῖτο αἴγλη· καὶ ὁ Ἀσκληπιός*. There may be some who will not credit this statement, although it goes back to the respectable authority of Pausanias the

[1] See also Professor Platt in *Classical Quarterly*, v. p. 25 f.

Atticist (ed. Schwabe, p. 95). But there is other evidence of the connexion. Hesych. i. pp. 25, 70 gives Ἀγλαόπης and Αἰγλαήρ as epithets of Asclepios, and Αἰγλήτης (cf. Apoll. Rhod. 4. 1716) as an epithet of Apollo (also a Healer). According to Isyllus, *Paean* D 10, 19, Asclepios was the son of Αἴγλη and Apollo. According to Hermippus (Schol. Ar. *Plut.* 701), Αἴγλη was his daughter. And this was the common view: see *carm. pop.* 47, 13 (*PLG.* iii.⁴ p. 678) τοῦ δ' ἐγένοντο κόροι Ποδαλείριος ἠδὲ Μαχάων | . . . ἠδ' Ἰασὼ Ἀκεσώ τε καὶ Αἴγλη καὶ Πανάκεια | Ἠπιόνης θύγατρες σὺν ἀριπρέπτῳ Ὑγιείᾳ. She was included in a painting of Asclepios and his daughters mentioned in Plin. *n. h.* 35. 137. Aristides (i. p. 79 Dind.), who is addressing the Asclepiadae, points out the significance of the list—ὑμῶν τε αὐτῶν καὶ ἀδελφῶν, οἷς Ἰασώ τε καὶ Πανάκεια καὶ Αἴγλη σύνεστι καὶ Ὑγίεια, ἡ πάντων ἀντίρροπος, Ἠπιόνης δὴ παῖδες ἐπώνυμοι: and shortly afterwards he makes the remarkable statement ἀεὶ δ', ὥσπερ ἀνθρώπῳ σκιά, φῶς ὅποι κινεῖσθε ἕπεται. Thus light has become a symbol of healing. Thraemer (in Pauly-Wissowa ii. 1657) thinks that Aigle owes her name to the similarity of the concepts health, light, and brightness; and compares εὐαυγὴς Ὑγίεια in the Paean of Ptolemais. Is not all this enough to show that αἴγλαν was an apt prelude to the invocation of παιών? I should only like to add that the explanation may perhaps be implicit in the scholia: τοιαύτην δὲ αἴγλην, ἥτις νῦν τέταται, ἀντέχοις <εἰς> τὰ ὄμματα, λέγει δὲ τὸν ὕπνον τὸν λεγόμενον καὶ <παιῶνα> αὐτῷ παραχρῆμα ὡς ἔστιν αὐτῷ αἴγλη καὶ φῶς.

A. C. Pearson.

ON *ACHARNIANS* 1093.

ὀρχηστρίδες, τὰ φίλταθ' Ἁρμοδίου, καλαί.

The Harmodius was so prominent a feature in an Athenian banquet that the phrase 'to sing the Harmodius with' was a synonym for 'dining with.' V. *Acharnians* 980, οὐδὲ παρ' ἐμοί ποτε τὸν Ἁρμόδιον ᾄσεται. It is therefore quite inconceivable that the opening words of this skolion, φίλταθ' Ἁρμόδι', should occur in the enumeration of the delights of a banquet and yet refer to something different from the skolion. On the other hand, to regard the οὐ as part of the title with Mr. Starkie is to give the line a burlesque effect quite inconsistent with the gravity of the occasion!

If it is conceded, as it must be, that the skolion in question is named, it would naturally be expected, especially as a climax is expected, that this particular banquet is to be characterised by an Harmodius of special excellence. What this special excellence was may be inferred from the procedure. The μυρρίνη was passed, according to Schol. on *Vesp.* 1222, unexpectedly (ἀπροσδοκήτως) to one of the guests, and the recipient was expected to δέχεσθαι τὸ σκόλιον καλῶς (*Vesp.* 1222), and of course ὀξέως. Any slowness or stupidity would tend to make the game flag, and would create an awkward pause endangering the success of the entertainment. The excellence of a skolion was therefore μὴ χαλᾶν.

I suggest the reading

ὀρχηστρίδες, τὸ φίλταθ' Ἁρμόδι' οὐ χαλᾷ.

τὸ needs no defence. χαλᾷ involves merely the change from ΚΑΛΑΙ to ΧΑΛΑΙ, and may be either (1) present, referring to the future in animated language, 'There'll be no hanging fire in the Harmodius,' or (2) possibly the only instance of an *Attic future* of χαλάω. For the finite verb in the list of nouns compare 1091 above.

χαλῶν would be neut. sing. nom., 'no hanging fire in the Harmodius.'

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ON HORACE, *CARM.* 4. 5. 1.

Divis orte bonis.

It is to be hoped that Mr. Sloman cannot make good his contention that the ablative here is one of origin, since this would convict Horace of a pointless address unparalleled in the *Odes*. In saying that this construction gives an excellent sense, Mr. Sloman seems to ignore the context. Divine descent has no relation to those powers and

qualities of Augustus which Horace here celebrates. In fact, some descendants of gods receive from the poet epithets by no means complimentary.

Mr. Sloman says that *orte* is left 'standing blankly alone' as a 'bald address.' The blankness and baldness is to be got only by divorcing the word from *divis bonis*, and that divorce seems to involve a false view of the 'ablative which is called absolute.' But for this unfortunate name no one would doubt that this ablative is as capable as any other of standing as an adverbial adjunct.

Mr. Sloman does not make it clear whether he holds that no vocative participle can stand with such an adverbial adjunct as we have here or that the participle *ortus*, as here used, requires an ablative of origin. In the former case one may cite Ovid, *Met.* 8. 455, *O modo nate*, where the adverb seems a sufficient parallel to *divis bonis*. In the latter case one may cite Ovid, *Met.* 9. 26, *per dedecus ortum*, where *ortum* is used exactly in the sense of *natum*.

Mr. Sloman says that on the usual interpretation there is no parallel in Horace to the form of the address. It may be replied that on his interpretation there is no parallel to the substance of the address. The introductory line of the *Odes* is a proper place for a mere compliment, and the first line of 3. 29 is a natural corollary at the end of the collection. Every other dedicatory vocative in the *Odes* either is an unqualified name or refers directly to the subject of the poem. Of Milton's sonnets six have this kind of dedication. Of these six one is an unqualified name; the other five—one of them imitated from Horace—refer to the subject. Mr. Sloman would find it difficult to convince Milton that Horace in this matter ever sank below his standard.

JOHN SARGEAUNT.

ON HORACE, *CARM.* 4. 5. 1.

Divis orte bonis.

MAY I give my reasons for holding that the traditional interpretation of these words is correct? It does not seem to have occurred to Mr. Sloman that the obvious translation is 'sprung from benignant gods,' and that there must therefore be strong grounds for such a consensus of opinion in rejecting this interpretation.

To say of a person that he was *natus dis iratis* (*inimicis*, *adversis*) was a recognised method of calling attention to his ill-fortune—*e.g.*, Juv. 10. 129, Plaut. *M. G.* 314, Phaedr. 4. 19. 15, and the opposite of this is *ortus* or *natus divis bonus*, the word *bonus*, 'propitious,' being used almost in a technical sense of the gods. *Sat.* 2. 3. 8 *iratis natus paries dis* is ample justification for taking *divis bonis* as abl. abs.

Mr. Sloman says 'the most weighty argument against A [*i.e.*, the abl. abs.] is that it leaves *orte* standing blankly alone,' but I think this is a mistake. It is one thing to write *orte* alone for 'son' or 'descendant,' quite another to write *divis orte bonis*, 'born when heaven was propitious,' *orte* being here qualified by *divis bonis*.

Mr. Page says in his note, 'Others render sprung *from* benignant gods,' and adds, 'perhaps Horace purposely uses a phrase which suggests both ideas' —which may very well be the case. However, as a matter of taste alone, it appears to me that 'born when heaven was propitious' is much more pointed than the other rendering. With all respect to Mr. Page, I do not concur in his rendering 'born by the favour of heaven.' The allusion, I think, is rather to the time or circumstances than to the fact of Augustus' birth.

R. C. SEATON.

ETYMOLOGICAL NOTE.

Apple (Russian jabloko), derived, according to Miklosich s.v. jabloko, from malum Abellanum, from Abella in Campania, cf. pfirsich from malum Persicum.

Viverra, a ferret, Slavish vêvera: not found in the Romance languages: the skin and name of the animal, or of one similar, came according to Miklosich s.v. vêvera from the north, from a Slavish tribe. This animal, some kind of martin, must have been identified by the Romans with the ferret, which is a

native of North Africa, and was employed to keep down the rabbits which infested Spain (see Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen und Hausthiere*, p. 372).

Blastus, described by the grammarian Maro (p. 82, Huemer) as an ogre. Can this word be connected with Βλάσιος, as Maro affirms? Miklosich derives it from the Slavish word Volosu, the Slavish shepherd god.

Grādivus, from the root *gra*, meaning to shout; cf. Slavonic igrá, play or dance; so that Gradivus will mean the shouting deity.

Felis meant in the first place some kind of weasel used by the Romans for a cat, which was unknown to the Romans till the third century A.D. This word is the origin of the modern French word *belette* which is wrongly explained by Brachet as a diminutive from *bellus*.

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REVIEWS

LATIN AND GREEK IN AMERICAN EDUCATION.

Latin and Greek in American Education. Edited by FRANCIS W. KELSEY. Pp. x+396. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1911.

SCHOLARS on this side of the Atlantic who are fighting the battle of the Classics in School and College will welcome these energetic and encouraging papers. America has preceded us on the road which leads to the abandonment of Greek and Latin in education; and it is satisfactory to find that many of the best heads in America are discovering that this broad road leads, if not to destruction, at least to an inferior level of culture.

In reading these collected papers one discovers the reasons why the anti-classic tendency has been so potent in America. Apart from the violent aggression of the fanatics of physical science, of whose writings the book contains some delightful specimens, the main cause is impatience. Parents are anxious that their sons should have teaching directly leading up to their professional work in the world. And the sons themselves, who seem in America to have the chief direction of affairs, are eager for studies of which they can see the fruit. Partly, the decay of the Classics is a result of the prevalent co-education, for it is generally found that when women crowd into a pursuit, men crowd out of it; and thus the flooding of the arts courses in American Universities by girls has made the men disposed to seek training elsewhere. Besides this, granting the postulate of most modern education that learners should never be set to do what they do not want to do, it is easy to understand that the glamour of physical discovery and of mechanical invention dazzles the youth of America, and makes them indisposed to spend time on Latin grammar or Greek literature.

According to Professor Kelsey's statistics, Greek is suffering much more than Latin. In 1889-90 of Latin students one in eight was studying Greek, in 1903-4 only one in twenty, in 1909-10 only one in thirty-eight. Yet from the point of view of culture Greek literature is more important than Latin; and if Greek went, Latin would be sure to follow.

Mr. Kelsey's contributors do not usually distinguish the two languages in their arguments, but dwell broadly on the value of a classical training as a foundation for education. The Physicians, who come first, naturally point out that the very language of medicine is not intelligible without classical knowledge. But the great point is, according to Dr. Vaughan, that classical training promotes a habit of close observation, of attention to detail, of alertness of mind, which is of inesti-

mable value to a doctor. Americans may be glad to know that the Regius Professors of Medicine both at Oxford and Cambridge are ardent philhellenes.

The Engineers, who come next, are also insistent on the value of classical mental training; but in particular they insist on the great advantage to an engineer to be able to think with exactness, and express himself with precision. Professor Sadler brings forward an argument which will appeal to the most narrowly practical mind: 'It is an everyday experience that the origin of most lawsuits in engineering, especially in cases of interpretation of a specification or in patent suits, may be traceable directly to some idea loosely or inadequately expressed. The English speech . . . requires a background of training in the humanities.' Probably in America this danger is even more pressing than it is in England. The President of an American University told me that the want of power of expression was the greatest obstacle to be overcome in his college; this is not unnatural, since in America the speech of everyday differs from formal writing more than it does with us; and thus the need for linguistic study is greater. Professor Patterson throws scorn on the attempts to provide in school and college knowledge directly of use in engineering. Professor Williams concludes: 'I am warranted in saying that I could have better spared any other course that I took in high school than the Latin.'

The lawyers and theologians who contribute papers have an easier case, classical study is so obviously necessary in their pursuits. We are told however that one chief reason of the retroceding of the Classics in education is the shrinking in the number of candidates for the ministry.

It is likely to have some weight in America that the defence of the Classics is also taken up by some noted 'men of affairs': to them at all events the youth of America will listen. And it is very interesting to have from this quarter also protests against the abuse of the elective system, complaints that the path of study is made too easy and smooth; even a panegyric of Latin and Greek just because they are aloof from daily life and set up an ideal standard. It appears to me that experience justifies the view that even as a training for business the Classics are efficient. On both sides of the Atlantic the position of Head of great colleges and institutions is very apt to be filled by a Classic. Quite recently the Newcastle College of Science robbed Oxford of one of her most brilliant Classical tutors to find a successor to Heads who were adepts in physical science. And several Heads of business firms in England have sought for classically trained men. The Civil Service in India is largely composed of such.

Besides the expressions of opinion as to the value of a classical training, Professor Kelsey's volume contains several excellent papers on the history of classical teaching, on its psychological justification, and on the best way to bring out its virtue in actual teaching. Especially good is the paper of Professor Paul Shorey, well known as one of the best Greek scholars in America, who writes worthily of his reputation on 'The case for the Classics.' He shows a thorough mastery of the whole subject, and seems to have read almost everything written about it (except, I fear, my own modest contribution in *Oxford at the Cross Roads*). The following is worthy of attention: 'Information, knowledge, culture, originality, eloquence, genius may exist without a classical training; the critical sense, and a sound feeling for the relativity of meaning rarely if ever. I have never met in private life or encountered in literature a thinker wholly disdainful of the discipline of the classics who did not display his deficiency in this respect.' Professor Wenley also contributes a powerful paper. He puts the essence of the matter thus: 'The classics illustrate, not the surface play of momentary events, so often mistaken for history at present, but the constitutive operation of the human spirit, the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever. They reveal the quintessential motive-force of significant achievement; they lay a steady finger upon the permanent factors of civilisation, brushing aside the petty nine days' wonders.' That is

why in these days of democracy, of restless bustle, of motor-cars and flying machines, the Classics have become more necessary than ever. No smattering of science, no talking of modern languages, no short cuts to knowledge, can take their place. And it is quite true, as one of the writers before us observes, that if the Classics go, the Bible will go too, nor will even Dante and Milton be far behind. The horizon of the ordinary man will grow narrower and narrower, and he will be more and more at the mercy of the visible. There will probably be an immense difficulty in stemming the tide in America. But anyone open to conviction must needs be influenced by the mixture of experience and reason put together by Mr. Kelsey.

P. GARDNER.

VARIA SOCRATICA.

Varia Socratica. First Series, by A. E. TAYLOR (St. Andrew's University Publications, No. IX.). 1 vol. Pp. iv. + 269. Oxford: James Parker and Co. 1911. 7s. 6d. net.

THIS book—sharing herein some of the characteristics of its hero—is a very remarkable and also a very disturbing one. Like him, *ποιεῖ ἀπορεῖν*, and like him also it might be compared to a *νάρκη θαλαττία*, but for a different reason, because of its capacity not for benumbing but for imparting an electric shock. From the Foreword we learn that it is 'only the first half of a collection [of Essays] which the writer hopes to complete in the course of a few months,' and this work, again, 'is designed to be merely preparatory to another on the interpretation of the Platonic Philosophy.' As the matter grew, the author 'found it increasingly impossible to exhibit what in his conception forms the very soul of the special *πραγματεία* of Plato, and to discriminate, so to say, what is Platonic in Platonism from what can be shown to be the *depositum fidei* transmitted from Socrates.' The present volume, then, is to render an account of this *depositum*. Of the projected sequel we may at once say that we look forward with extraordinary interest and curiosity to the further development of his views by a writer whose claims to our keenest attention have already been established within this special sphere by his well-known articles in *Mind* and his wonderfully concise and suggestive little manual on *Plato* (1908). The delay in the completion of his greater work need cause no wonder when we consider the scope and variety of the materials in the present instalment. The five essays are entitled in their order 'The impiety of Socrates,' 'The Aristotelian Socrates,' 'The *διισσοὶ λόγοι*,' 'The Phrontisterion,' and 'The words *εἶδος*, *ἰδέα* in pre-Platonic literature.' The last (and the most valuable, in our opinion) is in itself a monument of fruitful industry, giving, as it does, an exhaustive history of these all-important words up to the limit indicated, and sometimes beyond it, in the case of Isocrates and the Orators. We will now state the main thesis which forms the thread of connexion running through the whole, and which contains the startling element hinted at above. It is that Socrates was not what has commonly been supposed, that is, to put it at its lowest and from the author's point of view (p. 129), 'a commonplace moralist of the marketplace' (which we can only cap with '*In der Beschränkung zeigt sich erst der Meister*'), but the central figure of a 'Pythagorean or semi-Pythagorean' group, a figure whose portrait as drawn in the Platonic dialogues is 'in all its main points strictly historical,' so that to him is attributable the 'conception of *φιλοσοφία* as an ascetic discipline . . . leading through sainthood to the attainment of everlasting life, the stress laid on the *μαθήματα* as a vehicle of spiritual purification, and the doctrine of the eternal things, the *ἀσώματα καὶ νοητὰ εἴδη*, as the true objects of knowledge' (abridged from Foreword, ix, x).

What the remnant will be that will represent 'what is Platonic in Platonism' we cannot, of course, know till the completion of Prof. Taylor's work, but if the startling proposition just enunciated is true, it will follow, as he says, that 'the whole of what passes in the current text-books as the orthodox account of Socrates and the "minor Socratics" will have to be rewritten.' Startling, but not necessarily wrong. It is all a matter of evidence, for, as the reader will see, it is a purely historical, almost a biographical, question. But here the reviewer finds himself in a difficulty. The whole subject is involved in the most intricate detail, for the author's views are subtle and far-reaching, and he possesses, and brings to bear on the subject, a very wide and scholarly acquaintance not only with philosophical but with general Greek literature and with the minutiae of Greek history. We do not think that all this varied matter is equally relevant or very thoroughly digested, but it is out of the question to attempt any adequate criticism here. We can only take a very few points in detail—for everything turns on the detail. In the first essay on the 'impiety of Socrates' the contention is that the famous *καινὰ δαιμόνια* refer to the 'foreign rites' of Pythagorean societies with whom Socrates was in 'an intimate connexion, probably amounting to "intercommunion"' (p. 22). *Εἰσφέρων* in Xenophon (*Mem.* I. i. 1) and *εἰσηγούμενος* in the indictment as quoted by Favorinus (*ap.* Diog. Laert. ii. 5. 40) are both taken to mean explicitly 'importing' from abroad; so also *τοὺς κομίσαντας* or *εἰσαγαγόντας τὰ εἴδη* in Aristotle (p. 6, footnote). Now with regard to one of these four words, and precisely the one which in general seems to be most closely associated with foreign imports, it is easy to show that it could also mean 'to introduce'—from earth, from heaven, from anywhere, even from 'home'—by the single line

οἰκεῖα πράγματ' εἰσάγων, οἷς χρώμεθ', οἷς ξύνεσμεν (*Frogs*, 959).

The rest of the evidence, when sifted and analysed, seems to come to this: Plato and Xenophon say nothing about Pythagorean rites, because it would have been fatal to implicate their hero 'in unlicensed and probably discreditable foreign rites.' We admit that this is violent condensation: a mass of general probabilities is also urged. The real reasons for the purely negative and dialectical fence which Socrates undoubtedly adopts in *Apology* 27*b sqq.* (rebutting a charge of general 'atheism' which was not in the indictment) seem too complex to be dealt with here. But what of the positive assertions in Plato and Xenophon that *καινὰ δαιμονία* referred to the well-known 'sign'? Xenophon 'is uncandid if he intends to put it [this statement] forward as a suggestion coming from himself.' We cannot dally with the arguments for converting what we had considered a simple-minded piece of Boswellism into a tissue of prevarications and dark suppressions of the truth, only lighted up by the stupidity which occasionally exposes them. But Plato does make Socrates say (incidentally and somewhat late in the speech, we grant) *ὅτι μοι θεῖόν τι καὶ δαιμόνιον γίγνεται [φωνή], ὃ δὴ καὶ ἐν τῇ γραφῇ ἐπικωμῳδῶν Μέλητος ἐγράψατο.* 'But the warning *δή* should of itself suggest that the pretended explanation may not be altogether serious' (p. 14). Truth, as Renan has said, may often reside in a *nuance*, and this is certainly the case where *εἰρωνεία* is concerned, but is not the 'irony' here (it seems to be rather sarcasm) sufficiently explained by the absurdity of 'hypostatising' the divine influence (or call it 'voice') into 'new and strange deities'? Again, much is made of the Pythagorean affinities of the *Phaedo* group. We grant the affinities both of *personnel* and of thought between the *Phaedo* and Pythagoreanism, but a wrong impression is given as to the actual proportion of the Pythagoreans to the whole group on p. 18 (where, by the way, there seems to be something wrong in the wording which includes Echecrates with Simmias and Cebes among 'the minor group of interlocutors'), and in any case between associating with foreign Pythagorean friends and 'intercommunion' with them there may

surely be a vast difference. We will add one general consideration. How far is the new view of Socrates as a member of a close religious association, whose tenets he was mainly engaged in handing on to his successors, consistent with the impression of his sturdy independence and originality of mind and character which we derive from all our authorities alike?

The foregoing makes no pretence at anything but picking a fault here and there. It is a mere sample of what might be said on the other side, and gives the merest sample, too, of the contents of the book. But we cannot refrain from recording the general impression resulting from that part of the argument which deals with the main historical and personal issue, and from a review of the 'evidences' therefor. It resembles nothing so much as the feelings of a belated traveller, who, in endeavouring to find a short cut across a bog, is tempted on from one green and spongy piece of treacherous foothold to another—must we add, in the present case, with a will-o'-the-wisp to beckon him on? But, as already implied, the book covers in a discursive manner a vast range of cognate subjects. From the Eleatics to Aristotle every school of Greek philosophy is brought under contribution somewhere. In particular the author associates himself with the views as to the Pythagorean affinities of the εἴδη set forth by his colleague, Prof. Burnet, in his standard work on the *Early Greek Philosophy*, which is repeatedly quoted. It may be said that the present volume extends and adds to the evidence and arguments contained in that great book in favour of carrying the antecedents of the εἴδη, but not, we think, the Platonic conception of them, further back than the traditional view allowed of. We may note such striking discoveries as that the term ποιότης was not invented by Plato in the *Theaetetus*, but is found in the Hippocratean corpus (p. 220), and the remarkable similarity of phraseology between some passages in the same work and Platonic ideology (pp. 214, 215). Apart from the main historical issue, the present writer is glad to find himself in general accord with the view as to the place of Socraticism and Platonism in the development of philosophical and religious thought throughout the ages, which the Epilogue sets forth in noble language. The volume is well printed on good paper, but lacks an index.

W. J. GOODRICH.

VERÖFFENTLICHUNGEN AUS DER HEIDELBERGER PAPYRUS-SAMMLUNG.

Veröffentlichungen aus der Heidelberger Papyrus-Sammlung. IV. I. Ptolemäische Homerfragmente: herausgegeben und erklärt von DR. PHIL. G. A. GERHARD, 1911.

IN the year of grace 1897 the Granddducal Government of Baden purchased a quantity of papyri from the German Vice-Consul at Cairo, who had himself bought them of a native dealer. Portions of them, Biblical, Coptic and Arabic, have already been published. The present volume contains two Homeric fragments, a second will include other Greek literary pieces. No undue haste therefore has been shown; la papyrologie (étrangère) a de ces longueurs. This perhaps is also the reason why the book is so big; 120 pages for about 225 new lines of Homer is excessive. So is the price, 16 marks. If the author had reduced his commentary to the brief apparatus which would have been sufficient, and included all the early fragments (Petrie, Geneva, etc.), a useful little corpus would have been the result. This, however—with the remark that the facsimiles are very dim and, in the interest of the editor's eyes it must be hoped the originals are clearer—is all the criticism I have to make. The editor has been very diligent, and the new readings are extremely interesting.

The two new fragments were found, it appears, at El Hibeh, and form a

part of two MSS. of the *Iliad*, portions of which were published at different times by Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt (I call them for shortness 𝔓 7 and 𝔓 12). The new fragments fit on to the old with great exactness. 𝔓 7 and 𝔓 12 are themselves different books, Dr. Hunt informs me. I notice a few of the readings.

The first fragment (𝔓 7) covers Θ 180-202*b*.

Θ 196 *sqq.* *εἰ τούτω κε λάβοιμεν ἐελποίμην κεν Ἀχαιοὺς*
αὐτονυχὶ νηῶν ἐπιβησέμεν ὠκειάων.

The last line is different in 𝔓 7, and a new line follows:

197]ς νηων ἐπιβη[
197*a*]υς μαλα γαρ κε[

That is in 197 *αὐτονυχίς*, which is quoted from Theognostus *An. Ox.* II. 163. 17 *αὐτονυχίς· λέγεται δὲ καὶ αὐτονυχίδης καὶ αὐτονυχί.* The form is presumably, though not certainly, late. In 197*a* we are reminded of Θ 353 *ὀλλυμένων Δαναῶν κεκαδησόμεθ' ὑστάτιόν περ.* Perhaps *μάλα γὰρ κεκαδήσονθ' ὅσσοι ἀρωγοί*, meant ironically. At the beginning we read, naturally, *ὀλλυμένους.*

After 199 *σείσατο δ' εἰνὶ θρόνῳ ἐλέλιξε δὲ μακρὸν Ὄλυμπον* we have another new line

]μφοτεραισι ε[

where *χερσὶν δ' ἀ*] is obvious, as the editor says. Complete the line *ἕλε χθόνα πουλυβότειραν* from *ρ* 272.

202 the vulgate has

ὀλλυμένων Δαναῶν ὀλοφύρεται ἐν φρεσὶ θυμός

with no sign of insecurity. This is now given by 𝔓 7, which has

]αργειων ολοφ[

We are referred at once to Θ 353 *ὀλλυμένων Δαναῶν κεκαδησόμεθ' ὑστάτιόν περ*, where the alarm was long ago sounded by Ven. A with its *γρ. ἀργείων.* But there is more evidence, which I regret was not printed in either of the Oxford editions. I can only say that when one compresses material into a small compass it is difficult to know what will turn out to be useful. The evidence is: *ἀργείων δαναῶν* V1 V32
γρ. δαναῶν
ὀλλυμένων ἀχαιῶν Ang. V 29. This shows that the variant in Ven. A implies *ἀργείων δαναῶν*, which stands unchallenged *θ* 578. The consequence to the present passage is not clear, but increased probability is given to Bekker's view that *Ἀργείων Δαναῶν* was original everywhere. The variants, metrical and unmetrical, were due to boggling at this ancient political name. (I have endeavoured to explain it *C.Q.* 1907, 97). I expect therefore 𝔓 7 had *ὀλλυμένων ἀργείων* and that this was the original of Ang. V 29 also. *Ἀχαιῶν* there was a first attempt towards metre.

The second fragment (𝔓 12) begins at Φ 302. Φ 307 vulgate *ὑψόσ' ἀειρόμενος*; 𝔓 12 has a reading of which only *παντο . . . ν* at the beginning is certain. *Παντόθεν ἐξελθὼν* Ed.; perhaps *παντόθεν ἐγρόμενος*, cl. H. Apoll. 408.

στες

Φ 371 *οσσον οι αλλοι*] *π*[*αντες οσοι τρωεσσιν αρωγοι.* The word superscribed is perhaps *ἄνακτες* = *θεοί*, a late use which induced Zenodotus to alter *μ* 290.

Φ 378 over this line which is non-vulgate an annotation is superscribed. We expect to find the vulgate alternative. Wherefore *προ*]*σε*[*φω*]*νει σπ*[*ερχομένη περ*] is inevitable, though the editor says *προσεφωνει* is impossible.

αι

X 111 *καταθείομαι* vulg. *καταθειομεν* 𝔓 12. The evidence on the parallel passage *τ* 17 is *g* U 6 (this is in print).

X 130 *εὖχος* vulg. *κυδος* 𝔓 12. M 130 is parallel, as the editor says, but even at X 130 *κῦδος* is in L 6 L 8 M 8 U 5 V 15. This, I regret to say, is not in print.

Ψ 122 for *ἑλδόμεναι πεδίοιο* vulg. 𝔓 12 has *π*[ ]*ι πεδιονδε.* The editor suggests *πρήσσουσαι*; perhaps *πλισσόμενοι*, which reproduces the rhythm of the vulg.

Ψ 124 *Μηριόνης θεράπων ἀγαπήνορος Ἰδομενῆος* vulg.]*ιτρος θεράπων* 𝔓 12, *i.e.* *ὀτρηρός.* *τ* has got out of place, and the sign over it ('etwas wie V über dem *τ*') perhaps recalled it to its place.

Ψ 128 *sqq.* Here 𝔓 12 departs from the vulgate and expands it. We read in our texts

127 *αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ πάντῃ παρακάββαλεν ἄσπετον ὕλην*

εἶατ' ἄρ' αὖθι μένοντες ἀολλέες· αὐτὰρ Ἀχιλλεὺς
αὐτίκα Μυρμιδόνεσσι φιλοπτολέμοισι κέλευσε
χαλκὸν ζώννυσθαι, ζεῦξαι δ' ὑπ' ὄχεσφιν ἕκαστον
ἵππους· οἱ δ' ὦρνυντο καὶ ἐν τεύχεσσιν ἔδυνον,
ἂν δ' ἔβαν ἐν δίφροισι παραιβάται ἡνιόχοί τε.

℘ 12 in 128 substitutes Αχαιοις for Ἀχιλλεύς, and its 129 begins with κέκλετο. The editor by reading Ἀχαιοῖς | κέκλετο [Μυρμιδόνεσσιν ἐπότρυνέν] τε μετελθών introduces a second case of Ἀργεῖοι Δαναοί, which in the interests of history is to be deprecated. Other fillings of course are possible, *e.g.* κέκλετο [Πηλείδης αὐτός, εἶπεν] τε. Here the trouble begins. ℘ 12 gave a description of both the fuel-seeking expedition and the funeral pageant. Homer has a briefer account. Instead of 130 we have merely νου at about the 5th foot. As λούουσι is somewhat easier to deal with than λύουσι we might try οἱ δ' ἐπὶ μὲν πείθονται ἄφαρ λούουσι δὲ[. What an Achaean would wash the lexica do not say clearly. Countryfolk wash their waggons (δ' ἀπήνας), but all we read is that Patroclus oiled and washed a horse: so perhaps δὲ πάντα. Under νου in a new line is νξ, perhaps part of ζεῦξαι, below which an end of a line ας εκελευσε, perhaps ἀπειλήσ]ας, below this again τε εντ (*i.e.* τεύχεα ἔντο).

Ψ 156 *sqq.* may run thus:

κλά[ων τοι καὶ ὀδυρόμενος φίλε]
λαὸς Ἀχαιῶν
ἀᾶται· σὲ δὲ φημὶ κελευέμ]εν ὅττι τάχιστα
ν[ῦν ἀπὸ πυρκαιῆς ἰέναι ἵππους τε] κο[μίσσαι.

I offer ἄᾶται as an Alexandrian perfect, but ἔσχε κόρον gives the sense.

158. ιμ. may represent ἴφθιμον ἑταῖρον, in 158*a* ν may represent δεῖπνον ἄνωχθι.

Ψ 244 θείομεν εἰς ὅκεν αὐτὸς ἐγὼν Ἄϊδι κλεύσωμαι (vulg. κεύθωμαι) This is a very interesting contribution. The extraordinary form κλεύθωμαι is recognised by the scholia and was even approved by Aristarchus: the ancients derived it from κέλευθος. The MS. evidence (not given fully by Gerhard) was hitherto as follows: κλεύθωμαι Ven. A κελεύθωμαι Gf βλείωμαι Mon. 111 Pa Pe (*p*): that is to say, the form was confined to a set of MSS. having some connexion with Ven. A, both in text and contents (the excerpts from Proclus): on the other hand it is absent from E 4 (Escorial 509 Ω I. 12 s. xi.), an early member of the family. The still more extraordinary βλείωμαι (apparently a development of κλεύ[θ]ωμαι) is absent from Holkham 263, otherwise a brother of Mon. Pa Pe (*p*). Hence everything about the word was mysterious; now at all events we know that κλεύθεσθαι existed in the third century B.C.

The two Heidelberg fragments possess the same general characteristics as the other papyri of this period, the addition and also the omission of lines. The editor contributes a judicious introduction, in which he notices the views which have been taken of the relation between these Egyptian texts and the vulgate. The question demands the inclusion of a great many factors, and is too wide for the limits of a review.

T. W. Allen.

LEGRAND'S *DAOS*.

Daos: Tableau de la Comédie grecque nouvelle. Par Ph. E. Legrand. Paris: Fontemoing, 1910.

It was inevitable that the new Menander should inspire some critic to discuss the New Comedy again; and Legrand has done it with the clearness and scholarship which we expect from France. All that could be wished in the matter of analysis is to be found here; we wish nothing away, but we wish something added. Characters, structure, plot—all are discussed: but there is so much about the parts that no room is left for the whole. No doubt this is partly Fate's fault, in keeping Menander from us; but it does seem to me that the *Epitrepontes* gives a new sense of Menander's dramatic skill. The scene of the rustic's dispute is admirable; but it is so simple that its power seems to have been generally missed. Nor is this scene alone; and

much remains yet to be done for both Plautus and Terence from the stage standpoint.

The author of course depends largely on Roman comedy for his material. He describes what parts of the Old Comedy the New Comedy has rejected —a Middle Comedy, by the way, he regards as a figment. And thus he takes the component parts. Each type is described separately: foreigners and countrymen, sycophants and parasites, professional types, slaves, the family, the lover, and individual creations like Simon in the *Mostellaria*, Demeas in the *Samian*, Demophon in the *Phormio*, and Chremes in the Heauton Timorumenos, with our friend Daos, who gives his name to the book. Next come the incidents, drawn from all departments of life; manners, psychology, language. The second part of the work analyses the structure of the plays, the action and the solution of knots, stage conventions, the formal division into acts. A third part deals with the objects of the New Comedy, its comic and pathetic elements.

The New Comedy does not paint a pleasant picture of family life. There would seem to have been little filial affection; wives as here drawn could not have been companions for an intelligent husband, whilst the best of the courtesans certainly could. It is odd, indeed, that so much should be said of affection between young lovers, who generally marry, and so little of affection in wedded life. Ignorant, shrewish, and jealous, the wife is an unattractive character. But Legrand gives a shock to our pre-conceptions when he says that the plays are not always drawn from life; often they appear to be drawn from some prose tale, and they owe much to their predecessors on the stage. He draws a remarkable parallel between the *Miles Gloriosus* and a tale in the *Arabian Nights*; but although the machinery may be borrowed anywhere, as Shakespeare took his, the humanity may be true enough. The Miles himself is a case in point. Captain Braggadocio, or Ancient Pistol, was a type common enough in Greece amongst the soldiers of fortune; but the Miles is an exotic in Rome. Much that seems unreal in the Latin drama may seem so because it has been taken out of its proper place; again I must say that the new Menander seems to my mind to be quite natural. Indeed, the traveller who knows Greece will often meet with scenes that remind him of the ancient theatre. Legrand finds the psychology of the plays true in the main, if it is sometimes sacrificed to raise a laugh. What will not a comedian do to raise a laugh? On the whole, also, the incidents are those of daily life; but the plots, of course, as in our own plays and novels, are not always things of every day. *Great Expectations* is no less entrancing that its plot could not have been true once in a century.

That the language is that of every day could not have been proved from the Latin translations, but the new fragments surely make that clear. For one thing, the absence of conjunctions, and particles, and the simple syntax are very striking. As always in the best literary tradition, the plays do not reproduce the grammatical blunders of the ignorant: anything like Kipling's Cockney verses would have been an outrage to a Greek, if any Greeks ever talked in a style anything like so vile as the Cockney. But apart from this, the language is not above the characters; and with the comic licenses, the verse does not shackle it at all.

The actors seem not to have been limited to three; if that rule was ever kept, Menander did not always keep it, nor did the Latins, although their clumsy habit of contamination may well confuse us here. Probably the theorists have outrun practice here, as they have done many a time and oft; as the French critics did for the unities, two of which they in fact invented; and as, following them, scholars continue to do for the Greek tragedy.

Such are a few of the topics that Legrand has discussed. Whatever learning could do to make his work complete, has been done; and the student cannot fail to profit by it. In fact, it will be an indispensable book of reference for those who read Latin or Greek comedy. We now await the æsthetic critic.

W. H. D. Rouse.

CAESAR'S CONQUEST OF GAUL.

Caesar's Conquest of Gaul. By T. Rice Holmes. Second edition, revised throughout and largely rewritten. Clarendon Press. 24s. net.

Mr. Holmes' volume is agreed to be the best book on its subject in any language. Every Latin scholar and historian will rejoice that, twelve years after its first issue, this admirable work reaches its second edition. It has been revised throughout, rewritten, enlarged, abridged, and in the net result greatly improved. It has grown about thirty-five pages in length and (what is less pleasant) nearly a pound in weight; it has also passed into the hands of new publishers.

If the book were an ordinary treatise, this review might end here. But one hesitates to dismiss an important and in every sense weighty volume without the compliment of some shreds of criticism, even though it is in its second edition and (as its author observes in his preface) the views set forth in the first edition have seldom been altered. Perhaps I may notice two points on which Mr. Holmes has somewhat changed, and which have an interest both for me, as a former critic of Mr. Holmes, and for the ordinary, unprejudiced, reader.

The first concerns Caesar's places of embarkation for Britain. In 1899 Mr. Holmes started Caesar on both voyages from Wissant. In 1907, in his volume on Caesar in Britain, he came round to the view (which I have always upheld, ever since I visited the Itian district and examined its literature long ago), that both voyages began at Boulogne. Now he takes a third view, that the first starting-place was Boulogne, the second Wissant, and he supports this, as my readers may know (*C. R.* May, 1909), by the argument that on his second raid Caesar could not have got his large fleet out of Boulogne harbour within the required time. But I am glad to detect sentences on p. 438 which allow that something can still be urged for Boulogne, while the case for Wissant seems to assume geological changes which, however probable for the neighbourhood of Calais, seem somewhat uncertain in their exact effect on Wissant. For the present and with full consciousness of the difficulties of the problem, I shall still venture to plump for Boulogne.

The second matter concerns the Druids. The common view of the Druids is that they formed a leading national priesthood. The actual fact is that, throughout Gallic history till Roman abhorrence of magic and human sacrifice had outlawed them, the Druids never once—not even in the universal rising of 52 B.C.—took political action as Druids for or against Rome. This fact requires some explanation which the common view does not provide. M. Jullian suggested that Caesar *a laicisé à outrance*, that is, omitted all record of clerical patriotism. That is not convincing. Mr. Holmes, in his British volume, suggested that Caesar bribed the Druids to inaction and naturally omitted to mention his secret service-money. That again is not convincing, and in the present volume it is tacitly dropped. Now, Mr. Holmes, if I understand his sentences aright, approaches nearer to the view which I have ventured to put forward, that the Druids were a non-political priesthood who knew and taught strange lore and magic and may be roughly compared with the Roman augural colleges. He seems inclined, indeed, to attribute their inaction to the fact that they were drawn from many often disunited Gaulish tribes. But that does not account for 52 B.C., nor would it have wholly hindered political action at other times, as indeed M. Jullian observed, unless the corporation had been otherwise non-political. To that conclusion I think we must ultimately come.

Mr. Holmes concludes his preface with the melancholy remark that his book in its present form may be regarded as final. He does not expect to have 'time or inclination' to make further changes in a third edition, and he thinks that 'we shall never know much more about Caesar in Gaul than

we know to-day.' I would observe in respect of this, first, that there is no finality in the revision of a work which, like this, is crowded with multitudinous detail. Accurate as Mr. Holmes is, there still remain *corrigenda* to be gradually set straight. Thus, on p. 473 his inquiry into the boundaries of the Senones ends with a postcript in square brackets which mentions a milestone found in 1877, but at first overlooked by him. The date of this milestone (A.D. 259) is miscopied; its text is mistranslated and its geographical evidence, so far as I can see, is inverted. So again the accounts of the Coriosolites (Mr. Holmes now adopts the best spelling) on pp. 415, 842, contain one or two errors of fact, omit decisive orthographic evidence, and seem to me to state the geographical problem rather obscurely. No one would blame Mr. Holmes for any such flaws; everyone would wish to see them removed when a suitable occasion comes.

And secondly, I do not in the least believe that 'we shall never know much more about Caesar in Gaul than we do now.' No archaeologist would admit that. Despite Colonel Stoffel's achievements, it is practically true to say that the archaeological exploration of Caesar's campaigns in Gaul—and, for that matter, in Britain also—is hardly begun. We may have to wait for that exploration beyond Mr. Holmes' lifetime and mine. But, if it comes sooner, Mr. Holmes will have plenty of matter for a third edition for scholars and historians to praise and to use.

F. HAVERFIELD.

PELHAM'S ESSAYS ON ROMAN HISTORY.

Pelham's Essays on Roman History. Collected and edited by F. HAVERFIELD. Pp. xxiii + 328. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911. 10s. 6d. net.

IN this stately volume, which is a joy to the eye, Professor Haverfield has gathered together various papers on Roman History, written by his predecessor in the Camden Professorship, and prefixed a biographical note. The volume is intended not merely to serve as a memorial of an Oxford teacher of high repute, but also to fill some of the many gaps in the English literature of the subject. That it fills them worthily is not open to doubt.

The preliminary appreciation is an excellent piece of writing, admirable alike in taste, in style, and in judgment. Unsullied by adulation, it gives what seems to us a sober and just estimate of Pelham's gifts and of his work in raising the standard of historical investigation in England, and in encouraging and organising historical studies. Such a memoir has a real value not only for professed scholars, but for all true friends of learning.

Of the articles included in the volume all but three have already been published in scattered places, not all easy of access; and all but two are concerned with the Empire. The majority of them are expositions of various aspects of Imperial policy, including the frontier system both in general and in detail. Two are reviews of the character and general policy of the Julio-Claudian emperors and of Hadrian. Two deal with agrarian matters: the State pasture-lands, and the Imperial domains and the colonate. Others discuss constitutional problems and questions of organisation. There is also a survey of discoveries at Rome from 1870 to 1889, and an early article on the chronology of the Jugurthine War.

Those who have heard Pelham lecture will recognise his voice throughout in the measured sentences, marked by what the editor fitly calls a singularly apt diction, in the lucid logical arrangement of the material, and in the well-balanced judgments. The style is remarkably uniform and always severely judicial: it never rises to passion—though in truth the subjects seldom admit of it—and those who take up the volume in hope of amusement will be disappointed to find none of those lively touches and piquant comments which have endeared Mommsen's History of the Republic to generations of readers.

In writing, as in lecturing, Pelham too rigorously excluded such seasoning, but the lack of it will not impair the appreciation of the serious student.

Most of the essays are well known to scholars, and hardly call for comment now. But it is a boon to have them collected within the boards of a single volume. Younger students will be specially grateful for easy access to the essay on the German *Limes*, and for the excellent map by which it is now illustrated; and older scholars will find some interesting information in an appendix contributed by the editor on the Indian Customs' Hedge, a modern parallel to Hadrian's palisade, which Pelham adduced with that happy faculty of apt illustration which enabled him to invest ancient institutions with living reality. The most important of the unpublished articles is that on the home policy of Augustus (pp. 89-151), of which we have hitherto had no good account in English. It is a fragment of the long-expected *History of the Empire*, which, unhappily, was never achieved. Taken in conjunction with the review of the early Emperors, it sharpens to poignancy our regret that Pelham failed to realise his plan, and fill for us the gap that Mommsen left unfilled. Professor Haverfield explains why he failed. His reasons are adequate. But one passage in his statement surprises us. After remarking that the task which Pelham had undertaken was in itself extraordinarily difficult, and was being made harder year by year by the progress of archaeological discovery, he goes on to say: 'It was no disgrace to falter where Mommsen feared to tread. If his greater German contemporary had to leave one single chapter of his fourth volume with the motto:

Gerne hätt' ich fortgeschrieben
Aber es ist liegen blieben,

we shall regret, but we shall not blame the Oxford scholar because he achieved little' (p. xv). If that really was the reason why Mommsen never wrote the missing volume of his History, we may well despair of ever seeing a great History of the Empire: who shall hope to succeed in a task before which a giant recoiled? But we take refuge in scepticism: we have heard a more plausible reason, and we venture still to hope—against hope—for the appearance of a *rara avis* with the gifts, the knowledge, the energy, and the courage to attempt the task. His success will be transitory, but an attempt at synthesis is imperatively demanded,

νικᾷ δ' ὁ πρῶτος καὶ τελευταῖος δραμών.

The editing of the volume leaves little to be desired. But references might have been more consistently given to Dessau's selection of inscriptions, to later editions of such books as Friedländer's *Sittengeschichte*, and to more recent work on some of the subjects treated—for instance, the social legislation of Augustus or the Roman Colonate. Round the latter a forest of literature has grown up since Pelham wrote.

J. G. C. Anderson.

SCHULZE'S *ROMAN ELEGY*.

Römische Elegiker. Eine Auswahl aus Catull, Tibull, Properz und Ovid, für den Schulgebrauch bearbeitet von Dr. K. P. Schulze. 5te Auflage. Pp. xvi + 408. Berlin: Weidmann, 1910. M.3. 40.

The increase from 354 to 408 pages in the bulk of this anthology, and the fact that the last edition is now eleven years old, may excuse a notice, brief though this must be. Whether enlargement has improved the book for school use in an 'Obersekunda' it is not for us to say. Anyhow, the appendix of 36 pages, with its mass of references and citations, is more likely to be of utility to English scholars than to German schoolboys. For the benefit of those among the former who do not know the work already it may be noted that the selection, on the whole a judicious one, comprises 29 extracts (mostly non-elegiac) from Catullus, 11 from Tibullus,

33 from Propertius, and 19 from Ovid's *Amores*, *Tristia*, and *Ex Ponto*. The editor is well known as a zealous and methodical student of Roman erotic verse, and the book forms a useful supplement—from a 'conservative' standpoint—to larger commentaries (*e.g.* Rothstein's Propertius) on the passages selected. The revision might have been better done. A few examples from notes on a single poem of Tibullus, in which the editor could have gone right had he chosen, will show this sufficiently. Tib. 1. 1. 3 *terreat*. A note has now been added on the mood. But it is not easy to see how the discomforts of military service can be 'the natural consequence' of amassing riches and acquiring landed property, nor how Hor. *c.* 1. 1, 13; 31, 11 or Homeric constructions with ὅπως and ἵνα bear upon *quem-terreat*. 4 *classicum* is not used by good authors for the instrument with which the *classicum* (signal) was sounded. This is now obvious from the collection in the *Thesaurus sub voce*, though its compiler offers the absurd suggestion that the noun to be supplied with the neuter adjective is *cornu*. 5 *Me mea paupertas uita traducat inerti*. In previous editions *me mea* was annotated as follows: 'V. 7, ips*e se*ram. v. 8 po*ma ma*nu; apparet hunc poetam elegantiam quandam putasse esse in eiusdem syllabae continuata repetitione, ut constet hoc non casu sed dedita opera factum: Muret,' to which was added the remark that words of the same kind ('gleicher Art') gravitate to one another ('streben zueinander'). With the observation of Muretus before us (an observation by the way which should be of use to more than one scholar of the present day) one might have supposed that the similar words were '*me*' and '*mea*.' But the new edition continues: 'On this principle is based one of the commonest figures in the conjunction of words in elegy—the connexion of two attributes belonging to different substantives which the substantives follow. Pronouns also are arranged in the same way, Adj. (1), subst. (2), subst. (2), Adj. (1).' What the 'principle' is, and what bearing it has on the first part of the note, will puzzle a reader to determine. Can he be blamed for suspecting that the comment is meant not for the order *me mea* but for the order '*mea* paupertas uita *inerti*'? Eight lines below is another case of unfortunate grafting. In 13 *et quodcumque mihi pomum nouus educat annus* the explanation of *annus* as 'season' (translated 'die Jahreszeit') and the two illustrative citations, Verg. *G.* 2. 516 *sqq.* and Hor. *carm.* III. 23. 8, have been taken from another commentary; but the previous interpretation 'novus annus = ver; the opposite is extremus annus' is left standing in spite of the witness of the two passages (the Horace is 'pomifero graue tempus anno,' *i.e.* autumn). We are thus left with the statement that the spring months *ripen* ('reifen lassen') *fruits*. Dr. Schulze seems to be fond of linguistic and etymological notes, by no means always correct, *e.g.* on p. 101 *uro* is connected with *auster* and χειμών with χέω and on p. 176 *placare* is said to bear the same relation to *placere* as *salvare* to *salvere*. From the references in Walde's Latin Etymological Lexicon p. 710 he will find that he has still all to learn about *operari* and *operatus*.

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A COMPANION TO LATIN STUDIES.

A Companion to Latin Studies. Edited by J. E. Sandys, Litt.D., F.B.A. Pp. xxxv + 891. Cambridge University Press. 1910. 18s. net.

The long-expected companion volume to Mr. Whibley's compilation (*Companion to Greek Studies*, reviewed in the *Classical Review* for December, 1905) has at length appeared, under the editorship of the Public Orator. Like its predecessor, it does credit to the material resources of the Cambridge University Press. The excellence of its paper and type forms a striking contrast to many current handbooks,

and in its nearly 900 pages we have detected but three slight misprints. But its size and weight render it even more unwieldy than Mr. Whibley's book, which is 200 pages shorter. Despite rigorous compression, it really far outsteps the limits of a single volume. Though the table of contents has been to some extent rearranged, the subjects of the various articles closely follow those in the *Companion to Greek Studies*, and the general aim is the same: viz., to provide under each head such a résumé of present knowledge as shall state the main facts, and lay down the best lines for further study to a sixth-form boy, an undergraduate reading for the classical schools, or even to a scholar of maturer years who has not specialised in that particular branch. A critic competent to judge all its sections in detail would be χαλκέντερος indeed; and the contributors must often have felt themselves caught between Scylla and Charybdis; unable at the same time to instruct the tiro and satisfy the specialist; forced either to be incomplete or to be dull. No doubt a mean in these matters is attainable, but it is small blame to the writers if not all have been able to hit it. Such a book satisfies a want—a want artificially created, it may be, by our examination system. It cannot be a great book or an inspiring book, just as a skeleton cannot be made an attractive or an aesthetic object, though its use may conduce to scientific instruction; but granted that it is to be written, Dr. Sandys and his collaborators have attained a reasonable measure of success

Some of the articles are frankly dull catalogues, notably that on Fauna by Dr. Keller; the corresponding Flora by Sir W. Thiselton-Dyer is a little more attractive, quoting largely as it does from the poets. Dr. Sandys' *History of Latin Scholarship*, compressed from his larger work, is little more than a string of names. Dr. Reid's Chronological Tables are no improvement on the general run of such lists. He adopts the traditional date for the Gallic capture of Rome in defiance of his own arguments on p. 111; records the 'first plebeian dictator' under both the years 356 and 327 B.C., and by a curious confusion, notices under 140 B.C. the birth of '*L. Antonius* (*sic*) Crassus the orator.' But the most unsatisfying sections are those on Literature. To give an adequate account of so large a subject in the compass of 93 pages is an almost impossible task. Dr. Verrall, in his section on Poetry to the end of the Augustan age, openly abandons it, and gives us a few disjointed remarks on points which seem to him of importance; some of these, such as his criticism of the *Metamorphoses*, are acute and penetrating; but the result is entirely wanting in sense of proportion. Professor Summers' account of the Post-Augustan poetry is commonplace, and does not atone for its brevity by any special point or insight; Dr. Sandys, to whom the prose-writers are assigned, succeeds better; he accepts the necessity of supplying a mere catalogue, and he attains his object, with a copious but rather capricious use of small print—why should Cassiodorus be accorded a larger type than is conceded to Seneca? The result is as learned as Teuffel, and two or three degrees more readable.

The use of illustrations, again, is somewhat inconsistent. There are no maps, though one of Italy was surely needed to accompany Dr. Sandys' section on Italian Geography—a section which succeeds admirably in giving a vivid picture of the country, especially of the localities famous in literature and story; and two, if not three, maps are imperatively required by Mr. Henderson's Alphabetic List of Provinces. The plan of Rome (p. 35) is confusing to the eye, and misplaces the Via Nova; on the other hand, that of the Forum (p. 46) could hardly be improved upon. The illustrations under the headings of Art and Epigraphy are full, and in the main clear; those under Palaeography are hardly adequate, and those under Private Antiquities far too few; while there is no plan of a Roman Camp, though the text can hardly be understood without one: as it is, no mention is made of such ordinary technicalities as *porta praetoria*, *p. principalis dextra*, and *p.p. sinistra*, and the difficulty of reconciling the various ancient accounts of the subject is not

so much as hinted at. This is all the more striking as a whole page is taken up with the description and illustration of a *catapulta*.

Dr. Ashby's account of the Topography of Rome suffers from compression; it is highly technical and labours under the necessity of assuming propositions which he has no space to prove or explain; but it covers the ground well. Mr. Warde Fowler's articles on Roman Religion are highly readable, and give as thorough a survey of the subject as his space allows him, but he concentrates (as he himself admits) on the public aspects of the Roman cult rather to the exclusion of the private. We wish he could have added his projected section on the Oriental worships, and expanded that on the Imperial. And is it too much to hope that he will some day essay a task on which even his latest book does not touch—the attempted correlation of the ancient religion of Italy with the ascertained facts of its ethnology? With all her eccentricities, Miss Harrison has deserved well of us by making a similar effort on the Greek side. The sections on Private Antiquities are sometimes rather thin, especially that on the Position of Women, and as a general account of Roman private life we prefer Dr. Tucker's recent work, handicapped as he is by his omission of all Latin words and references. In the matter of references the *Companion* is itself sparing enough, compared with, *e.g.*, Ramsay and Lanciani's *Manual*, but the Latin words are given constantly, with an irritatingly capricious supply of marked quantities, which give the book a childish air.

Roman Art, especially when considered apart from Greek art under Roman influence, is a subject intrinsically less interesting than that of the sister nation; but Mr. Wace's article on Sculpture may be unreservedly commended, while those on Architecture and Painting are brief, but to the point. The main facts of Roman philosophy are restated in a readable, and not too technical, section by Mr. Hicks. Medicine is well summarised by Dr. Payne, but the account of Roman Science is so short as hardly to be worth insertion. Dr. Sandys' article on Epigraphy is, within its limits, masterly; Dr. Postgate's on Textual Criticism is an admirable summary, in which the chief points are laid down with great clearness, but it does not go nearly so deep. A similar remark applies to Dr. Giles' contribution on the Italian Languages. Dr. Verrall on Metre brings out the important point that Roman poetry was always intended to be read aloud, and we shall be only too thankful to point composers of hexameter verse to his analysis (pp. 833-4) of Vergilian rhythm. But versifiers, as well as poets, are born and not made, and we can hardly hope to effect any great revolution in the monotony of 'Moderations' hexameters.

Mr. Alton writes upon the Army, interestingly and on the whole adequately, though with some curious omissions—*e.g.*, he never mentions, much less describes, the *agger* as an item in siege-operations, and his account of a triumph is strangely thin. On p. 482 he seems to imply that the Social War preceded the Marian reforms in the army. Mr. Tarn, on the Navy, is unorthodox in his views of the Roman man-of-war, but he does not conceal the fact, and takes his readers frankly into his confidence. He rightly lays stress on the importance of the naval struggles of 37-36 B.C. The articles on Finance (Mr. Stevenson), and Industry and Commerce (Mr. Bosanquet) are in thoroughly capable hands; while the latter's account of Roads and Travel is in every respect admirable; we have only one addition to suggest, viz. an account of the process whereby the famous 'Roman Roads,' even now in use among us, were originally prepared. Mr. Henderson's exposition of the Municipal, Colonial, and Provincial systems is clear, thorough, and well-proportioned. We especially commend his remarks on the general principles of Roman imperial administration (p. 394). But we do not understand his reference (p. 384) to a colony at Agrigentum in 300 B.C., and we wish that he had said something (p. 400) on the relation between the Provincial Councils of the Empire and the earlier *Communia*, such

as that of Sicily mentioned in the *Verrines*.

The articles on Chronology, on the Constitution, and on Law are assigned to Dr. Reid. The first-named states the problems to be faced, without doing more than adumbrating a solution of them; it is indeed doubtful whether we shall ever be able to see the difficulties which confronted the earliest Roman chronologers, so thoroughly have they confused the issues for us. But we know no clearer treatment of the subject in English than Dr. Reid's. (In passing we may remark that we cannot understand the two top lines of p. 91.) Any account of the Roman constitution must bristle with disputed points, and though he has reduced these to a minimum, Dr. Reid has not altogether escaped them. With his defence of the general position of Ti. Gracchus against many of his modern traducers we most heartily agree: to accuse him of 'furbishing up a rusty weapon from the constitutional armoury' is pedantry or partisanship. But the view expressed (p. 284) of the position of a *civis Romanus* in the provinces, as safeguarded by the *leges Porciae*, is open to grave question, as any reader of Dr. Greenidge's *Legal Procedure* knows; the vexed question of the relation of *quaestores aerarii* to *quaestores parricidii* is slurred over, and there are some sheer slips, such as the assigning of M. Antonius' command against the pirates to 102 B.C. (p. 271). But on the whole Dr. Reid's method of arrangement commands our sympathy, and his exposition is clear and concise, and tells the student just what he wants to know. Of his résumé of Roman Law we speak with a layman's diffidence: it is frankly intended, not for the legal student, but for the general reader of Roman literature, and we can testify that it has interested and illuminated ourselves, and we tender our best thanks accordingly to the author for his unconventionality; particularly will the ordinary student be thankful for his illustrations of the theme that legal technicalities are necessary to the understanding of many of the finest passages in Latin literature. Here, too, are slips: the *lex Aelia Sentia* is ascribed to A.D. 4 on p. 307, but to 4 B.C. on p. 304; so the ascription of Cicero to the *tribus Arniensis* (p. 251) contradicts Mr. Marshall, who (p. 174) follows the ordinary view and assigns him to the *Cornelia*.

We have left to the last the most original, the most interesting, and the most disputable article of all, that of Professor Ridgeway on Italian Ethnology. The professor's style is very provocative; even in his section on Money (p. 447) he treats as 'certain' a theory which is not more than probable; and he fails to see that the conclusion of a series of 'certain' deductions of this sort may be very far from certain. His selection of arguments and illustrations would do credit to a barrister, and his bibliography omits Mr. Peet's *Stone and Bronze Ages in Italy*, while recording that the second volume of his own *Early Age of Greece* appeared in 1910; we only wish it had! But we feel in these pages, as we feel nowhere else in the book, that here is no stagnant record of past achievement in human knowledge, but an actual living movement. We have neither the space nor the specialised knowledge to discuss Professor Ridgeway's theory in detail; we welcome his combination of literary and archaeological evidence; but he has failed to convince us on several important points; we doubt, indeed, if ethnological questions can be settled by working back from the historical period, rather than forward from the earliest known remains in the peninsula. Professor Ridgeway's statements as to the manner of burial of the *Terramare* folk are in direct contradiction to those of most Italian archaeologists, and he slurs over the almost overwhelming evidence derived from the similarity of those artificial lake-dwellings to a Roman camp. If the Roman patricians and plebeians were of fundamentally different race—a theory not improbable in itself, but contrary to the weight of ancient evidence, on which the professor elsewhere relies—it would surely be the patricians, not the plebeians, who determined the military system; and on his theory it is the plebeians who are to be identified with the people of the *Terramare*, while the patricians

are Sabines. And we much doubt whether the sturdy plebeians of the early books of Livy would have thanked Professor Ridgeway for the suggestion (p. 30) that their fidelity to the marriage tie was less to be relied on than that of their oppressors.

We do not doubt that this book will serve a useful purpose for some years to come, as it surpasses its only English rival alike in the breadth of the subjects treated and in its readable quality, while in clearness of print and handsomeness of appearance it is infinitely superior.

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PERSII IVVENALIS SVLPICIAE SATVRAE.

Persii Iuuenalis Sulpiciae Saturae post Francisci Buecheleri iteratus curas editionem quartam curavit Fr. Leo. Berlin: Weidmann. 1910. M. 3.40.

DR. LEO'S revision of Bücheler's Persius and Juvenal is an important work. While adhering to the main lines of Bücheler's recension, the new editor has not only added much new material, including several ingenious conjectures, but he has advanced a novel and highly illuminating theory with regard to the text of Juvenal, of which all future editors will have to take account, and which has every appearance of being true. The arguments are given in two papers in the *Hermes*.

As regards Persius, the chief innovation is that the readings of a Laurentian eleventh-century MS., first published by Ramorino, have been added to the apparatus criticus. This MS. is, in Dr. Leo's opinion, the best representative of the third group of MSS., which preserve an early tradition, independent of that of the two leading groups—the Pithoeanus (*P*) on the one hand, and on the other the Montepessulanus (*A*) and the MS. of the Vatican Capitular Archives (*B*). From this third group the true reading is often recovered where the two leading groups are corrupted. Thus the apparatus is more complete than that of Bücheler. A further improvement is that the Vatican Archives MS., whose readings hitherto have been imperfectly known, has been collated afresh.

The Choliambi have been replaced at the beginning of the text, and are printed as two separate wholes—(1) lines 1-7, (2) lines 8-14. As Persius left his satires incomplete, and they were published posthumously with slight corrections by his executors, Dr. Leo sees in the Choliambi two separate fragments on two distinct themes—(1) that Persius does not claim to be a poet; (2) that poverty induced him to write. These fragments or studies, complete in themselves, the poet's friends found among his literary remains, and, judging them worthy of preservation, prefixed them to the satires by way of introduction. Dr. Leo holds that they should stand at the beginning rather than the end, on account of the words 'ipse semipaganus ad sacra uatum carmen adfero nostrum,' which express a genuine dedication.

The text of Juvenal has undergone a complete revision. The lines recovered by Winstedt are printed in their place in Satire vi. The readings of the Paris MS., discovered by C. E. Stuart, which is closely akin to *P*, and those of the Ambrosian fragment discovered by Ratti, are recorded. The readings of another Paris MS. (*G*), and the Urbinas (*U*), and the Oxford MS. (*O*), which stand apart to some extent from the great mass of MSS. of the Vulgate tradition, and often approximate rather to *P*, are also given: and the Urbinas has been examined afresh.

The special novelty of the book lies in the fact that Dr. Leo recognises and makes out a very good case for a double recension of Juvenal's Satires. The lines recovered by Winstedt in Satire vi. are the basis from which he starts. Recognising their obvious genuineness, he regards them as the original version of the poet in the edition which he published in his lifetime. The shorter version of the recovered lines, which stands

in the ordinary texts at vi. 346-348, 'audio—uxor,' belongs, in Dr. Leo's opinion, to a posthumous edition, which was prepared after the poet's death by some literary friend, who had access either to the poet's revised manuscript or to some material left by him. This attractive theory derives support from the fact that there are traces of the same thing in other parts of the text—e.g. in the two lines recovered after vi. 373, 'mangonum—relicti.' I cannot follow Dr. Leo through all the passages to which he applies his theory. Two examples will suffice. The lines, viii. 6-8, 'quis—magistros,' Dr. Leo regards as the original version of the beginning of the satire, lines 1-5, 'stemmata—carentem,' as the poet's revised version. An editor welded the two together. Again he treats in the same way the vexed passage viii. 121-124. The original version, he thinks, was—

curandum in primis ne magna iniuria fiat
fortibus et miseris. tollas licet omne quod usquam est
auri atque argenti: scutum gladiumque relinques:

the later version—

curandum in primis, ne magna iniuria fiat
fortibus et miseris: spoliatis arma supersunt.

The two versions were combined later ('Die Erweiterung ist gewiss jung,' *Hermes* xliv. 611) by the insertion of the words 'et iaculum et galeam.' Here I am not perfectly convinced by the reasoning. The words 'et iaculum et galeam' seem to me no mere stopgap. The four typical arms of the soldier are purposely mentioned — two defensive and two offensive; and they are arranged not at haphazard, but in the order of chiasmus, which figure Juvenal, like other Latin poets, affects. There is force in the enumeration of the catalogue of arms: like a list of Dreadnoughts paraded in a newspaper, it suggests caution to the would-be oppressor. And the burden of the passage is summed up in the finely-cut epigram 'spoliatis arma supersunt,' which in this position is Juvenal all over; for his manner is thus to resume and conclude with an epigram (cf. xi. 208, 'uoluptates commendat rarior usus').

If Dr. Leo's attractive theory of a double recension be adopted, I am inclined to go a step further, and to suggest that many of the variants found in the Vulgate group of MSS., which while differing from the readings of *P* are perfectly good Latin, are due to this cause, and are to be regarded as the poet's own alternatives rather than alterations of grammarians. Such variants as the following might be thus accounted for: vii. 100, 'namque oblita modi'; 139, 'ut redeant ueteres'; ix. 26, 'quod taceo atque'; x. 310, 'nunc ergo specie iuuenis'; and perhaps the name 'Damasippus' for 'Lateranus' in viii. 147, 151, 167.

Among Dr. Leo's conjectures that at xiv. 269 is brilliant:

quam tu, Corycia semper qui puppe moraris,
atque habitas, coro semper tollendus et austro,
perditus assiculis.

The conjecture 'assiculis' is based on the reading of the Vulgate MSS., 'a siculis.' The reading of *P*, 'ac uilis,' is difficult to explain. 'Assiculus,' diminutive of 'assis,' or 'axis,' means a plank. The meaning is: 'You who spend your time aboard a ship trading to Corycus, and live a venturesome life in a cabin of planks.' 'Habitas,' thus taken with 'assiculis,' is forcible, whereas, joined to 'moraris,' as it usually is, it has little meaning. The conjectures 'id magnum' for 'in magno' (xi. 148), 'aspice, sumendast' (xii. 61) 'et ouo' for 'ouato' (Pers. ii. 55), 'ut stringas' (v. 110), are less convincing.

I have noticed a few mistakes. In the list of symbols to Juvenal 'vestuti' should be 'vetusti.' Pers. i. 8 note should read 'Romae ϕ' (the reading is found in eleventh-century MSS.); ii. 10, the reading of *P* is 'patruũ.' Juv. iii. 18, 'prestantius,' not 'pprestantius'; iv. 96, 'iam' P^2, not *P*; vi. 592, omit 'e fortasse suppuncta.' This is not so. viii. 123, *P* had, I think, 'relinques'; x. 46, omit 'ut uidetur': there is no doubt. x. 88 should read 'adstricta ω.'

S. G. Owen.

Christ Church, Oxford.

SHORT NOTICES

PAPYRI GRACI BEROLINENSES.

Papyri Graeci Berolinenses: W. Schubart. P. F. de' Cavalieri and I. Lietzmann. *Specimina Codicum Graecorum.—Tabulae in usum scholarum.* Bonn: Marcus and Weber. 1910, 1911.

These books are part of a series planned for schools: their moderate price brings them within reach of all. Of course they can hardly be used in ordinary class work; but if a few be kept in the classroom, an hour or two now and then will be well spent in showing the pupils what Greek writing was like. The Greek MSS. include pages of the *Codex Vaticanus* of the Bible, and several others from the Vatican of dates from the fifth to the tenth centuries; followed by others of various dates and styles, some theological and some classical. The selection is somewhat arbitrary, being drawn mostly from one collection, but it shows the different styles of writing well. Difficult pieces are transcribed, amongst them scholia; in most cases references are given. In this respect the volume of papyri is better. It has a pamphlet in a pocket, in which a great deal of the matter is transcribed. This selection is drawn from only one library, and hence does not contain the oldest or the most beautiful specimens of papyri. We can see that both books might have been improved; but both will be highly useful. The forthcoming numbers of the series are likely to be no less so.

W. H. D. R.

A Mexican-Aryan Comparative Vocabulary. The Radicals of the Mexican or Navatl Language, with their Cognates in the Aryan Languages of the Old World, chiefly Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, Germanic. By T. S. Denison, A.M., Author of *Mexican in Aryan Phonology, The Primitive Aryans of America.* 8vo. Pp. 110. Chicago (163, Randolph Street), T. M. Denison. 1909.

Although Mr. Denison's statements are not always made in a scientific manner—e.g. the statement that *Sanskrit 'ç (k)' is nearly always hard before 'a, o, u,' soft before 'e, i'*[1] leaves one wondering to what chance the cases when Sanskrit ç (k) is not hard before *a* are ascribed—the plan of his work is not altogether unscientific. While we may allow that many of Mr. Denison's derivations are in themselves very plausible—e.g. *conetl, 'child'*[2]*; Skr. jan, jáyate, patlani, 'to fly'*[3]*; Skr. pat 'to fly'; páttra 'wing,'* it must be remembered that it has been shown again and again that comparison of single roots is not sufficient to establish a connexion between two languages. The danger of this method of comparison is clear when we see how frequently a Mexican word may be derived with equal ease from two different roots—e.g. *teputzli, 'metal, iron, bronze'*; (1) *tetl, 'stone' + puztli; Skr. bhrāj, 'to shine'; Gk. φλέγω, 'flame'; Lat. fulgur, 'lightning'; Eng. bleach? 'shining stone'*; (2) *tap, tápati, 'to burn'; glow + us, oṣati, 'to burn, glowing hot.'*[4]

The use of prosthetic vowels again makes identification perilously easy. Mr. Denison makes small use of *'a,'* but very frequent use of *'i'*—e.g. *icucic, 'ripe, cooked'; icucic atl, 'hot water'; Skr. çus, çúṣyati, 'dry up'; i prosthetic; or ic + usic; Skr. us-man, 'heat.'*[5] Indeed, Mr. Denison heads the entries under 'I' with this note: *'I' is so often prosthetic that I have not deemed it necessary to repeat the statement except in doubtful cases.*[6] Glide sounds are also frequently introduced—e.g. *yetic, 'heavy,' y + eti + c; Skr. áti, 'excessive'; y 'introductory glide.'* In *yez huahuacatl 'y' is an 'euphonic glide.'* There is no mention of correspondence between important word-groups, such as the numerals or words of relationship in Mr. Denison's introduction. In looking for the numerals in the vocabulary we find *Mex. ce, cem, 'one'; Aryan sem; Lat. sem-el.* So far, so good; but what of the other numerals? *Mex. ome, 'two,'* is not mentioned; nor is *ye, ei, 'three'*; nor *naüi, 'four'*; nor *chic ome, 'seven.'*

[1] P. 21, 10. [2] P. 36. [3] P. 64.
[4] P. 75. [5] P. 43. [6] P. 42.

We are, however, given six, and seven is made on the same principle. The entry is *chica ce 'six,' chica 'the increment after five'; as macuilli, 'handgrasp + ce, one = six.' Skr. adhika, plus 'redundant.'* (Mr. Denison does not comment on the loss of the initial 'a' of adhika here.) Evidently the numerals are not connected.

The change from *dh* to *ch* in *chica* bring us to an inconsistency in the vocabulary. Under Dentals[1] we have: *The only dental is 't': 'tz' is a development from 's'; 'dh, d' develop 'ch' before 'i, e, u' as chiva 'do' from Skr. dhā; and 'tz' as in tzicauastli, 'a comb,' dhṛ; choloa, 'to run,' túrati* (what inference is to be drawn from these last two is not clear, as Skr. *d, dh* are in question). In accordance with this rule in the vocabulary we find *chinoa*, 'burn'; Skr. *di*, 'shine.' But why have we *tiuhtli*, 'eldest sister'; Skr. *duhitar*; or *ticatla*, 'midnight'; Skr. *diç. teotl, teutl 'god'*; Skr. *dív*, and so on? The vocabulary, although evidently the result of careful work, is perhaps somewhat hampered by an insufficient knowledge of the study of comparative philology. In the absence of systematic correspondence it cannot be held to prove Mr. Denison's case.

ELIZABETH JACKSON.

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Tabulae quibus Antiquitates Graecae et Romanae illustrantur. Edidit St. Cybulski. Tab. X. ed. iii. quam curavit Joannes Lamer. *Οἰκία Ἑλληνική.*

THIS series is well known to scholars, and it needs no long description here. The third edition of the *Greek House*, has a restoration of a house at Priene, with a ground plan; an elevation from a Cretan fresco; and *οἰκία ὀλβιανή*, besides the more imaginative hall of Tiryns. There are other plans, and details of architecture, from Delos, and elsewhere, and an explanatory booklet. Even the strictest scholar, who may think these are useless luxuries, will be glad of a diagram to explain *γεῖσον, αἰετός, μετόπη, τρίγλυφος*, and *θριγκός*. Lamer gives a historical and critical essay in the booklet which explains the figures.

[1] P. 20.

Heracliti Quaestiones Homericae. Ediderunt Societatis Philologae Bouviensis Sodales. Prolegomena scripsit F. OELMANN. One vol. Pp. xlvi + 140. Leipsic: Teubner. 1910.

THIS is a useful edition of the work on Homer by Heraclitus (Heracleides) Ponticus, the contemporary of Aristotle. There is a careful and exhaustive preface, dealing mainly with the manuscripts, and throughout the text indications are given where passages from Heraclitus have been copied into the later scholia, which appears to have been frequently the case. Although the preface gives reason for holding that the original title of the work was *Ὁμηρικὰ προβλήματα*, not *Ἀλληγορίαι Ὁμηρικαί*, the second title does really express more precisely the nature of the commentary. Heraclitus is above all desirous to show the large part that allegory plays in Homer, and, on this basis, to explain away the scandalous stories about the gods and so defend the poet from Plato's attacks. In spite of the fantastic extravagance in some of his interpretations the work can still be read with pleasure and profit, not only for its charming style; allegory, no doubt, is incessant in Homer, and there are many commentators in our day who could learn much from the old writer's analysis of the relation between Athena and Achilles (c. 19 *sqq.*), Athena and Telemachus (c. 61 *sqq.*), Aphrodite and Helen (c. 28). And his defect, that of pushing one principle of interpretation too far, is not without value as a warning. The diverse elements, moreover, that went to make up the Homeric mythology are indeed so many and so conflicting that it is hardly surprising that this, one of the first attempts to reduce them to system, should have failed.

F. MELIAN STAWELL.

ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΚΗ 'ΕΦΗΜΕΡΙΣ, 1910.

'Αρχαιολογικὴ 'Εφημερίς, ἐκδιδομένη ὑπὸ τῆς ἀρχαιολογικῆς 'Εταιρείας, Ser. 3, 1 vol. 12″ × 9½″ Cols. 432. Illustrations 156, with 12 plates. Athens: Sakellarios, 1910.

THE most recently issued volume of this publication affords good evidence of the varied activities of Greek archaeologists on their own soil. It comprises some 216 pages of large quarto size, in which are collected twenty-four articles on excavations, inscriptions, discussions of vases and other antiquities, and topographical questions. Most of these are well and fully illustrated. We have not space at our disposal to do more than touch on a few of the more interesting articles, of which a brief summary may be given.

The most important excavations here described are those in the outer Kerameikos at Athens, on the property (κλῆρος) of the Heracleotes, Agathon and Sosikrates. A. Brueckner restores the façade of their monument, which had a wall of about six feet high, on which were placed a stele, four small shrines, and two sepulchral lekythi. The κλῆρος was occupied about 350 B.C. K. Kourouniotes describes the results of investigations of the older temple of Apollo at Bassae (Phigaleia), undertaken in 1902-07. Some interesting finds were made of Proto-Corinthian and other early vase-fabrics, rude bronze figures like those from Olympia, and pieces of bronze armour and weapons, all being votive offerings of the time of the earlier temple. S. Wide gives a full description of the excavations at Daphni, near Athens, in 1891-92, and the interesting sculptures found in the sanctuary of Aphrodite. A. Keramopoulos describes the contents of Mycenaean tombs in Aegina and Thebes, the former containing some fine vases; good plans and sections of the tombs are given. A contribution to Greek topography is made by Sarres, who places the site of Ereneia (Paus. i. 44, 4-5) on Mount Pateras, between Megara and Thebes.

In the domain of monuments, interesting epigraphical articles are from the pens of G. P. Oikonomos and A. Wilhelm. The former publishes a new inscription found in 1907-08 in the Agora at Athens, containing an amendment (in 353-352 B.C.) of a law regulating the assessment and collection of first-fruits, and the sacrifices to Eleusinian deities. The latter recognises a bronze fragment from Olympia (*Inschriften*, p. 79, No. 40) as a copy of a treaty between the Aetolians and Acarnanians published in this periodical (1905, p. 55) from a copy found at Therma. J. Svoronos proves that the well-known 'Boy and Goose' sculpture groups are not *genre* subjects, but represent Ianiskos, son of Asklepios, on the evidence of coins on which the group appears in conjunction with the figure of that god. A. Arbanitopoulos publishes some very interesting fragments of 'Megarian' bowls with Homeric subjects, found at Phthiotid Thebes in 1907. Some of the subjects are from the *Iliad*, including Thetis with the armour of Achilles, Menelaos, and Patroklos, etc.; but of greater interest are the scenes from the *Odyssey*: the metamorphosis of Odysseus' companions by Circe; the building of Odysseus' raft and his shipwreck; and the feasting and slaughter of the suitors. Most of the figures have their names inscribed.

H. B. WALTERS.

Beschreibung der Glyptothek König Ludwigs I. zu München, von A. FURTWAENGLER. 2te Auflage, besorgt von P. Wolters. 1 vol. 7⅞″ × 6″. Pp. viii + 418. München: Buchholz. M. 3. 50.

DR. WOLTERS has done good service in bringing out, after an interval of ten years, a revised edition of the late Professor Furtwaengler's excellent account of the sculptures in the Munich Glyptothek. He now has the advantage of being able to use the results of the Professor's excavations in Aegina, which have rendered possible a reconstitution of the famous pediments in a more improved and accurate form, and with the addition of many new fragments (here represented by casts). The full description of the sculptures from this temple (which only a mere accident prevented from finding a home in the

British Museum) occupies nearly one-fourth of the whole book.

These sculptures are the chief glory of the Glyptothek; but there are other treasures herein described, such as the Apollo of Tenea, the Eirene and infant Plutus, the Barberini Faun, and the Poseidon-frieze from the altar of Domitius Ahenobarbus, which Furtwaengler recently assigned to its right period and place in the history of art. Seeing that the volume is (in spite of the absence of illustrations) more of a catalogue than a guide for visitors, the price is perhaps hardly excessive.

H. B. WALTERS.

Quaestiones ad Historiam Dedicationis Librorum Pertinentes. Lipsiae: Joannes Ruppert.

IT is explained that *Quaestiones ad Historiam Dedicationis Librorum Pertinentes*, a thesis written for the Leipsic Ph.D. degree, only touches the fringe of a large subject, and is intended to prepare the way for a more thorough discussion. We are confronted by the fact that didactic poems have generally a dedication to someone (although mere *allocutio*, Hesiod addressing a Perses or Theognis a Cyrnus, hardly comes under this head): while, to take the most eminent names, among epic poets Homer and Virgil, among historians Thucydides and Tacitus, among geographers Strabo and Pausanias, have none. What a pity, and how much trouble might have been saved had Homer remembered to dedicate something to somebody! It is difficult to discern the exact origin of the practice. Herr Ruppert distinguishes carefully between the mere mention of a friend's name here and there and a formal address: otherwise, where should dedication stop? Evidence being duly weighed, he concludes that it begins with *adhortatio*: and that the earliest dedication properly so called is that of Dionysius Chalcus (circa 450 B.C.),

ὦ Θεόδωρε, δέχου τήνδε προπινομένην
τὴν ἀπ' ἐμοῦ ποίησιν. ἐγὼ δ' ἐπιδέξια πέμπω
κ.τ.λ. (Athenaeus XV. 669 d.)

The next dedicator appears to have been Isocrates.

A. D. GODLEY.

CORRESPONDENCE

HORACE, *ODES* I. 20.

To the Editor of THE CLASSICAL REVIEW.

SIR,—In Mr. L. H. Allen's interesting paper on the difficulties found in this *Ode* (*C. R.* XXV., p. 168 *seq.*, September, 1911), he mentions the reading 'Tum bibes' as adopted by (among others) Wickham. There is surely some mistake. In the first edition of his commentary (1877) the late Dean mentions this reading as having been printed by Keller, from Döderlein, and states his own reasons for rejecting it. In the edition of 1896 the note is recast, but in essentials reproduced. The editor remarks that Keller, in the *Epilegomena* (1879), had suggested 'Tu bibas'; and concludes: 'If any treatment is needed, this is the simplest.'

This is a small matter, but Mr. Allen will, I feel sure, agree that it should be made clear. Dr. Wickham would, I know, have been much surprised to see his name associated with Döderlein's reading.

May I add a few words on two of the points raised, without traversing Mr. Allen's suggestions, which will, I hope, receive full consideration on their merits. I do so with diffidence, as the ground has been trodden, in our own times, by eminent scholars.

(1) As to the wines named in the last stanza. All four are mentioned elsewhere in the *Odes* of Horace as being, in his day, only within the reach of a favoured class: the Caecuban and Formian in 3, 16, 34 under the phrase 'Laestrygonia in amphora,' and the Caecuban also in 1, 37, 5 and other passages, the Falernian in 3, 1, 43, the Calenian in 1, 31, 9. For Horace's present purpose the four names are interchangeable; rhetoric and alliteration suggested the combination into pairs; and, as H. A. J. Munro (*Journal of Philology*, 1871, p. 350) writes, 'It would have answered his purpose just as well to say "you can afford Falernian and Formian; I cannot afford Calenian or Caecuban."' In fact, all four are, by an easy figure of speech, to be taken as named in *both* clauses. I cannot name the 'figure'; it is as though a speaker were to say: 'You have all the profits and I have none of the glory,' meaning 'You have all the profits and all the glory, I have no profits and no glory.' Keller (*Epilegomena*, p. 79)

gives a clear example from a modern poet. Most of *Od.* 2, 18 is an elaboration of this figure. It is possible that some reference is intended to the state of Maecenas' health, and the wines suitable to it; but, as Ritter with his usual bluntness remarks, if Horace meant this he ought to have made it clearer.

The purpose of the figure which I have ventured to assume may perhaps be illustrated from Horace's parsimony in the use of contrasted epithets, as where he writes 'pinus ingens albaque populus,' meaning 'pinus ingens et nigra, populus gracilis et alba' (*Od.* 2, 3, 9, where see Wickham's note).

(2) All modern editors, including Wickham, find great awkwardness in 'Tu bibes' following the 'potabis' of line 1. Dr. Gow says that 'the reading of the MSS. can hardly be right,' and Keller (*Epilegomena*) was of the same mind. Yet it is very strange that no difficulty occurred to the old commentators, nor yet to such competent critics as Lambinus (1561), Cruquius (1578), or Torrentius (1608), nor to Bentley. I cannot but connect this silence with the fact that the rigid interpretation of 'tu bibes' as meaning 'tu bibes domi' was unknown in the older time. I have first noticed it appearing in the Delphin edition, and, though I may be wrong in imputing it to the editor of Horace in that fine series, it would suit the somewhat narrow purpose to offer a definite, though unwarranted, explanation. And surely the explanation is not warranted by the poet's words. The future tense may be called 'concessive,' or perhaps better 'imperative' or 'hortatory' (see the instances given in Roby, 1589), the pronoun adding an intimate touch which is specially Horatian (*A. P.* 385, etc.). But 'tu bibes' is quite general. 'Tuum erit bibere, bibe sodes!' 'Drink the great wines, as you have every right to do—with all my heart!' Horace adds: 'My table provides none of them.' No inference is drawn, but more than one is possible. It may be 'drink the great wines in your own house'—logical, but a trifle churlish—or 'send the wines you love across from your house or travelling carriage' (cf. *Epist.* 1, 5, 6)—logical, but not very happy here—or 'have a day off, and drink for once the wine of my country-side!' As Horace has already promised a jar which shall carry its own choiceness for host and for guest, the whole stanza thus forms a charming epilogue to a charming trifle.

Another point from the old scholars. Modern books head the Ode 'An invitation.' Cruquius, who professes to rely on the authority of a manuscript, tells us that it is a reply to a letter of Maecenas inviting himself, and Torrentius agrees. So does the Delphin editor.

Briefly to recapitulate: I should not think of questioning the unprejudiced judgment of H. A. J. Munro and the others on the point of taste and artistic finish. But I feel that their judgment has been prejudiced by two current assumptions, both unwarranted—(1) that 'tu bibes' necessarily means 'tu domi bibes,' and (2) that the poem is an invitation. Putting these aside, I cannot see that either Horace, or the text as received, needs any apology. The pause before the third stanza, which is required by the structure of the Ode, and the stress falling on the 'tu' save 'bibes' from any offence; and the feeling that Horace is archly fencing with a proposal which really delighted him enhances the grace of the little poem.

I am glad to observe that Conington's verse translation, and also Mr. Gladstone's, may be read in this sense.

It is a pleasure to add that I was led to look into the older commentaries on this Ode by the notes in a small edition by W. Baxter, published in London in 1701, and used at Westminster in 1785, evidently the work of a man of learning and taste.

A. O. PRICKARD.

New College, Oxford,
November, 1911.

VERSION

O women, had you seen the wilful king,
How Bacchus mocked him of his mad intent!
Slaves to command, the unwilling varletry—
I not resisting, that the God the more
Might prove himself—led me for punishment
To the prison-chamber. Far within it is,
And dark. One held a light, and one the chains;

O utinam et vobis, Bacchae, spectare liceret
a nostro delusa deo fera coepta protervi
Pentheos. imperio adstrictus non sponte satelles
nil adversantem, deus ut se illustrius actis
clararet, me ducit ubi est interna luendis
clausa domus poenis, penitus sine lumine tectum.
porrigit hic taedam, vincla hic tenet; inde catenam

Which Pentheus took, and with an impious hand
Made as to bind me. Then a miracle!
Sudden his eyes set in a stare; he turned,
Following (for so it seemed) my fancied flight,
And found me, as delusion wrought in him,
Stalled in the figure of a mighty bull
Dionysus-horned. This innocent he bound
For my offence. But even in the task
His folly veered, he paused, and 'Fire!' he cried,
'Bring water, or we burn!' They ran; the while
I, from the hurly passing unobserved,
Came through the palace royally, and left
Ruin. For still behind me as I came,
The earth shook and the solid marble fell,
Even to this pillared portal, which ye see
Ruined. Such answer hath your orison.

ANON.

For the story and situation see Euripides, *Bacchae* 603, and Ovid, *Metamorphoses* iii. *ad fin.*

rex mihi, non licitum temptans atque impius orsis,
admovet ipse manu. sed enim, mirabile dictu,
ecce, illi attonito stant lumina; deinde reversus
me sequitur fugisse ratus—nam tale furentem
fingere credidimus factis; quin captor inanis
in tauro capitur, Semelei ingentis ad instar
cornigero capite in stabulis. cui vincla daturus,
immerito mea vincla, tamen non perficit ipsis
inconstans furiis, sed 'io, incendia' clamat,
'ignem, ne pereamus, aquis restinguite latis.'
curritur. elapsus turbis fallo atria linquens
regia rex, post me non integra; namque secutus
terrae huc usque tremor stravit solida omnia saxo,
hos adeo, ut videatis humi fulcimina, postes.
talia pro precibus Bromius responsa remittit.

A. W. V.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Publishers and Authors forwarding books for review are asked to send at the same time a note of the price.

*** *Excerpts and Extracts from Periodicals and Collections are not included in these Lists unless stated to be separately published.*

Boer (Wilko de) See *Galen.*

Caesaresco (Countess E. M.) The Outdoor Life in Greek and Roman Poets, and kindred Studies. $8\frac{1}{4}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. 290. London: Macmillan and Co., 1911. Cloth, 6s. net.

Galen. In Galeni Pergameni libros περὶ ψυχῆς παθῶν καὶ ἁμαρτημάτων Observationes Criticae, by W. de Boer. Doctor's thesis. $9\frac{3}{4}'' \times 6\frac{3}{4}''$. Pp. 58. Marburg: Noske, 1911.

Koschaker (P.) Babylonisch-Assyrisches Bürgschaftsrecht. $9'' \times 6''$. Pp. xviii+263. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1911. M. 8.

Kukula (R. C.) Römische Säkularpoesie. Neue Studien zu Horaz' XVI. Epodus und Vergils IV. Ekloge. $8'' \times 5''$. Pp. 97. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1911. M. 3.

Manili Astronomicon. Lib. II. By H. W. Garrod. $8\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. c+166. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911. Cloth, 10s. 6d. net.

Monist (The) A Quarterly Magazine devoted to the Philosophy of Science. XXI. 4. October, 1911. $10\frac{1}{4}'' \times 7\frac{1}{4}''$. Pp. vi+480-640. Chicago: Open Court Publishing Company. 60 cents, yearly $2.00. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co. 2s. 6d., yearly 9s. 6d.

Papyri Graecae Berolinenses. Collegit Wilhelm Schubart. $11\frac{1}{2}'' \times 8''$. 50 plates in collotype. Bonn: Marcus and Webers; and Oxford: Parker and Son, 1911. Cloth, 6s. net; parchment, 12s. net.

Papyruskunde (Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der P.). Von L. Mitteis und U. Wilcken. $10'' \times 6\frac{1}{2}''$. Vol. i., Pt. I., lxxii+437, M. 12; Vol. i., Pt. II., vii+579, M. 14; Vol. ii., Pt. I.,

xviii+298, M. 8: Vol. ii., Pt. II., vi+430. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1911. In 1 vol.: paper covers, M. 40; cloth, M. 48.

Perdelwitz (R.) Die Mysterienreligion und das Problem des I. Petrusbriefes. (Versuche und Vorarbeiten, Band xi., Heft 3.) 9″×6¼″. Pp. 108. Giessen: A. Töpelmann, 1911. M. 3.60.

Pervigilium Veneris. Oxford Plain Texts. 6¾″×4¼″. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911. Cloth, 4d.

Peter (H.) Wahrheit und Kunst, Geschichtschreibung und Plagiat im klassischen Altertum. 8¾″×5¾″. Pp. xii×490. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1911. M. 12.

Platner (S. B.) The Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome. Second edition, revised and enlarged. With maps and illustrations. 8″×5½″. Pp. xiv+538. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1911. Cloth, $ 3.

Platonica. By H. Richards. 7½″×5½″. Pp. viii+356. London: Grant Richards. Cloth, 7s. net.

Pley (J.) De lanae in antiquorum ritibus usu. (Versuche und Vorarbeiten, Band xi., Heft 2.) 9″×6¼″. Pp. 114. Giessen: A. Töpelmann, 1911. M. 3.60.

Rudberg (G.) Zum sogenannten Zehnten Buche der Aristotelischen Tiergeschichte. 9½″×6″. Uppsala: Akademiska Bokhandeln; and Leipzig: O. Harrassowitz, 1911.

Smith (J. G.) Practical Psychology. 7½″×5″. Pp. 94. London: Bennett and Co., 1911. Cloth, 3s.

Tuckwell (W.) Lycidas: a Monograph. 7½″×5″. Pp. 65. London: John Murray, 1911. Cloth, 2s. 6d. net.

Willroch (H.) Livia, mit einem Titelbild. 9¼″×6″. Pp. 79. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1911. M. 2.

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INDEX

I.—GENERAL INDEX.

A.

accent and ictus in Latin metre, 112*a*
Achaeans and the 'Mycenaeans,' the, 233 ff.
Aegina, Furtwaengler's excavations in, 268*b*, f.
Aeolic and the Homeric poems, 21*a*, *b*
optative, the, 38*a*
Aeschylus, *Ag.* 67 *sqq.*, note on, 73*b*, f.: see also 125*b*
178 *sqq.* (Wecklein), note on, 141*a*, *b*
syllabic correspondence in, 16*b*
Agathocles ['Cambridge Historical Essays, No. xv.], Tillyard's, noticed, 27*a*, *b*
Aigle and Asklepios, 247*a*
αἷμα ταύρου, note on, 171*b*, f.
al. in MSS., 151*a*
ἀλλὰ . . . μέν, note on, 204*b*, f.: see also 14*a*, *b*
Allbutt (**T.C.**), notice of Ilberg's *Die Überlieferung der Gynaekologie des Soranus von Ephesus*, 49 ff.
allegory in Homer, 267*b*
Allen (**L.H.**), note on Horace, *Carm.* I. xx., *Tu bibes*, 168 ff.: see also 269 f.
Allen (**T. W.**), Homerica. I. The Achaeans, 233 ff.
notice of Fick's *Die Enstehung der Odyssee und die Versabzählung in den griechischen Epen*, 20 f.
postscript to, 21*b*, f.
notice of Mülder's *Die Ilias und ihre Quellen*, 114 f.
notice of Phil's *Veröffentlichungen aus der Heidelberger Papyrus-Sammlung* (iv. 1), 253 ff.
Allen's (A.M.) *A History of Verona*, noticed, 122*a*, *b*
Allen's (P. S.) *Opus Epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami* (tom. ii.), noticed, 118 ff.
Amphidromia, the, 9*a*, 11*a*
Amra Choluimb Chille, the old Irish poem, 70*a*, *b*
Anderson (**J. G. C.**), notice of Davis' *The Influence of Wealth in Imperial Rome*, 226 f.
notice of Pelham's *Essays on Roman History*, 258 f.
Andromache and the *Trachinians*, the, 97 ff.
Murray on the character of, 99 f.
antiquaries of Scotland, 188 f.: see also 231*a*, *b*
aorist and present, combination of, 134 f., 197*b*, f.
Monro and Madvig on, 134*b* (n.)
Apollonius Rhodius and Homer, 210*a*
Apotheosis of Claudius, ch. 6. ll. 5 *sq.*, note on the, 11 f.
Appendix Vergiliana, MSS. of the, 181*a*, *b*
Appian, *Bell. Ciu.* i. 21 fin., note on, 106 f.
apple, etymon of, 248*b*
Apuleius, *Apol.* ch. 89, note on, 72 f.
Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς, 1910 (Ser. 3, 1 vol.), noticed, 268*a*, *b*
Aristophanes, *Ach.* 1093, note on, 247*a*, *b*
Aristotle, *Nic. Eth.* iv. 3. 15, notes on, 132 ff., 197 f: see also vol. xxiv. 48 f., 144 f., 228 f.
Aristotle's conception of the vascular system, 209*b*
idealism, 78 f.
theology, 80*a*, *b*
up-to-date accuracy in natural history, 85*b*, f.
Armstrong's *Autobiographic Elements in Latin Inscriptions*, noticed, 124*a*
Arnold (**E. V.**), on recent monographs on Greek and Latin metre, 110 ff.
Arnold's *Roman Stoicism:* being Lectures on the History of the Stoic Philosophy, with special reference to its development within the Roman Empire, noticed, 183*b*, ff.
Ashby (**T.**), notice of Giuliano da Sangallo's *Codices e Vaticanis selecti phototypice expressi* (vol. xi.), 173 ff.
notice of Nogara's *Ancient Mosaics of the Vatican and the Lateran Museums*, 83 ff.
Athenian cavalry in the Peloponnesian War and at Amphipolis, 193 ff.
women as depicted by Sophocles and Euripides, 99 f.
Athens and the Pontic corn trade, 20*a*, *b*
excavations in the outer Kerameikos at, 268*a*
inscription in the Agora at, 268*b*
Auraicept nan ēces, the old Irish work, 70*b*, f.
Ausonius' debt to Juvenal, 15*a*

B.

Bacchae of Euripides, problems of the, 142 ff.
was Dionysus god or man? 143*a*
were the reported miracles intended to be believed? 143*b*, f.
Bailey (**C.**), notice of Norwood's *The Riddle of the Bacchae*, 142 ff.: see also 191*b*, f.
notice of Verrall's *The Bacchants of Euripides and Other Essays*, *ib.*
notice of Warde Fowler's *The Religious Experience of the Roman People*, 223 ff.
Bangor Summer School in Latin, 125*a*, *b*, 230*b*, f.
Barbagallo's *Lo Stato e l'istruzione pubblica nell' impero Romano*, noticed, 216 ff.
Bartoli's drawings of mosaics compared with Piccini's, 84*a*, *b*
Bassae, older temple of Apollo at, 268*a*
Bede on gestures to denote numbers, 72*a*
Bedford College presentation of the *Trachiniæ*, 158*a*, *b*
Bell's *The Aphrodito Papyri* ['Greek Papyri in the British Museum.' Catalogue with Texts. Vol. iv.], noticed, 148 f.

Bellot's *Carte de l'Île de Délos au 1/10000 avec un Commentaire explicatif* ['Exploration archéologique faite par l'École française d'Athènes], noticed, 62*a*, *b*.
Blind Harry's *Wallace* and Barbour's *The Brus*: a parallel, 168*a*, *b*
Bloch's essay on M. Aemilius Scaurus, noticed, 18 f.
Boesch's *De Apollonii Rhodii Elocutione*, noticed, 210 f.
Bombay Association, Proceedings of the, 93*a*
Boule at Athens, original function of the, 236 ff.
Books Received, 31 f., 63 f., 95 f., 127 f., 158 ff., 192*a*, *b*, 231 f., 271 f.
Buck's *Introduction to the Study of the Greek Dialects: Grammar, Selected Inscriptions, Glossary*, noticed, 229*a*, *b*
burial of Ajax, the, 101 ff.
Burkitt (**F. C.**), notice of Eisler's *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt*, 145 ff.
Bury (**J. B.**), notice of Ebersolt's *Le Grand Palais de Constantinople et le Livre de Cérémonies* and *Sainte-Sophie de Constantinople*, 175 ff.
predecessors of the writer, 175*b*, f.
Bury (**R. G.**), notice of Platt's transl. of Aristotle, *de Generatione Animalium*, 23 f.: see also 85 ff.
Bussell's *Marcus Aurelius and the Later Stoics* ['The World's Epoch-makers' Series'], noticed, 182 f.
Butcher (S. H.), obituary notice of, 1 ff.
on the Aristotelian ἁμαρτία, 195*b*, f.
Butler (**H. E.**), notice of Plésent's works on the *Culex*, 120 f.
on Apuleius, *Apol.* ch. 89, 72 f.

C.

C. (**G. L.**), notice of Tucker's *Life in the Roman World of Nero and St. Paul*, 88 f.
Caesar, *Bell. Gall.* iv. 3, notes on, 74 *b*, f., 171*b*, 206*b*
his starting-point for Britain, 257*a*, *b*
the Druids and, 257*b*
Calder (**W. M.**), on the pronunciation of unmetrical Greek verse, 139 f.
Callimachus fragments, the, 92 *b*
the pre-nuptial rite in, 92*b*, 158*b*
Capps' *Four Plays of Menander*, noticed, 154 f.
Carcopino's essay on Ostracism, noticed, 19 f.
Caspari (**M. O. B.**), note on Appian, *Bell. Ciu.* i. 21 fin., 106 f.
note on Tacitus, *Ann.* xiii. 37. 4, 107*b*, f.
on the *Apotheosis of Claudius*, ch. 6. ll. 5 *sq.*, 11 f.
catamenia in animals and the moon, 86*b*
Catullus lxiv., notes on, 108 f.
Chapman (**R. W.**), note on ἀλλὰ . . . *μέν*, 204*b*, f.: see also 14*a*, *b*
Cheeseman (**G. L.**), on Antiquaries of Scotland, 188 f.: see also 231*a*, *b*
Cicero and idioms from Plautus and Terence, 152*b*
MSS. of (*Letters*), 149 ff.
Ravenna MS. of, 154*a*, *b*
Clark (**A. C.**), note on Lucretius iii. 687 *sqq.*, 74*b*
notice of Sjögren's *Commentationes Tullianae, de Ciceronis epistulis ad Brutum ad Quintum Fratrem ad Atticum Quaestiones*, 149 ff.
Clark's *Fontes Prosae Numerosae*, noticed, 57 f.
The Cursus in Mediaeval and Vulgar Latin, noticed, *ib.*
Classical Association, the, 232, 272
of Virginia, 230*a*, *b*
Classical bibliography, recent, 22 f.
metres known to us, principles of, 110*b*
studies in America, 249 ff.
Cleon at Amphipolis, 194 f.
Thucydides' prejudice against, 194*b* (and n.)
Codex Lusaticus of Propertius, 109*a*
Coleridge (Hartley) quoted, 65*b*
Collignon's *Les Statues Funéraires dans l'Art Grec*, noticed, 212 f.
Colson (**F. H.**), notice of Roberts' ed. of Dionysius Halicarnensis *de Compositione Verborum*, 45 ff.
commentaries, compilation of, 211*a*
misuse of Shakespearean quotations in, 211*b*
Committee on Grammatical Terms, the, 230*a*
'compulsory Greek' at Oxford and the public schools, 29*a*, *b*, 157 f.
Conway (**R. S.**), on a point in notice of Wilkinson's *Hannibal's March* (p. 116), 156 f.
Cope (**A. D.**), on Fyfe's comments on Aristotle, *Poet.* 1458*b*7, 30*a*
writer's reply, 30*b*
Cornwall (**E. W.**), note on Aristophanes, *Ach.* 1093, 247*a*, *b*
Correspondence, 30*a*, *b*, 94*a*, *b*, 156 f., 191 f., 231*a*, *b*, 269 f.
Corrigenda, 64
Cosmas Indicopleustes, the *Christian Topography* of, 146*b*, f.
Crook (**R. F. T.**), note on Horace, *Carm.* III. xxvi. 7, 74*a*, *b*
c^s in MSS., 151*a*
Cumont's *Die orientalischen Religionen in römischen Heidenthum*, noticed, 54 f.
Cunningham (**H. J.**), notice of *Mélanges d'Histoire ancienne: Bibliothèque de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Paris* (No. xxv.), 18 ff.
κύρβις from Chios and the Athenian βουλη, 237*a*, *b*
Cyclops' Lament to Galatea, transl. of, 126 f.
Cyropaedia, fragment of (*Oxy. Pap.*), 92*b*

D.

D'Aubigné's 'To Diana' (transl. by Macdowall), hendecasyllabic rendering of, 157*a*, *b*
Davis' *The Influence of Wealth in Imperial Rome*, noticed, 226 f.
de Salis' numismatic work in the British Museum, 87*a*
dedications, the subject of, 269*a*, *b*
Delos, French excavations in, 62*a*, *b*
the Basilica in, 62*b*
Demosthenes, *Chers.* p. 107, §§ 69 *sq.*, note on, 140 f.
Denison's *A Mexican-Aryan Comparative Vocabulary*, noticed, 266 f.
Diels (**H.**), note on emendation in Plutarch, *Lyc.* 5. 8, 30*b*: see vol. xxiv. 240*a*, *b*
Dionysius Halicarnensis, *de Compositione Verborum*, Roberts' ed. of, noticed, 45 ff.
Draco, βουλή of, 236*a*
drama 'full of Ares,' a, 172*a*, *b*
Druids in Gallic history, the, 257*b*
Duckworth (**H. T. F.**), notes on No. 112 in the collection of Fayoum Papyri, 33 ff.
Duckworth's (C. H.) *Walter Headlam: Life and Poems*, noticed, 156*b*
Dún Laithne, the old Irish work, 71*a*
Dunbabin (**R. L.**), emendations and illustrations of Menander, 205*b*
on verses in Livy, 104 ff.: see also vol. xxiv., 13 ff.

E.

Ebersolt's *Le Grand Palais de Constantinople et le Livre des Cérémonies*, noticed, 175 ff.
Sainte-Sophie de Constantinople. Étude topographique d'après les Cérémonies, noticed, 177*b*

Edmonds (**J. M.**), notes on the Παιδικὰ Αἰολικά of Theocritus, 37 ff., 65 ff.
Addendum, 39*b*
education in France, 29*b*, f.
Egyptian nomes, the, 55 f.
Eisler's *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt*, noticed, 145 ff.
El Hibeh papyri fragments of Homer, 253 ff.
Engelbrecht's *Tyrannii Rufini opera* (pars i.). *Orationum Gregorii Nazianzen novem interpretatio* ['Corpus Scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Latinorum,' vol. xlvi.], noticed, 61*b*, f.
Ἡνίοχοι or Moschi (Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 37. 4), 107*b*, f.
Ennius' choice of diction dependent on metre (?), 91*a*
use of *nos*=*ego*, 90*b*
enoplic theory in metre, the, 112*b*
ἐπιγράφω, note on, 14*b*, f.
Er of Plato's *Republic*, 13*b*, f.
Erasmus and Budaeus, 118*b*, f.
his edition of the New Testament, 119*a*, *b*
Ereneia, site of, 268*a*
etymological note, 248*b*, f.
Euripides, influence of on Sophocles, 97 ff.
Med. 608, note on, 170 f.
Phoen., question of interpolation in, 178*a*

F.

Farnell on Aesch. *Ag.* 67 *sqq.*, 125*b*: see also 73*b*, f
Fayoum Papyri collection, notes on No. 112 in, 33 ff.
equations and interchanges of vowels in, 36*b*, f.
hiatus in, 34*b*, f.
Fick's *Die Enstehung der Odyssee und die Versabzählung in den griechischen Epen*, noticed, 20 f.
postscript to review, 21*b*, f.
fire and water in infant purification, 8 ff.
Fisher's *Taciti Historiarum Libri*, noticed, 124 f.
Fock's *Catalogus Dissertationum Philologicarum Classicarum*, noticed, 22*b*, f.
Fowler (**W. W.**), notice of Goudy's *Trichotomy in Roman Law*, 185 f.
Fowler's *The Religious Experience of the Roman People from the Earliest Times to the Age of Augustus* [the Gifford Lectures for 1909-10], noticed, 223 ff.
Frank's *A Chapter in the Story of Roman Imperialism*, noticed, 26*b*, f.
Friedländer's *Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms in der Zeit von August bis zum Ausgang der Antonine*, noticed, 62*b*
Fritze's (von) *Die Münzen von Pergamon*, noticed, 52 ff.
temples and altars represented, 53*b*
the Attalid period, *ib.*
the Philetaerid series, 52 f.
Frobenius' *Die Syntax des Ennius*, noticed, 90 f.
Frothingham's *Roman Cities in Italy and Dalmatia*, noticed, 122*b*
Fyfe (**W. H.**), reply to notice of his comments on Aristotle, *Poet.* 1458^{b}7, 30*b*: see also 30*a*

G.

Gardiner's *Greek Athletic Sports and Festivals*, noticed, 59 f.
Gardner (**P.**), notice of Collignon's *Les Statues Funéraires dans l'Art Grec*, 212 f.
notice of Kelsey's *Latin and Greek in American Education*, 249 ff.
Garrod (**H. W.**), notice of Vollmer's *Appendix Vergiliana*, 180 ff.
on some passages of Juvenal, 240 ff.
Genner (**E. E.**), notice of Sandys' *A Companion to Latin Studies*, 260 ff.
German scholarship and 'Metrik,' 18*a*, *b*
Gernet's essay on the Corn Supplies of Athens, noticed, 20*a*, *b*
gessa in folk-tales illustrated, 167 f.
Gildersleeve-Miller's *Syntax of Classical Greek* (second part), noticed, 228*b*
Giuliano da Sangallo's *Codices e Vaticanis selecti phototypice expressi* (vol. xi.), noticed, 173 ff.
Godley (**A. D.**), note on Aeschylus, *Ag.* 67 *sqq.*, 73*b*, f.: see also 125*b*
notice of Fisher's *Taciti Historiarum Libri*, 124 f.
notice of Wilkinson's *Hannibal's March*, 116 ff.: see also 156 f.
Goethe compared to Sophocles, 103*a*
'Golden Bough,' the, 205*a*, *b*
Goodrich (**W. J.**), note on Aristotle, *Nic. Eth.* iv. 3. 15 (1123^{b}31), 197 f.: see also 132 ff. and vol. xxiv. 48 f., 144 f,, 228 f.
notice of Taylor's *Varia Socratica*, 251 ff.
Goudy's *Trichotomy in Roman Law*, noticed, 185 f.
Granger (**F.**), notice of Cumont's *Die orientalischen Religionen in römischen Heidenthum*, 54 f.
notice of Barbagallo's *Lo Stato e l'istruzione pubblica nell' impero Romano*, 216 ff.
Greek and Latin metre, 110 ff.
athletic sports, 59 f.
dialects, 113 f.
forms of Latin names, 242*a*
verse, pronunciation of unmetrical, 139 f.
Greene (**H. W.**), note on ἐπιγράφω, 14*b*, f.
on a wrestling match in Nonnus, 129 ff.
Grote and Bury on the Athenian βουλή, 236*a*, *b*
Grueber's *Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum*, noticed, 87 f.

H.

Haeberlin's numismatic brochure, 88*a*, *b*
Hall (**H. R.**), notice of Steindorff's *Die Ägyptischen Gaue und ihre politische Entwicklung*, 55 f.
Halliday (**W. R.**), note on Homeric *Hymn to Demeter* 239 *sqq.*, 8 ff.
Hannibal's march, 116 ff., 156 f.
Livy's narrative, 116*a*
Polybius' narrative, 116*a*, 156 f.
pointed out by Marindin, 157*b*
suggestion of the Col du Clapier as the Pass, 116*b*, ff.
Harpocrates and Horus, 191*a*, *b*
Harrison (**E.**), notice of Mommsen's *Gesammelte Schriften*, 91 f.
Harrod's *Latin Terms of Endearment and Family Relationship*, noticed, 124*a*
Harry (**J. E.**), on a misunderstood passage in the *Oedipus Tyrannus* (227-235), 161 ff., 231*a*, *b*
Haverfield (**F.**), notice of Holmes' *Caesar's Conquest of Gaul* (ed. 2), 257 f.
Havet's *Manuel de Critique verbale appliqué aux Textes latins*, noticed, 218 ff.
his indebtedness to Madvig and Lindsay, 219*a*
Headlam's *History, Authority, and Theology*, noticed, 25*b*, f.
Heine, Latin elegiac rendering from, 93*a*, *b*
Hempl's paper on the Phaestos disc, 93*b*, f.
hendecasyllabic iambus in first foot, 221*b*
Henderson (**H. L.**), Latin elegiac rendering from Heine, 93*b*
Heracliti Quaestiones Homericae, noticed, 267*a*, *b*
Heraclitus and the ἐκπύρωσις, 183*b*
Heraeus-Morf's *Sammlung Vulgärlateinischer Texte* (3 and 4), noticed, 229*b*, f.
Heywood's *A History of Perugia*, noticed, 122*a*, *b*
Hill (**G. F.**), notice of Wissowa's *Pauly's Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, 228*a*, *b*

hiatus in Greek, 35*a*, *b*
Hirst (**G. M.**), notes on Catullus lxiv., 108 f.
two conjectures, 109*b*
Holmes' *Caesar's Conquest of Gaul* (ed. 2), noticed, 257 f.
Homer, *Il.* ix., modern problem of, 76*a*, *b*
Od. xix., removal of arms of Telemachus and Odysseus in, 76*a*
question of religion in, 76*b*, f.
of things Ionian in, 168*b*
Unitarians *v.* Dissectors on, 80 ff.
Homeric dialects, 113*b*
fragments from El Hibeh, two, 253 ff.
Hymn to Demeter 239 *sqq.*, note on, 8 ff.
Homerica (A. Lang), 167 f.
Homerica. I. (T. W. Allen), 233 ff.
Horace, *Carm.* I. xx. *Tu bibes*, note on, 168 ff. : see also 269 f.
III. xxvi. 7, note on, 74*a*, *b*
IV. v. 1, notes on, 109*b*, f., 247*b*, f., 248*a*, *b*
Hudson-Williams (**T.**), note on Petronius, *Satirae*, ch. 38, 205*b*, f.
notice of Miss Williams' *Essai sur la Composition du Roman Gallois de Peredur*, 25*a*
Hunt's *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, part vii., noticed, 92 f.
Hutchinson (**W. M. L.**), notice of Arnold's *Roman Stoicism*, 183*b*, ff.
notice of Bussell's *Marcus Aurelius and the Later Stoics*, 182 f.
hyperbaton in Ovid, *Her.* iii. 19, 42*a*, *b*
of *-que*, 13*a*

I, J.

Jackson (**Elizabeth**), notice of Denison's *Mexican-Aryan Comparative Vocabulary*, 266 f.
Jahn's Διονυσίου ἢ Λογγίνου περὶ ὕψους, *de Sublimitate libellus*, Vahlen's ed. of, noticed, 123*a*
Ilberg's *Die Überlieferung der Gynaekologie des Soranus von Ephesus*, noticed, 49 ff.
impf. and plpf. subjunctive *in apodosi*, 43*a*
infant purificatory rites, 8 ff.
Ingle (**N. L.**), on the original function of the Boule at Athens, 236 ff.
jiujitsu, the Japanese, 132*b*
inscriptions at
Kerpishli, 139*a*, *b*
Kozanli, 139*b*, f.
Tchimen, 139*a*, *b*
Irish cause of corruption, a typical, 138*b*
Johnson (**H.**), on αἷμα ταύρου, 171*b*, f.
iota 'subscriptum' and 'adscriptum,' 33*a*
Italian cities, 122*a*, *b*
metres, 112*b*
Ithaca (N.Y.) High School, Greek in, 125*b*
Juvenal and Ausonius, 15*a*
double recension of (?), 264*b*, f.
MSS. of, 264*b*
some passages of, 240 ff.
Juventus, a new Latin magazine, 93*a*, *b*

K.

Kelsey's *Latin and Greek in American Education*, noticed, 249 ff.
Kendall (**G.**), on the sin of Oedipus [A defence of Prof. Murray's transl. of Sophocles, *O.T.* 1183 *sqq.*], 195 ff.
Kerler's *Altclassische Philologie und Altertumskunde, Antiquariats-Katalog*, noticed, 23*a*, *b*
Kerlin's *Theocritus in English Literature*, noticed, 123*a*, *b*
Kleine Texte für Theologische und Philologische Vorlesungen und Übungen, noticed, 215 f.
Klussmann's *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Classicorum* (vol. i. part 1), noticed, 22*a*, *b*

L.

Lamer's Οἰκία Ἑλληνική ['Tabulae quibus Antiquitates Graecae et Romanae illustrantur'], noticed, 267*b*
Lang (**A.**), Homerica, 167 f.
Lang's *The World of Homer*, noticed, 75 ff.
Latin and Greek metre, 110 ff.
inscriptions, human life in, 123*b*, f.
paleography, 58 f.
poets, quantity-licence in, 73*b*
present participle in the nominative, 60*b*, f.
irrespective of time, 61*a*
scripts, precise nomenclature for a desideratum, 58*b*, f.
Lattimer (**R. B.**), notice of Gardiner's *Greek Athletic Sports and Festivals*, 59 f.
Laurentian MS. of Persius, 264*a*
Legrand's *Daos: Tableau de la Comédie grecque nouvelle.* noticed, 255 f.
Leo's revision of Bücheler's *Persii Iuuenalis Sulpiciae Saturae*, noticed, 264 f.
Lesbian literature, crasis in, 67*a*, *b*
F and *FF* (*vF*) in, 65*b*, ff.
Liddell and Scott s.v. ἐπιγράφω, 14*b*
Lindsay (**W. M.**), notice of Prou's *Manuel de Paléographie latine et française*, 58 f.
live Latin, 61*a*, *b*
Livy, xxiii. 16. 11 *sqq.*, conjecture on, 109*b*
verses in, 104 ff. : see also vol. xxiv. 13 ff.
'Lombardic' script, the, 58*b*
Longfellow quoted, 46*b*
Lucan, notes on, 199 f.
v. and vi., notes on, 15*b*, f.
Lucretius iii. 687 *sqq.*, note on, 74*b*
v. 311 *sqq.*, notes on, 73*a*, *b*, 202 f.
laxity of quantity in, 73*b*

M.

Macdonald (**G.**), notice of Grueber's *Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum*, 87 f.
MacInnes (**J.**), on the Athenian cavalry in the Peloponnesian War and at Amphipolis, 193 ff.
Macurdy (**Grace H.**), on the *Andromache* and the *Trachinians*, 97 ff.
Maitland's (Ella F.) 'Whither away?' hendecasyllabic rendering of, 28*a*, *b*
Manchester, the Roman fort at, 189*b*
Marouzeau's *L'Emploi du Participe Présent Latin à l'Époque Républicaine*, noticed, 60 f.
Marshall (**F. H. A.**), notice of Platt's transl. of Aristotle, *de Generatione Animalium*, 85 ff. : see also 23 f.
notice of Thompson's transl. of Aristotle, *Historia Animalium*, 208 f.
Mason (**Dora**), note on Plato, *Protagoras* 355 D, 164 f.
Matthaei (**Louise E.**), notice of Frank's *A Chapter in the Story of Roman Imperialism*, 26*b*, f.
notice of Tillyard's *Agathocles*, 27*a*, *b*
Mausoleum statues, position of the, 213*b*
Mayor (**J. E. B.**), notice of Engelbrecht's *Tyrannii Rufini opera* (pars i.). *Orationum Gregorii Nazianzen nouem interpretatio* [Corpus Scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, vol. xlvi.], 61*b*, f.
notice of Friedländer's *Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms in der Zeit von August bis zum Ausgang der Antonine*, 62*b*
Mayor (J. E. B.), obituary notice of, 7 f.
'Megarian' bowls with Homeric subjects, 268*b*
Mélanges d'Histoire ancienne: Bibliothèque de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Paris (No. xxv.), noticed, 18 ff.

Menander, emendations and illustrations of, 205*b*
Misoumenos, fragments of, 92*b*
Merry's *Orationes tum Crewianae tum gratulatoriae in Theatro Sheldoniano plerumque habitae*, noticed, 61*a*, *b*
Meyer on the Athenian βουλή, 237*a*
Miller's *The Latins in the Levant:* a History of Frankish Greece, 1204-1566, 27*b*, f.
Milligan's *Selections from the Greek Papyri*, noticed, 92*a*
Milton's Sonnets, dedications of and Horace, 248*a*
misunderstood passage in the *Oedipus Tyrannus* (227-235), 161 ff., 231*a*, *b*
various explanations of, 161*a*, *b*
modern Greek and the spelling in papyri, 33 ff.
Mommsen and the Ravenna MS. of Cicero's *Letters*, 154*a*
Mommsen's *Gesammelte Schriften*, noticed, 91 f.
Mooney (**G. W.**), note on Lucretius v. 311 *sqq.*, 73*a*, *b:* see also 202 f.
mosaics in the Vatican and Lateran Museums, 83 ff.—
from Hadrian's Villa, 84*b*
from Ostia, 85*b*
from the ancient Lorium, 85*a*
from the Aventine, 84*a*, *b*
from the farm of Tor Marancia, 84*b*
from the Thermae of Caracalla, 83*b*
from the Thermae of Otricoli, 84*b*, f.
representing an *asaroton*, 83*b*, f.
representing a Minerva head from Tusculum, 85*a*
Mosso's *The Dawn of Mediterranean Civilisation* (Miss M. C. Harrison's transl.), noticed, 155*b*, f.
Moulton (**J. H.**), notice of *Historic and Linguistic Studies in Literature relating to the New Testament* (Vol. I. parts v. and vi.), 207 f.
notice of Sanders' *The Old Testament Manuscripts in the Freer Collection* (part i.), 179 f.
notice of Thumb's *Handbuch der griechischen Dialekte*, 113 f.
Moulton's forthcoming works on Greek Testament Grammar and Early Persian Religious Poetry, 125*a*
MS. of *Persius*, the Laurentian, 264*a*
of the O.T., the Freer, 179 f.
MSS. of *Appendix Vergiliana*, 181*a*, *b*
of Cicero's *Letters*, 149 ff.
Ravenna MS. of, 154*a*, *b*
of Juvenal, 264*b*
Mülder's *Die Ilias und ihre Quellen*, noticed, 114 f.
Munich cylix fragment of Euphorion and Euripides' *Rhesus*, 239*a*, *b*
Murray (**G.**), on Bailey's notice of two books on Euripides' *Bacchae*, 191*b*, f.: see also 142 ff.
on Oedipus' ἁμαρτία (Soph. *O.T.* 1183 *sqq.*), 195 ff.

N.

Naylor (**H. D.**), notes on Ovid, *Heroides*, xv.-xxi., 43 f.
on the alleged hyperbaton of Ovid, *Her.* iii. 19, 42*a*, *b*
on the derivation of the grammatical term 'supine,' 206*b*
New Comedy, family li e in the, 256*a*
Newstead, the Romano-British site at, 188 f.
Nogara's *I Mosaici antichi conservati nei Palazzi Pontifici del Vaticano e del Laterano* ['Collezioni archeologische artistiche e numismatiche dei Palazzi Apostolici,' vol. iv.], noticed, 83 ff.
Nonnus, a wrestling match in, 129 ff.
Norton's *Lexicographical and Historical Study of διαθήκη to the end of the Classical Period*, noticed, 207*b*
Norwood's *The Riddle of the Bacchae*: the Last Stage of Euripides' Religious Views, noticed, 142 ff.
NOTES, 13 ff., 42 ff., 73 ff., 106 ff., 140 f., 170 ff., 204 ff., 246 ff.
NOTES AND NEWS, 29f., 63*a*, *b*, 93 f., 125*a*, *b*, 157 f., 230 f.
numbers expressed by gestures, 72*a*

O.

'O women, had you seen the wilful king' (Anon), Latin hexameter rendering of, 270 f.
OBITUARY, 1 ff., 7 f.
Odysseus, character of in Homer and later poets, 76*a*, 168*a*
Olympia, bronze fragment from, 268 *b*
ORIGINAL CONTRIBUTIONS, 8 ff., 33 ff., 65 ff., 97 ff., 129 ff., 161 ff., 193 ff., 233 ff.
ostracism and the ἑξακισχίλιοι, 19*a*, *b*
Ovid, *Heroides* iii. 19, alleged hyperbaton of, 42*a*, *b*
xv.-xxi., notes on, 43 f.
Owen (**A. S.**), notice of Remy's *La première Églogue de Virgile*, 26*a*, *b*
Owen (**S. G.**), notice of Leo's revision of Bücheler's *Persii Iuuenalis Sulpiciae Saturae*, 264 f.
Oxford Magazine, Lang and Murray's duel in the, 63*a*, *b*
Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 1085, note on, 172*b*

P.

Pantin (**W. E. P.**), notice of Frobenius' *Die Syntax des Ennius*, 90 f.
notice of Marouzeau's *L'Emploi du Participe Présent Latin à l'Époque Républicaine*, 60 f.
Paton (**W. R.**), note on Sophocles, *Fragment* 344 (Nauck²), 204*a*, *b*
on 'the Golden Bough,' 205*a*, *b*
Peake (**A. S.**), notice of Headlam's *History, Authority, and Theology*, 25*b*, f.
Pearson (**A. C.**), note on Sophocles, *Phil.* 830 ff., 246 f.
notice of Powell's *The Phoenissae of Euripides*, 177 ff.
Pelham's *Essays on Roman History*, noticed, 258 f.
Pergamon, the coinage of, 52 ff.
Persius, Laurentian MS. of, 264*a*
the Choliambi in, 264*a*, *b*
Peskett (**A. G.**), note on Caesar, *Bell. Gall.* iv. 3, 206*b*: see also 74*b*, f. and 171*b*
Petronius, *Apotheosis of Claudius*, ch. 6. ll. 5 *sq.*, note on, 11 f.
Satirae, ch. 38, note on, 205*b*, f.
Phaestos disk, partial reading of as Greek, 21*b*, f.
Phil's *Veröffentlichungen aus der Heidelberger Papyrus-Sammlung* (iv. i. Ptolemäische Homerfragmente), noticed, 253 ff.
Phillimore (**J. S.**), note on Propertius II. xxv. 17, etc., 12 f.
notes on Propertius, 135 ff.
on Harpocrates, 191*a*, *b*
Philoponus' comments on Aristotle, *de Gen. An.*, 23*b*, f.
Piccini's drawings of mosaics, 84*a* (and n.), *b*
Plato, *Protag.* 355 D, note on, 164 f.
Rep. 614 B, note on, 13 f.
Plato's dialogues, order of, 77 f.
doctrine of ideas in the earlier dialogues, 78*a*, *b*
journies to Sicily, dates of, 77*a*
play on words, 14*a*
Platt (**A.**), note on Plato, *Rep.* 614 B, 13 f.
notice of Walker's Ἀντὶ Μιᾶς: an Essay on Isometry, 16 ff.
on the burial of Ajax, 101 ff.

Platt's transl. of Aristotle, *de Generatione Animalium*, noticed, 23 f., 85 ff.
Plésent's *Le Culex, poème pseudo-Virgilien* and *Le Culex, Étude sur l'Alexandrinisme latin*, noticed, 120 f.
the question of forgery, 120*b*, f.
Pliny, *Ep.* ix. 10. 1, conjecture on, 109*b*
Poland's *Geschichte des griechischen Vereinswesens*, noticed, 213 ff.
Postgate (**J. P.**), notice of Havet's *Latin Textual Criticism*, 218 ff.
notice of Schulze's *Römische Elegiker*, 259 f.
note on *Oxyrhynchus Papyrus* 1085, 172*b*
on the Codex Lusaticus of Propertius, 109*a*
Powell's *The Phoenissae of Euripides*, noticed, 177 ff,
Prickard (**A. O.**), on Horace *Carm.* I. xx., 269 f.: see also 168 ff.
pronunciation of unmetrical Greek verse, 139 f.
Propertius II. xxv. 17, etc., note on, 12 f.
Codex Lusaticus of, 109*a*
notes on, 135 ff.
Prou's *Manuel de Paléographie latine et française*, noticed, 58 f.

Q.

Quaestiones ad Historiam Dedicationis Librorum pertinentes, noticed, 269*a*, *b*
quam indefinite in Caesar, 74*b*, f., 171*b*, 206*b*
quantity-licence in the Latin poets, 73*b*

R.

Rackham (**H.**), hendecasyllabic rendering of (Macdowall's transl. of) D'Aubigné's 'To Diana,' 157*b*
Ravenna MS. of Cicero's *Letters*, 154*a*, *b*
recent classical bibliography, 22 f.
monographs on Greek and Latin metre, 110 ff.
school-books, 189 f., 215 f.
Reed (**J. S. B.**), notice of Willems' *Le Droit Public Romain*, 186 ff.
'regressive' and 'progressive,' the terms, 222*b*
Reid (**J. S.**), note on Lucretius v. 311 *sq.*, 202 f.: see also 73*a*, *b*
Remy's *La première Églogue de Virgile*, noticed, 26*a*, *b*
Reviews, 16 ff., 45 ff., 75 ff., 110 ff., 142 ff., 173 ff., 207 ff., 249 ff.
Richards (**H.**), notice of Capps' *Four Plays of Menander*, 154 f.
notice of Gildersleeve-Miller's *Syntax of Classical Greek* (second part), 228*b*
notice of Simonson's *A Greek Grammar: Syntax*, 229*a*
notice of Starkie's *The Clouds of Aristophanes*, 211 f.
Rickards (**F. T.**) on Richard Shilleto's *Compositions*, 94*a*, *b*
Ritter's *Platon, sein Leben, seine Schriften, seine Lehre*, noticed, 77 f.
Roberts (**W. R.**), notice of Allen's *Erasmi Epistolae*, vol. ii., 118 ff.
notice of Clark's *Fontes Prosae Numerosae*, 57 f.
The Cursus in Mediaeval and Vulgar Latin, *ib.*
notice of Vahlen's ed. of Jahn's *Longinus*, 123*a*
Roberts' ed. of Dionysius Halicarnensis, *de Compositione Verborum*, noticed, 45 ff.
Roman emperors and education, 217*a*, *b*
interference in the East, date of, 26*b*, f.
topography and archaeology, 174 f.
Rossetti (D. G.) quoted, 65*b*
Rothe's *Die Ilias als Dichtung*, noticed, 80 ff.
Rouse (**W. H. D.**), notice of Bell's *Aphrodito Papyri* ['Greek Papyri in the British Museum,' vol. iv.], 148 f.
notice of Bellot's *Carte de l'Île de Délos*, 62*a*, *b*
Rouse (**W. H. D.**)—*continued*:
notice of Buck's *Introduction to the Study of the Greek Dialects*, 229*a*, *b*
notice of Heraeus-Morf's *Sammlung Vulgärlateinischer Texte* (3 and 4). 229*b*, f.
notice of Hunt's *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, part vii., 92 f.
notice of Kerlin's *Theocritus in English Literature*, 123*a*, *b*
notice of Legrand's *Daos*, 255 f.
notice of Merry's *Orationes tum Crewianae tum gratulatoriae*, 61*a*, *b*
notice of Miller's *The Latins in the Levant*, 27*b*, f.
notice of Milligan's *Selections from the Greek Papyri*, 92*a*
notice of Miss M. C. Harrison's transl. of Mosso's *Dawn of Mediterranean Civilisation*, 155*b*, f.
notice of pamphlets illustrative of Human Life in Latin inscriptions, 123*b*, f.
notice of Poland's *Geschichte des griechischen Vereinswesens*, 213 ff.
notice of Sandys' *Orationes et Epistolae Cantabrigienses* (1876-1909), 61*b*
notice of Schubart- de' Cavalieri-Lietzmann's *Papyri Graeci Berolinenses*, 266*a*
notice of works on the Cities of Italy, 122*a*, *b*
on indefinite *quam* in Caesar, 74*b*, f.: see also 171*b*, 206*b*
on some English school-books, 189 f.
on some German school-books, 215 f.
on the two burials in *Antigone*, 40 ff.
transl. of the Lament of Cyclops to Galatea, 126 f.

S.

S. (**F. M.**), notice of Lang's *The World of Homer*, 75 ff.
Sanders' *The Old Testament Manuscripts in the Freer Collection* (part i. The Washington MS. of Deuteronomy and Joshua), noticed, 179 f.
Sandys (**J. E.**), notice of recent classical bibliography, 22 f.
obituary notice of John Eyton Bickersteth Mayor, 7 f.
Sandys' *A Companion to Latin Studies*, noticed, 260 ff.
Orationes et Epistolae Cantabrigienses (1876-1909), noticed, 61*b*
Sargeaunt (**J.**), note on Horace, *Carm.* IV. v. 1, 247*b*, f.: see also 109*b*, f., 248*a*, *b*
Scaurus and the insinuations of Sallust, 18 f.
scholia and metre, 241*b*
school-books (English), noticed, 189 f.
(German), noticed, 215 f.
Schubart- de' Cavalieri-Leitzmann's *Papyri Graeci Berolinenses*, noticed, 266*a*
Schulze's *Römische Elegiker*, noticed, 259 f.
Seaton (**R. C.**), notice of Boesch's *De Apollonii Rhodii Elocutione*, 210 f
note on Horace, *Carm.* IV. v. 1, 248*a*, *b*: see also 109*b*, f., 247*b*, f.
Shakespeare quoted, 37*b*, 43*a*, *b*, 65*b*, 68*a*
Shewan (**A.**), notice of Rothe's *Die Ilias als Dichtung*, 80 ff.
Shilleto's *Greek and Latin Compositions*, notes on, 94*a*,
Short Notices, 25 ff., 60 ff., 91 ff., 123 ff., 154 ff., 228 ff., 266 ff.
Sidney (Sir Philip) quoted, 37*b*
Sidon sarcophagus, mourning ladies on the, 213*b*
Simonson's *A Greek Grammar: Syntax*, noticed, 229*a*
sin of Oedipus, the, 195 ff.
Sjögren's *Commentationes Tullianae, de Ciceronis Epistulis ad Brutum ad Quintum Fratrem ad Atticum Quaestiones*, noticed, 149 ff.
Slater (**D. A.**), hendecasyllabic rendering of Ella F. Maitland's 'Whither away?', 28*b*

Sloman (A.), note on Caesar, *Bell. Gall.* iv. 3, 171*b*: see also 74*b*, f., 206*b*
note on Horace, *Carm.* IV. v, 1, 109*b*, f.: see also 247*b*, f., 248*a*, *b*
Smale (W. R.), notes on Lucan, 199 f.
notes on Lucan, books v. and vi., 15*b*, f.
Smith's (I. Gregory), pamphlet on the Study of Greek, 125*a*
Smyth (A.), note on Aeschylus, *Ag.* 178 *sqq.* (Wecklein), 141*a*, *b*
Socrates' καινὰ δαιμόνια, 252*a*, *b*
Sonnenschein (E. A.), on the past tenses of the subjunctive in expressions of wish, 244 ff.
Sonnenschein on Plautine metric, 111*b*
Sophocles, *Aias*, the burial of, 101 ff.
rôle of Odysseus in, 102 f.
Antigone, the two burials in, 40 ff.
diction of, 163*b*
disposition of characters in, 102*a*
Euripidean diction in, 101*a* (n.)
frg. 344 (Nauck²), note on, 204*a*, *b*
Oed. Tyr. (227-235), misunderstood passage in, 161 ff., 231*a*, *b*
(1183-1185), Murray's rendering of, 195 ff.
Phil. (830 ff.), note on, 246 f.
Trachinians, influence of the *Andromache* on, 97 ff.
Soranus of Ephesus, literary remains of, 50 ff.
Starkie's *The Clouds of Aristophanes*, noticed, 211 f.
Stawell (F. Melian), notice of *Heracliti Quaestiones Homericae*, 267*a*, *b*
Steindorff's *Die Ägyptischen Gaue und ihre politische Entwicklung*, noticed, 55 f.
hieroglyphic symbols of the nomes, 56*b*
Στρωματεῖς. *Grazer Festgabe zur* 50: Versammlung Deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner, noticed, 24 f.
Strong (H. A.), etymological note, 248*b*, f.
on Ausonius' debt to Juvenal, 15*a*
on the grammarian Virgilius Maro, 70 f.
on the vocabulary of, 201 f.
'stylometry' as applied to the order of Plato's dialogues, 77*b*
subjunctives, direct dependence of, 203*b*
past tenses of in expressions of wish, 244 ff.
'supine,' derivation of the term, 206*b*

T.

Tacitus and the *acta senatus*, 91*b*, f.
Ann. xiii. 37. 4, note on, 107*b*, f.
Taylor's *Varia Socratica*, First Series [St. Andrews University Publications], noticed, 251 ff.
Tenea, the youth of, 213*a*
Theocritus in English Literature, 123*a*, *b*
Παιδικὰ Αἰολικά, notes on, 37 ff., 65 ff.
Addendum, 39*b*
the Lament of Cyclops to Galatea, transl. of, 126 f.
Thompson (W. H. jun.), on a drama 'full of Ares,' 172*a*, *b*
Thompson's (D'Arcy W.) transl. of Aristotle, *Historia Animalium*, noticed, 208 f.
previous translations of, 209*a*
Thompson's (Dr. Effie F.) Μετανοέω *and* μεταμέλει *in Greek Literature until* A.D. 100, noticed, 207*a*, *b*
Thomson (J. A. K.), on Dolon the wolf, 238 f.
Thumb's *Handbuch der griechischen Dialekte*, noticed, 113 f.
Tillyard's *Agathocles* ['Cambridge Historical Essays,' No. xv.], noticed, 27*a*, *b*
Tolman's *A Study of the Sepulchral Inscriptions in Bücheler's Carmina Epigraphica Latina*, noticed, 124*b*
Translation, 126 f.
Tucker's *Life in the Roman World of Nero and St. Paul*, noticed, 88 f.

U, V.

Vahlen's ed. of Jahn's *Longinus*, noticed, 123*a*
Verrall (A. W.), Latin hexameter rendering of Anon. 'O women, had you seen the wilful king,' 270*b*, f.
obituary notice of Samuel Henry Butcher, 1 ff.
Verrall's *The Bacchants of Euripides and Other Essays*, noticed, 142 ff.
verses in Livy, 104 ff.: see also vol. xxiv. 13 ff.
Versions, 28*a*, *b*, 93*a*, *b*, 157*a*, *b*, 270 f.
Virgilius Maro the grammarian, 70 f.
date of, 70*a*, 71*b*
excerpta from the vocabulary of, 201 f.
his connexion with Ireland, 70 f., 201*a*
personality of, 71*a*, *b*
unmetrical Greek verse, the pronunciation of, 139 f.
Vollmer's recension of Baehrens' *Poetae Latini Minores*: vol. i. *Appendix Vergiliana*, noticed, 180 ff.
von Fritze: see Fritze (von)

W.

W. (W. F.), why more than one hole through the moon? 166 f.
Walde (E. H. S.), note on Euripides, *Med.* 608, 170 f.
Walker's Ἀντὶ Μιᾶς: an Essay in Isometry, noticed, 16 ff.
Walters (H. B.), notice of Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς (1910), 268*a*, *b*
notice of Wolters' revised ed. of Furtwaengler's *Beschreibung der Glyptothek König Ludwigs I. zu München*, 268*b*, f.
water and fire in infant purification, 8 ff.
Werner's *Aristote et l'Idéalisme Platonicien*, noticed, 78 ff.
White (H. W.), note on Demosthenes, *Chers.*, p. 107, §§ 69 *sq.*, 140 f.
why more than one hole through the moon? 166 ff.
Wilkinson's *Hannibal's March*, noticed, 116 ff.: see also 156 f.
Willems' *Le Droit Public Romain* (ed. 7), noticed, 186 ff.
Willers on the money of Augustus, 88*b*
Williams (Marie V), notice of Ritter's *Platon, sein Leben, seine Schriften, seine Lehre*, 77 f.
notice of Werner's *Aristote et l'Idéalisme Platonicien*, 78 ff.
Williams' (C. B.) *The Participle in the Book of Acts*, noticed, 208*a*, *b*
Williams' (Mary R.) *Essai sur la Composition du Roman Gallois de Peredur*, noticed, 25*a*
Wilson (J. C.), note on Aristotle, *Nic. Eth.* iv. 3. 15, 132 ff.: see also 197 f. and vol. xxiv. 48 f., 144 f., 228 f.
wines of Horace's day, the, 169 f.
wish and obligation in Latin subjunctive, 244*b*, f.
Wissowa's *Pauly's Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* (Neue Bearbeitung), noticed, 228*a*, *b*
wolf synonymous with 'scout,' 239*b* (n.)
Wolters' revised ed. of Furtwaengler's *Beschreibung der Glyptothek König Ludwigs I. zu München*, noticed, 268*b*, f.
word-confusions, treatment of, 222*a*, *b*
word-divisions in papyri, 179*b*, f.
wrestling match in Nonnus, a, 129 ff.
Wroth (W.), notice of von Fritze's *Die Münzen von Pergamon*, 52 ff.

X.

X, notice of Duckworth's *Walter Headlam: Life and Poems*, 156*b*

II.—INDEX LOCORUM.

A.

Aelian :—
Nat. Hist. (8. 2), 14*b*, f.
Aeschines (77. 34), 14*b*
Aeschylus :—
Ag. (67), 68*b*, f. ; (67 *sqq.*), 73*b*, f., 125*b* ; (178 *sq.* Wecklein), 141*a*, *b*
Cho. (780), 69*a*
Sept. (760), 18*a*
Alcaeus (5. 2 : 15 : 36), 66*a*
Apollonius Rhodius :—
Argonautica i. (103), 210*a* ; ii. (345), 69*a* ; iii. (159 *sqq.*), 166*b* (n.)
Appian :—
Bell. Ciu. i. (21 fin.), 106 f.
Apuleius :—
Apol. (c. 89), 72 f.
Aristophanes :—
Ach. (428), 14*a*, *b*, 205*a* ; (1093), 247*a*, *b*
Eq. (83 *sq.*), 172*a*
Nub. (998, 1307), 212*b*
Pax (640), 195*b*
Ran. (1021), 172*a*
Vesp. (288, 475), 195*b* ; (1222 schol. on, cp. *Ach.* 1093), 247*b*
Aristotle :—
'Aθ. πολ. (c. 45 cp. c. 41), 237*b*
de Gen. An. (718^{a} 7), 23*b*, f. ; (720^{a} 33, ^{b}35), 24*a* ; (721^{b}), 86*b* ; (737^{a} 8, 739^{b} 11), 24*a* ; (740^{b} 10, 747^{b} 22), 24*b* ; (748^{a} 20), 24*a* ; (750^{a} 22, 763^{a} 23, ^{b}3, 780^{a} 8), 24*b*
Hist. An. (508^{b}, 513^{a}), 209*b*
Nic. Eth. iv. 3. 15 (1123^{b} 31), 132 ff., 197 f. : see also vol. xxiv. 48 f., 144 f., 228 f. ; v. 4. (1130^{a} 14), 198*b*
Poet. (1453^{a} 7), 195*b* ; (1458^{b} 7), 30*a*, *b*
Pol. (1274^{a} 16), 237*b*

B

Bacchylides :—
Ode xvi. (87), 18*a*
Bekker :—
Anecd. (p. 354, 15 *sqq.*), 246*b*

C.

Caesar :—
de Bell. Gall. i. (16), 206*b* ; iv. (3), 74*b*, f., 171*b*, 206*b* ; v. (58), 206*b* ; vi. (26), 171*b* ; vii. (15. 6), 61*a*
Callimachus :—
Aitia (3, 39), 92*b*
Cassian :—
de Inst. Coenob. (vii. 17. 5), 135*b*
Catullus ii. (9), 244*b*, f. ; lxiv (179), 109*a* : (241 *sqq.* cp. 225), 108*a*, *b* : (249 *sq.* cp. 52 *sqq.*), 108*b*, f.

Cicero :—
ad Att. ii. (1. 5), 153*a*, *b* : (11. 2), 153*a* : (11. 3), 75*b*, 171*b* ; iii. (8. 2), 154*b* (n.) : (25), 151*b* ; iv. (4 A. 1), 153*b*, f. : (8 A. 3 : 17. 3), 153*b* ; vii. (3. 7), *ib.* ; viii. (15. 3), 151*b* ; xiv. (7), 46*b* : (20. 4), 203*b*
ad Fam. xi. (13. 3), 75*b*, 171*b*
ad Q. F. i. (2. 14), 154*a* : (2. 5), 153*a* ; ii. (1. 3), 153*b* : (4, 5), 75*b*, 171*b* : (7. 1), 154*a* : (13. 2), 152*b* ; iii. (1. 8), 153*b*
de Orat. ii. (8 *sq.*), 220*b*
Orator (231), 243*b*
Tusc. Disp. i. (31. 75), 244*b*

D.

Demosthenes :—
Chers. (69 *sq.*), 140 f.
in Timocr. (144 cp. Aristot. 'Aθ. πολ. c. 22), 237*b*

E.

Ennius :—
Ann. (213 *sqq.* = 226 *sqq.* Mueller, cp. Cic. *Brut.* 18. 71 : 377 = 431 M., cp. Id. *de Orat.* 42. 168), 90*b* ; (452 = 493 M., 561 = 585 M.), 91*a*
Sat. (37), 91*b*
Euripides :—
Bacch. (913, 1157), 144*b* (n.)
Med. (608), 170 f.
Phoen. (178, 312, 473, 583), 178*b* ; (665), 18*a* ; (789 *sqq.*, 999, 1020, 1151), 178*b* ; (1384 *sqq.*), 179*a* ; (1397), 178*b* ; (1411, 1751, 1762), 179*a*

H.

Homer :—
Iliad vi. (350), 245*a* ; xxiii. (319 *sqq.*), 68*b*
Odyssey i. (336), 134*b* ; v. (130), 38*b* ; x. (117), 134*b* ; xv. (405), 14*b* ; xvi. (294 = xix. 13), 75*b*, f. : (424), 134*b* ; xvii. (524), *ib.*
Homeric Hymns :—
ad Dem. (239 *sqq.*), 8 ff.
ad Herm. (400), 20*b*
Horace :—
Carm. I. ii. (39), 221*a* : xx. (10), 168 ff., 269 f. ; III. xxiv. (4), 43*b* : xxvi. (7), 74*a*, *b* ; IV. v. (1), 109*b*, f., 247*b*, f., 248*a*, *b*
Sat. II. ii. (29), 221*a* : (124), 244*b*

J.

Juvenal i. (10), 242*a* : (150 *sqq.*), 240*a* ; iii. (76), 240*a* : (112 *sq.* cp. Prop. IV. viii. 58), 240*a*, *b* : (128 *sqq.*), 240*b* ; v. (104 *sq.*), 240*b*, f. ; vi. (144), 67*a* : (346 *sqq.*), 264*b*, f. : (373 *sq.*), 265*a* ; vii. (104), 241*a*, *b* : (112 *sqq.* cp. vi. 436 *sq.*), 241*b* ; viii. (6 *sqq.*), 265*a* : (105 *sqq.*), 241*b*, f. : (121 *sqq.*), 265*a* ; x. (256 *sq.* cp. i. 10, 311 *sqq.*), 242*a* ; xi. (100 *sqq.* cp. Plin. *N.H.* xxxiii. 54. 153), 242*a*, *b* ; xii. (30 *sqq.*), 242*b*, f. : (80 *sq.*, 128 *sq.*), 243*a* ; xiv. (23 *sq.*), 243*a* : (269), 243*b*, 265*b* : (290 *sq.*), 243*b*

L.

Livy xxiii. (16. 11 *sqq.*), 109*b*
Lucan :—
Pharsalia iii. (217), 199*b*; iv. (618), 199*a*; v. (86 *sq.* cp. 341), 15*b* : (107), 199*a*, *b* : (193), 199*b* : (219 *sq.*, 235 *sq.* cp. Hor. *Sat.* II. iii. 205), 15*b* : (287), 199*b* : (620), 199*b*, f. : (663), 200*a*; vi. (217, 428), *ib.* : (432 *sq.*, 451, 563), 200*b* : (566), 16*a*, *b*
Lucian :—
Anach. (1), 132*b*
Lucretius ii. (173, 721, 1004), 203*b*; iii. (687 *sqq.*), 74*b*; v. (311 *sqq.*), 73*a*, *b*, 202 f.
Lysias :—
Or. (8. 1), 162*b*

M.

Menander (ed. van Leeuwen[2]) :—
Epitrep. (117, 118, 287, 383, 385, 458, 528), 205*b*
Heros (51), 205*b*
Pericir. (27), 205*b*
Samia (97 *sq.*, 151, 245, 249, 263), 205*b*

N.

New Testament :—
St. Luke xix. (4), 35*a*
Acts ii. (9), 35*a*
2 Tim. iv. (13), 35*a*
Nonnus :—
Dionys. xxxvii. (554 *sqq.*), 129*b*, f. : (582 *sqq.*), 130*b*, f. : (602 *sqq.*), 131 f.

O.

Origen :—
c. Cels. (i. 2), 14*a*, *b*
Ovid :—
Ars Am. iii. (440), 222*a*
Her. iii. (19), 42*a*, *b*; xvi. (333 [331]), 43*a*; xvii. (67), *ib.* : (71), 43*a*, *b* : (107), 43*b*; xviii. (13, 43 *sq.*), 43*a* : (53, 58, 150, 205), 43*b*; xix. (171 *sq.*), 43*b*, f.; xx. (59, 172), 44*a* : (227 *sq.*), 43*a* : (241 *sq.*), 44*a*; xxi. (198), 44*a*, *b* : (201, 205), 44*b*
Met. viii. (72), 244*b*, f. : (148 *sqq.* cp. ii. 582 *sq.*), 223*b* : (678), 220*b*, f.
Oxyrhynchus Papyri (1085), 172*b*

P.

Petronius :—
Apoth. Claud. (ch. 6. ll. 5 *sq.*), 11 f.
Cena Trimalch. (38), 205*b*, f.; (63), 206*a*
Phaedrus :—
Fab. I. ii. (14), 222*b*, f.; II. v. (25), 206*a*; III. viii. (16), 222*b*; V. vii. (26), 221*a*
Pindar :—
Pyth. ii. (90), 141*b*
fr. (p. 443 Schroeder, v. 3), 205*a*, *b*
Plato :—
Euthyd. (297 E), 204*b*
Gorg. (462 E), 204*b*
Protag. (355 D), 164 f.
Rep. (475 E), 204*b*, f.; (614 B), 13 f.
Soph. (240 B), 204*b*, f.
Symp. (221 A *sqq.*), 197*a*, *b*
Theaet. (197 C, 201 B), 204*b*
Plautus :—
Mil. Gl. (730 *sq.*), 244*b* (n.)
Most. (183), 244*a*
Rud. (458 *sqq.*), 111*b*
Trin. (1136), 246*b* (n.)
Pliny :—
Ep. ix. (10. 1), 109*b* : (13. 7), 246*a*
Plutarch (II. 319 E), 15*a*
Ant. (4 *init.*), 12*a*
Comp. Dem. et Ant. (3), 12*a*
Lyc. (5. 8), 30*b*
Sol. (19), 236*a*
Polybius iii. (60. 8), 157*a*, *b*
Propertius I. xv. (33), 135*a* : xxi. (10), 135*b*; II. x. (23), 135*b*, f. : xxv. (17), 12 f. : xxxiv. (31 *sq.*), 136*b*; III. vi. (9), 137*a* : vii. (49), 137 f. : ix. (43 *sq.*), 136*b*, f. : xiv. (7), 13*a* : xxi. (16), 13*a*, *b* : xxiv. (3 *sqq.*, 11 *sqq.*), 13*b*; IV. v. (21), 138*a*, *b* : xi. (29 cp. II. xiii. 48), 138*b*

Q.

Quintilian :—
Inst. Orat. xii. (10. 29), 221*b*

S.

Sappho (2. 15), 66*a*; (78. 4 : 109. 2), 68*b* : (*fr.* 79), 66*a*
Sedulius Scottus (iii. 2. 9), 136*a*
Sophocles :—
Ai. (207 *sq.*), 134*b*, 198*a*; (1123 schol. on), 101*a*
El. (103), 14*b*
O.C. (44), 14*b*; (134 *sqq.*), 141*b*
O.T. (227 *sqq.*), 161 ff., 231*a*, *b*; (769), 14*b*
Ph. (58 *sq.*), 134*b*; (830 *sqq.*), 246 f.
fr. (344 Nauck[2] cp. Plutarch p. 100 E), 204*a*, *b*

T.

Tacitus :—
Ann. xiii. (37. 4), 107*b*, f.
Hist. i. (68), 125*a*; ii. (4), 124*b* : (40, 81), 125*b*; iii. (18), 124*b* : (53), 125*b* : (84), 124*b*; iv. (15), *ib.*
Theocritus :—
Idyll. xxix. (3), 39*b* : (4 *sqq.*), 37*a*, *b* : (16 *sqq.*), 37*b*, f. : (25, 29), 38*b* : (31), 38*b*, f. : (32, 40), 39*a*; xxx. (3 *sqq.*), 65 f. : (7, 8, 10, 11), 66*b* : (12 *sqq.*), 66*b*, ff. : (24, 27, 28, 29), 68*b* : (32), 68*b*, f.
Theophrastus :—
Char. (3), 135*a*, *b*
Thucydides v. (10. 4), 194*b*
Tibullus I. v. (33), 221*b*, f. : vi. (54), 223*a*, *b*
Timotheus :—
Pers. (203), 38*b*

V.

Valerius Maximus II. viii. (5), 136*a*; V. v. (1), *ib.*
Virgil :—
Aen. iv. (678), 244*b* : (698 *sq.*), 200*b*; viii. (643), 244*b*; x. (136 cp. Prop. III. vii. 49), 137*b* : (854), 244*b*, f.; xi. (162), *ib.*
[*Ciris*] (205), 135*b*
[*Culex*] (21, 27), 121*b*; (47), 181*a*; (93), 180*b*, 181*b*; (141), 181*a*; (368), 121*b*

X

Xenophon :—
Symp. (ii. 9), 14*a*

III.—INDEX VERBORUM.

A.—GREEK.

A.

ᾱ 'pure' (Attic), 113*a*, *b* (and n.)
'Αγλαόπης. Αἴγλαήρ (Hesych.), 247*a*
ἄζειν act. (?), 141*b*
ἀηθεῖν (Hesych.), 211*a*
'Αθάνα, 113*b* (and n.)
'Αθήνη, 25*a*
αἴγλη, 246*a*, *b*
Αἰγλήτης (Hesych.), 247*a*
αἷμα ταύρου, 171*b*, f.
ἀκέων, 210*b*
ἀλαλκήσω, 210*b*
ἀλλὰ γάρ, 179*a*, *b*
ἀλλὰ . . . μέν, 14*a*, *b*, 204*b*, f.
ἀλλὰ μὲν δή=ἀλλὰ μήν, 14*a*, 205*a*
αμαλιτης, 149*b*
ἁμαρτία, 195*b*, f.
ἀναπαύματα, 33*b*
ἀνδρισμός, 'poll-tax,' 148*b*
ανταλομμινα (Fay. Pap.), 36*a*
ἀντί, 'in exchange for,' 164*b*, 165*b*
ἄος (Hesych.), 66*a*
ἄπυρα ἱερά, 73*b*, f.
αὐτονυχίς, 254*a*

B.

βέτης (Hesych.), 243*a*
βουλευτικὸς ὅρκος, 237*b*

Γ.

γλάνις (=*silurus*), 241*a*

Δ.

δ' ἄρα, 67*b*
δακτυλιστής, 34*b*
δαπάνη, 148*b*
δημόσιον, 'land-tax,' 148*b*
διὰ στράτας, 'immediately,' 149*b*
διάγραφον (διαγραφή), 148*b*
διβόλητρος (διβολεῖν), 33*b*
δῖος, 66*a*
Δόλων, 239*b*
δυσί(ν), 35*a*, *b*
δυσωπεῖν, 34*b*
δώῃ, 180*b*

E.

ἐγκαλεῖν, 162*b*, f., 231*a*
ἔγκλημα, 162 f.
ἐκ (ἐξ) c. acc., 35*b*
ἐκστραόρδινα (ἐκστραορδινάρια), 148*b*, 149*b*
ἐμβολαί, 148*b*
ἔμμορε, 210*b*
ἐν c. acc., 35*b*
ἐντάγια, 148*b*
ἐπεγκαλεῖν, 162 f., 231*a*, *b*
ἐπιβάλλων λόγος (ὁ), 23*b*
ἐπιγράφειν, 14*b*, f.
ἐπίησε (inscrr.), 140*a*
ἐπικαλεῖν, 162*b*, f.
ἐπίκλημα, 162 f.
ἔρανος, ἐρανισταί, 214*a*
-ες for -ας, 36*a*
εὖ (καλῶς) ποιεῖν c. inf. or part., 33*a*,
εὖρος (τό), 176*b*
ἕως σήμερον, 34*b*

Z.

ζευγηλάτης, 'ploughman,' 34*a*
ζυγοστάται, 148*a*

H.

ἡδονή)(τὸ καλόν, 46*a*, 48*b*
ἦθος)(πάθος, 47*a*, *b*

Θ.

θέλειν)(ἐθέλειν, 37*b*
θιασῶται, 214*a*

I.

ἰαμβοποιεῖν, 30*a*, *b*

K.

καὶ . . . γε, 170 f.
καλλι-, cpds. in, 46*a*
κατακρύπτειν, 9*a* (n.)
κατηφής, 131*b*
κἔ ζόης (metr.), 38*a*, *b*
κλεύθεσθαι, 255*b*
κλιτικόν (*supinum*?), 206*b*
κόλλα, 34*a*
κουροτρόφοι, 10*a*, 11*a*
κοῦρσα, 148*b*
κρείτορι (inscrr.) ? 139*b*, 140*b*
κύρια ὀνόματα, 46*b*
κώληψ, 130*a*, *b*

Λ.

λέξις (λεκτικὸς τόπος), 46*a*
λιτος=λίθος (inscrr.), 140*a*

M.

μασγιδα, 149*b*
μέν (μήν), 14*a*
μένφεσθαι, 35*a*
μικκός, 35*b*
μόνος, 'madness,' 39*a*

N.

ν and *ι*, confusion between, 141*a*

Ξ.

ξεινζ (inscrr.), 139*a*, 140*b*

O.

ὄγμος, 'field,' 34*b*
ὀργεῶνες, 214*a*
ὄρος, 'desert monastery,' 148*a*
ὄρρια, 149*b*
ου=Lat. *v* or *u*, 36*b*
οὐκί, 37*b*, 67*b*

Π.

παγαρχία, 148*a*
παραγγελία (*professio*), 106*b*
παράθεσις (athl.), 60*a*
παραμυθια, 149*b*
παρασείειν (*τὰς χεῖρας*), 132*b*, f., 197*a*, *b*
πεδόθεν, 210*a*
περί)(*ὑπέρ*, 38*b*, 65*b*
περὶ πάντων (Hom.), 38*b*
περίνεος, 23*b*
πίνος and cognates, 46*b*
πότιμος, 38*b*, f.
προνεῖ=*φρονεῖ* (inscrr.), 140*a*
προνύμφιος ὕπνος, 92*b*, 158*b*
προσεγκαλεῖν, 231*a*

P.

ῥάπισμα (*alapa*), 206*a*

Σ.

σκάφητρος, 33*b*, 35*a*
σπουδασέτωσαν, 36*a*
συν- or *συμ-* in cpd., 35*a*, *b*
σύνθεσις τῶν ὀνομάτων, 45*b*, f.

T.

τελάσσαι, 68*a*
τοξικὸν (*φάρμακον*), 172*a*
τρίας, 67*a*
τρόπος (rhet.), 46*b*

Υ.

ὑγιένειν (=*ὑγιαίνειν*), 35*a*
ὑπερπνέειν, 38*a*
ὑποσχεισμός (*ὑποσκείζω*), 33*b*, f.
ὑφᾶναι, etc., 113*b* (n.)

Φ.

φίλην, *φιλέην* (*φιλέειν*), 37*a* (n.)
φιλοτιμια, 149*b*
φρίσσειν act., 172*b*

X.

χαρτουλάριοι, 148*a*
χεῖρα πετάσσας, 131*b* (n.)
χρυσόκαρπος, 205*a*, *b*

Ω.

ὠφειλημένα, 'debts' (?), 94*b*

B.—LATIN.

A.

accitare, 201*b*
affla, 201*a*
alapa, 206*a*
alapo (*alapari*), 206*a*
aliquidatio, 201*b*
alueolus, 243*a*
amminiculatio, 201*b*
arctura, 202*a*
assiculus, 265*b*
audatum, 201*b*
audeŏ (metr.), 240*a*

B.

blastus, 249*a*

C.

C and *G*, confusion between, 153*a*
canitus, 201*b*
cantatellae, 202*a*
capsaces, 62*a*
caraxare, 201*b*
clefare, 201*b*
clefia, 202*b*
compotaris, 201*b*
computum, 201*b*
concidere . . . minuere, 243*b*
confussibilitas, 202*a*
congluten, 201*b*
construmentum, 201*b*
crypta, 243*a*
cuncta=*coniuncta*, 43*b*
cupire, 202*b*

D.

decelsior, 201*a*
deffendentia, 202*a*
deundare, 202*b*
di nouensiles, 225*a*
directare, 201*b*
disparare, 202*a*

E.

elicere and *eligere*, confusion between, 153*a*
emulis, 201*b*
et (as punctuation-mark in MSS.), 153*a*
Eurypylites (*Eurypylita*) ? 137*a*

F.

facia, 202*b*
felis (Fr. *belette*), 249*b*
festim, 202*b*
fiditas, 202*a*
fonum, 202*a*
forciosus, 201*b*
fortasse an, 153*a*
frangere (*pocula*), 242*b*
frus, 221*b*

G.

gammula, 201*b*
ganna, 201*b*
geometres (metr.), 240*a*
glanis (?), 241*a*
goela, 201*b*
Grādiuus, 249*a*

I.

illectus, 202*a*
immorosus, 202*b*
imponere, 221*a*
infatua, 202*b*
infire, 202*a*
ingens)(*μέγας*, 43*a*
inops laudis, 136*a*
internare, 201*a*
iubere, 200*a*
Iuniani, 11*a*

L.

lentus, 43*b*
leporici, 202*a*
lingua, 'eloquence,' 44*b*
lustratio, 224*b*

M.

macte esto, 224*b*
magida (*magis*), 221*a*
mala manus, 206*a*
Marci municeps, 11 f.
medietas, 202*a*
mentiuncula, 202*a*
minula, 201*b*
mititudo, 202*b*
moda, 201*a*
modilus, 202*a*
morae ferri, 200*a*

N.

nos=*ego*, 90*b*, f.

O.

offendire, 201*b*.
omnimodatim, 201*b*
Orciui, 11*a*

P.

pada, 201*a*
parilla, 201*a*
paulo quam, 74*b*, f., 171*b*, 206*b*
pensatura, 202*a*
perfendire, 201*a*
persanatio, 201*b*
populeā frus, 221*b*
poscere, 136*a*, *b*
praepalare, 202*a*
preciti, 202*b*
professio, 106*b*, f.
proporro, 73*a*
publicus, 43*b*
pupla, 202*a*

Q.

quadammoda, 202*b*
quadra, 73*a*
quaerere (of inanimate things), 203*a*
with subjunctive, 203*b*
quam indef. (?), 74*b*, f., 171*b*, 206*b*
quassus, 201*b*

R.

redire=*reddi* (*referri*), 44*a*
regio nationum (?), 94*a*

S.

sapidiosus, 202*b*
sapido, 201*b*
sapificare, 202*a*
scalatim, 201*a*
sepiter, 202*a*
similis (Juv.), 243*b*
soffare, 201*b*
spirido, 201*b*
sub alapa esse, 205*b*, f.
subices, 73*a*, *b*
suffunta, 201*b*
supinum=*κλιτικόν* (?), 206*b*

T.

taxari, 202*a*
tellea, 201*a*
terebinthus, 137*b*
tornores logii, 202*b*
torpens and *torrens*, confusion between, 241*a*
transedere, 201*b*

U.

uiuerra, 248*b*, f.
uota publica, 224*a*, *b*
ut and *tu*, confusion between, 152*b*
ut . . . supplied from *ne* . . ., 44*a*
uxorari, 202*b*

X.

xanthus, 138*a*, *b*

This INDEX is compiled by W. F. R. Shilleto, M.A., sometime Foundation Scholar of Christ's College, Cambridge.

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